THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND;

OR, A

COMPLEAT HISTORY,

CIVIL, MILITARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITONS AND SAXONS,

FROM THE

LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

WITH A

COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, HABITS, &c. OF THOSE PEOPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH STRUTT.

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M DCC LXXIX.

TO THE READER.

IT has long been lamented by all who are converſant in the hiſtory of this country, that the more early parts of it are involved in the greateſt obſcurity. It is true the materials are ſo very imperfect (at leaſt ſuch as are authentic) that it is impoſſible to arrange them in ſuch order as to furniſh a regular hiſtory of the firſt ſix or ſeven centuries. This was the cauſe which induced our beſt authors, either entirely to neglect the annals of thoſe times, or elſe to hurry through them as haſtily as poſſible, in order to get forward to the Norman conqueſt, from which period the materials are more copious, clear and authentic; and hence it is, that our hiſtories of the latter ages are ſo much more compleat and ſatisfactory: for few men of great abilities are poſſeſſed of patience equal to the taſk of turning over ſo many dry prolix records of barbariſm and ſuperſtition as are abſolutely neceſſary for the compleating a hiſtory of the early ages.

Another very material object of complaint (particularly with reſpect to the hiſtories of the ancient Britons and Saxons) is the little attention which has been paid to the delineation of the manners, cuſtoms, habits, &c. of the people; and to this neglect is owing the prevalence of the general opinion, that nothing can be found either amuſing or inſtructive in thoſe remote ages; but this is ſurely a great miſtake; for a careful inveſtigation of theſe important particulars will not only be

pleaſant, but even uſeful to the generality of readers. And it is the chief object of the preſent work to ſupply as much as poſſible this defect.

The following work is divided into three general parts: namely, firſt, the Civil and Military Hiſtory; ſecondly, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and thirdly, the Hiſtory of the Manners, Arts, Habits, Genius, &c. of the People; and this laſt part is ſubdivided into ten or more chapters, ſo that any particular ſubject may be eaſily referred to.

In order to convey a clearer and more lively idea of the manners, &c. of the people, a variety of engravings (two and forty in number) are given in the courſe of the work, collected from the moſt authentic materials. All the drawings for theſe engravings, whether they conſiſt of copies from ancient delineations in manuſcripts,* or are real views of buildings, earth-works, monuments, or the like; are taken from the things themſelves with the greateſt exactneſs. Alſo, the plates are all of them executed by, or under the immediate inſpection of, the author; and at the end of each volume, by way of appendix, is printed an account of the plates, which refers the reader to the originals from whence they are copied.

* If any of our readers ſhould doubt the authenticity of the drawings in ancient manuſcripts, they are wiſhed to examine the three volumes the Hoꝑda Anꝛelcynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, where this ſubject is largely treated upon, and near one hundred and fifty plates are given, which contain faithful copies of original manuſcript delineations, in their rude and uncorrected ſtate. In the preſent work, almoſt all the figures taken from the ancient MSS. are put into better proportion, and higher finiſhed than the originals, though at the ſame time the poſition of the figure, the folds of the drapery, &c. are cloſely attended to; and ſome will be given exactly copied, to diſplay the taſte of the times in which they were done.

Thus much, the author hopes, will be thought new and intereſting to the public; as it is preſumed a view of the very ideas of our anceſtors muſt give an additional pleaſure in the peruſal of their hiſtory.

With regard to the hiſtory civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical, which compoſes the two firſt parts of the work, the author can ſafely declare that no pains have been ſpared to render them as complete as poſſible, though as conciſe as they could conveniently be made, in order to confine the whole work within the bounds propoſed.

Concerning the civil and military hiſtory of the Britons, little new and authentic matter could be collected; however, every ancient record has been examined with the utmoſt care, and the various authors regularly referred to at the bottom of the page. The hiſtory of the heptarchy the author hopes will be eſteemed more regular, if not more complete, than any hitherto publiſhed; and by means of the table at the end of this volume, all the ſeveral Saxon kings, who ruled in the different kingdoms, may be at once referred to.

Thus much the author has thought neceſſary to be declared concerning the novelty of the work, and the advantage ariſing to the reader, who, without the trouble of turning over a multitude of books, may at one view behold the hiſtory and manners of his countrymen, in their moſt early ſtate, diſtinctly arranged under their proper heads. It now remains to beg the indulgence of the public, that they would excuſe the errors which they may find in the proſecution of this laborious taſk.

Duke-ſtreet, Portland-chapel,
February 1779.

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CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

From the Invaſion of Julius Cæſar to the Arrival of the Saxons.

Cæſar's accounts of Britain the firſt that are authentic.

THE firſt authentic accounts that we have of the ancient ſtate of Britain and its inhabitants are from Julius Cæſar, who having extended his conqueſts through great part of Gaul, attacked the territories of the Britons, a people till then almoſt unknown to the world in general.

If there ever exiſted any earlier accounts of Britain than the Commentaries of Cæſar, they are now unhappily loſt; for though it is true, that the Phœnician and Greek merchants carried on a conſiderable traffic with the Britons long before the arrival of Cæſar, yet it is certain, and that for political reaſons, they forbore to give any true deſcription of the people, and even kept the ſituation of the iſland itſelf a ſecret.

Lamenting then the want of more ancient records, proceed we to a faithful examination of thoſe which we are poſſeſſed of, at leaſt ſuch of them as may be deemed authentic.

A. A. C. 55. Julius Cæſar, whoſe unbounded ambition led him to ſeek freſh laurels in remote climates, and to ſet up the Roman ſtandard in unknown regions, deſirous of adding to the glory which he had already acquired in Gaul; meditated the conqueſt and ſubjection of the diſtant inhabitants of Britain, who in their ſecret receſſes had ſo long remained ſequeſtered from the world, and undiſturbed by any foreign war.* The reaſon which he himſelf has been pleaſed to aſſign to us for his undertaking, was, that the Britons had aided their neighbours, the Gauls, in their wars againſt him; therefore, he thought himſelf ſufficiently juſtified in commencing hoſtilities with ſuch an unfriendly people.†

Cæſar's firſt expedition.

Voluſenus ſent to explore the coaſt of Britain.

His firſt ſtep was to enquire of thoſe merchants who traded to Britain, concerning the ſize of the iſland, its inhabitants, their cuſtoms, and military diſcipline, and alſo particularly what havens they might have for the reception of large ſhips; but the accounts he received from them were ſo very uncertain, that he was obliged to ſend Caius Voluſenus with a galley to coaſt about near the ſhore, in order to make the beſt diſcoveries that he could, and return to him again as quickly as poſſible; whilſt he himſelf, commanding his navy to aſſemble together, marched towards the territories of the Morini,‡ as conjecturing that province to lie the neareſt to Britain.

The Britons ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar.

In the mean time, this purpoſe of Cæſar's was not ſo ſecretly conducted, but that the Britons received intelligence thereof from the Gauliſh merchants: upon which, they ſent ambaſſadors immediately from ſeveral of their cities to Cæſar, offering him hoſtages, and making proffers of peace. Theſe meſſengers he received very graciouſly, promiſing them fairly, and encouraging them to continue in the ſame quiet reſolutions. Thus were they diſmiſſed, and with them he ſent Comius, king of the Atrebatians,§ who was commiſſioned to go to as many of the ſtates as he could, and perſuade them to ſeek alliance with the Romans, and to inform them that Cæſar himſelf would ſhortly come thither. Cæſar the rather choſe this man to execute his commiſſion, becauſe he approved of his bravery and conduct, and alſo ſuppoſed he would be faithful to him; beſides, he was thought to have great intereſt amongſt the Britiſh ſtates: yet, upon the return of the ambaſſadors, the aſſembly of the Britons (whether becauſe they ſuſpected the ſmooth promiſes of Cæſar, or apprehended that Comius was ſent as a ſpy) ſeized upon him immediately, and threw him into priſon.‖

Voluſenus returns.

Now C. Voluſenus returned to Cæſar on the fifth day, having made all the diſcoveries he could by ſailing near the ſhore, for he did not dare to land, nor truſt himſelf amongſt the people.

Cæſar's embarkation and landing in Britain.

Cæſar having prepared eighty ſhips of burthen, embarked two of his legions; when giving the neceſſary orders to the chief officers whom he

* Sueton. in Vita Jul. Cæſ.

† Cæſ. Com. de Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 18.

‡ The *Morini* inhabited the ſea-coaſts about Calais and Boulogne.

§ The Atrebatians were an ancient Belgic nation, who inhabited *Artois*.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal.

left behind him in Gaul, he ſet ſail about the third watch of the night, A. A. C. 55. commanding his horſemen to go to the reſidue of his ſhips, which lay further off within eight miles, and had been kept back by the wind, that they might there embark and follow him. He himſelf with his foremoſt ſhips reached the Britiſh coaſts about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the 26th day of Auguſt, and fifty-five years before Chriſt,* where he found the hills covered with armed men, and the place alſo very incommodious for their landing; therefore, he ordered his navy to caſt anchor, and waited 'till three o'clock for the arrival of his horſemen: but when he found that they did not make their appearance, he called a council of his lieutenants and tribunes, and declared to them the information he had received from Voluſenus, and alſo what he was reſolved to do; deſiring them in all things to obſerve his nod, and to be careful that his orders ſhould be duly performed in exact and proper time. This done, he cauſed them to weigh anchor, and with his fleet came to a plain and open ſhore, which is commonly thought to be Deal, in Kent.† But the Britons perceiving his intention, ſent their forces thither to prevent his landing. Cæſar's ſhips being too large to come up cloſe to the ſhore, his ſoldiers, to their great diſadvantage, were obliged to leap into the waves, and wade to the land; which the Britons obſerving, entered the water a little way, and gave them ſuch a warm reception, that, as Cæſar himſelf confeſſes, they were greatly terrified. To remedy this inconvenience, he cauſed the gallies to advance, in which were ſet up the ſlings and other inſtruments of war; a ſight ſo unuſual diſmayed the Britons, and they began to give back, notwithſtanding the Roman ſoldiers ſeemed unwilling to leave their ſhips, until the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, making earneſt ſupplication to the gods, threw himſelf from the ſhip wherein he was embarked, and advanced towards the Britons, calling to his fellows to follow him if they wiſhed to prevent their ſtandard from falling into the hands of their enemies. Fired at his words, and animated by his bold example, the ſoldiers preſently leaped into the water, and advanced, leſt they ſhould loſe their enſign. The encounter was ſharp and fierce on both ſides; for the Romans jumping confuſedly out of their ſhips, could neither get firm footing nor keep in proper array; and the Britons watching their opportunity, came down upon them in companies, and where but few were aſſembled, made a violent attack, throwing their darts with vaſt reſolution and courage, to the great annoyance of the Romans. Cæſar ſeeing this, cauſed all his ſmall boats to be filled with ſoldiers, and where any of his companies were oppreſſed, he ſent them ſuccour; by this means the chief of the foot were landed, which was no ſooner done than they charged fiercely upon the Britons, and put them to flight.‡ Yet this victory was by no means compleat, for the want of the horſemen to purſue them.

* Philoſophical Tranſactions. No. 193. Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. chap. i.

† Vide Speed's Chron. and Lambardes' Peramb. of Kent.

‡ Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 39.

A. A. C. 55. Cæſar having landed his army, and repulſed the opponents, encamped near the ſhore; but the Britons were ſo dejected and diſmayed, that they concluded amongſt themſelves, the beſt method which they could purſue would be to ſubmit to Cæſar: therefore, they ſent ambaſſadors to him a ſecond time, with Comius of Artois, whom they had now releaſed from his confinement; and excuſed themſelves for having put him in bonds, laying all the blame of that tranſaction upon the fury of the common people; they alſo ſued to Cæſar for peace, and proffered to give him hoſtages. He gently reproving them, conſented to take their hoſtages; part of which were immediately delivered, and the reſt promiſed to be ſent in a few days. After this, the Britiſh chiefs reſorted from every quarter, and ſubmitted themſelves and their cities to Cæſar.*

Britons ſue for peace.

The loſſes ſuſtained by the Romans.

The fourth day after the arrival of the Romans in Britain, the ſhips in which the Roman cavalry were embarked, were diſperſed, and driven back by a great tempeſt; and alſo, by the ſpring tides, Cæſar's ſhips and galleys, which were near, and upon the ſhore, were broken and ſpoiled. The Britons perceiving theſe unfortunate accidents to have happened to the Romans, began by degrees to withdraw from the camp, and privately to aſſemble their men out of the country. Cæſar ſeeing the delay of the Britons in the delivery of the remainder of the hoſtages, ſuſpected their deſigns, therefore he quickly made every proviſion neceſſary for the camp, and repaired his ſhips with the loſs of twelve, which were broken up and uſed.†

The Britons again begin the war.

The Britons now broke out into open hoſtilities with the Romans, and made a fierce attack upon one of their legions, which was foraging; but Cæſar, with the reſt of the troops, coming timely to their aid, they re-recovered their camp again without much loſs: theſe accidents were followed by many ſtormy days, which confined the Romans to their camp. In the mean time, the Britons carefully publiſhed abroad the ſmallneſs of the numbers of their enemies; and invited all their neighbours to join with them in making a noble ſtruggle for the recovery of their liberty; the thoughts of ſhaking off the threatening oppreſſion glowed in their breaſts, and they joyfully flocked from every quarter: and aſſembling together a numerous hoſt, they reſolved immediately to attack the Roman entrenchment; but Cæſar, as ſoon as he was informed of their intentions, brought his men out of the camp, and drew them up in battle array before the entrance; a fierce engagement enſued, but in the end the Britons were totally overcome; and the Romans purſuing them, made a prodigious ſlaughter, and burnt their houſes on every ſide.‡

Cæſar returns to Gaul.

The victory obtained, Cæſar withdrew into his camp; and the ſame day the miſerable remnant of the Britons ſent their ambaſſadors to him again to pacify his anger, and ſue for peace. Reproving them for their diſingenuity, he charged them with a double number of hoſtages, and

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 25.
† Ib. c. 26. et Dion. Hiſt. Rom. l. 39.
‡ Cæſ. cap. 30, 31.

com-

commanded them to be brought over into Gaul to him. Cæſar having thus ſettled his affairs in Britain, took the firſt fair opportunity of departing thence; and a little after midnight weighing anchor, he returned into Gaul, leaving the Britons to the performances of their promiſes.* A. A. C. 55.

This was the end of Cæſar's firſt expedition, according to his own account of it: yet we find a very ſhort ſtep made towards the conqueſt of the iſland: and indeed his precipitate departure, not even waiting for the delivery of the hoſtages which were demanded, and forſaking entirely thoſe advantages which he had gained, ſeem ſtrong indications of his having met with a much warmer reception from the Britons than he had expected. Yet ſo greatly did he extol this performance, in the letters which he ſent to Rome, that the ſenate decreed a ſupplication of twenty days to his honour. But all that was gained by this exploit, either for his own advantage, or public benefit, was the glory of the undertaking.†

Prepares for a ſecond expedition.

No ſooner was Cæſar ſafely arrived in Gaul, than he iſſued forth his orders for preparations to be made, neceſſary for a ſecond invaſion of Britain; and commanded his lieutenants to build him as many new ſhips as they could during the courſe of the winter, and to repair ſuch of the old ones as were damaged; but he cauſed ſome neceſſary variations to be made in thoſe ſhips which were new built, from the uſual method adopted by the Romans. In the firſt place, they were made lower, for the conveniency of loading; and again, they were made broader, the better to contain the horſes, and things of great weight. Theſe orders were ſo punctually complied with, that on Cæſar's return to Gaul in the ſpring, he found ſix hundred ſhips and twenty-eight gallies, all ready to be ſet afloat in a few days.

A. A. C. 54.

Cæſar fails again to Britain.

The ſpring advancing, Cæſar ordered his fleet to meet him at Calais,‡ from whence he knew was the ſhorteſt cut into Britain; which order was carefully obeyed by all his fleet; forty ſhips excepted, which were driven back again by a violent tempeſt. Cæſar embarked with five legions of foot, and two thouſand horſemen, ſetting ſail at ſun-ſet; (probably about the month of May, or June) and at noon he reached Britain, where he landed without the leaſt oppoſition; for the Britons, diſmayed at the appearance of the Roman fleet, which ſeemed ſo numerous, had left the ſhore, and retired higher up into the country.§ When Cæſar had landed his troops, he learnt, from certain fugitives, where the chief forces of the Britons were poſted. He reſolved inſtantly to purſue them; therefore, having fixed on a proper place for his camp, he left his ſhips at anchor, with ten cohorts and three hundred horſemen to guard them; ſetting forward about the third watch with the main body of his army towards the enemy. When he had marched about twelve miles, in the night, he came in ſight of the Britons, who had taken poſt by a river's ſide,‖

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 32.
† Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. xxxix.
‡ Portus Itius.
§ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 7.
‖ Thought to be the Stour, in Kent.

and

A. A. C. 54. and were poſſeſſed of the riſing grounds, from whence with their chariots and horſemen they made a vigorous attack upon the Romans; but being at laſt repulſed by Cæſar's cavalry, they retired into the woods, where they occupied a ſtrong place, well fortified both by nature and by art;* for with timber which they had cut down, they had cloſely barricadoed all the paſſes; themſelves ſallying out in ſmall parties to defend the entrenchment, and prevent the Romans from poſſeſſing the entrances. But the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion having raiſed a mount, marched (firmly knit together) under the covert of their ſhields, and without the loſs of much blood, took poſſeſſion of the fortification, and drove the Britons from the woods. But Cæſar would not permit his ſoldiers to make any long purſuit, becauſe the day was far advanced, and he knew they were unacquainted with the nature of the country. The reſt of the evening he ſpent in fortifying his camp.†

Cæſar's ſhips damaged.

Early the next morning Cæſar divided his army into three bodies, and ſent them out in purſuit of the fugitive Britons; who, however, were not gone far, for their rear was deſcried by the Roman ſoldiers when they had proceeded but a ſmall diſtance from their camp. All things being thus diſpoſed, a ſudden accident put a ſtop to the purſuit; Cæſar received the diſagreeable news from Q. Atrius (whom he had left to guard the fleet) that in the night, by means of a dreadful tempeſt, his ſhips had all of them ſuſtained great damage, and many of them were quite deſtroyed. On the reception of this alarming account, Cæſar recalled his troops, and with his whole force haſted back to the camp, where he ſoon beheld the miſerable devaſtation. However, not diſmayed with this unexpected ſhock, he immediately cauſed thoſe ſhips which were left to be repaired; and ſuch was the activity of his ſoldiers, that in ten days the navy was again put into good order, with the loſs of forty ſhips only. This done, with great labour they were drawn upon the ſhore, and incloſed within the camp. Having thus made them ſecure, he left the ſame guard as before in the entrenchment, and with his army returned again to the place where he had defeated the Britons.‡

The Britons elect a general.

It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange that the Britons ſhould have let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of diſtreſſing the Romans as appears now to have offered; for whilſt they were attentively buſy in the reparation of their fleet, they might have been attacked with great probability of ſucceſs. But it ſeems that they were employed in a different manner during this interval, as in the electing of a general, the ſtrengthening their confederacy, and increaſing their power. Convinced, as they were, of the ſuperior force of the Roman legions, they now reſolved to enter into a ſtrong combination, and for a time to ſacrifice their private animoſities to the public good. Happy if theſe reſolutions had been as faithfully followed as they were prudently made! The public choice fell upon Caſi-

* Writers in general have ſuppoſed this entrenchment was made ſomewhere about the ſpot on which Canterbury now ſtands.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. libi v. cap. 8.

‡ Ibid. cap. 9.

bellanus,

bellanus, prince of the Caſſi, or Cativellauni,* who was accordingly elected general. He was a man of approved valour and experience, who had long before the arrival of Cæſar been buſied in continual wars and diſcords with the neighbouring cities; nor muſt we here paſs over a very important ſubject, which offers to view:——the death of Imanuentius, the king of the Trinobantes, whom Caſibellanus had ſlain, and uſurped the government of that dominion. Mandubratus, the ſon of Imanuentius, in order to ſecure his own life, fled from Britain into Gaul, ſeeking the protection of Cæſar; and with the view of revenging himſelf on Caſibellanus, he is thought to have perſuaded Cæſar to undertake this war againſt the Britons.† A. A. C. 54.

Caſibellanus's conduct.

Caſibellanus placed at the head of the Britiſh forces, endeavoured in the firſt place to hinder the licentious marches of the Roman troops, ſallying out upon them, when an occaſion ſerved, with his chariots and horſes, and ſkirmiſhing fiercely with them; but finding he was not able to cope with them, he made his retreat to the hills, and the Romans too eager in their purſuit, had a conſiderable number of their detachment cut off by the flying parties of the Britons. After this time the Britons retired, and lay cloſe in the woods, waiting a proper opportunity of attacking the Romans; which they did in a ſudden manner, as they were fortifying their camp, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger; for the Britons iſſuing with great impetuoſity from the woods, fell furiouſly upon the party ſet to guard the trenches, and a fierce engagement enſued. Cæſar alarmed for their ſafety, ſent out two cohorts to their ſuccour, but before they joined their fellows, the deſperate Britons ſeeing their danger, broke through the midſt of the two parties, and retired, with little loſs, to their ſecret receſſes.‡ On the part of the Romans, (amongſt others) Q. Laberius Durus, a tribune, was ſlain.§ The next day after this encounter, the Britons appeared at a diſtance upon the hills in ſtraggling parties, ſhewing themſelves but ſeldom; nor did they make their attacks ſo often, or ſo ſharply, as they had done the day before. Cæſar preſuming from theſe circumſtances, that they would not venture another engagement with his troops, ſent out three legions, and all the horſe, with Caius Trebonius, a lieutenant, to forage: when on a ſudden the Britons iſſued from the woods with great impetuoſity, and fell upon the Romans on every ſide. But the horſemen of the Romans bearing down cloſely upon them, ſupported and followed by the foot, ſlew a great number, giving them no time to rally again, or leap from their chariots to oppoſe them.‖

Caſibellanus retires from Cæſar.

This diſcomfiture ſo damped the ſpirits of the Britons, that they diſbanded themſelves, and no more united their whole power to oppoſe the Romans. Caſibellanus, their general, alſo diſcouraged by the defection of his allies, and their continual murmurs, ſeeing that his troops were

* The ancient inhabitants of Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 16.

‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 11.

§ Stow, quoting the Chronicle of Wygmore, ſays, this action happened at Cheſton wood, near where Rocheſter now ſtands.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 13.

not

A. A. C. 54. not an equal match with the Romans in a pitched battle, reſolved to retire into his own territories, and to act only on the defenſive. Cæſar purſued the Britons along the banks of the Thames, and at laſt reſolved upon entering the dominion of Caſibellanus. This crafty general ſuſpecting that the Roman chief would moſt probably form ſuch a deſign, cauſed ſtrong ſharp ſtakes to be ſet down into the bottom of the river, in the only place where it was fordable, which was ſo artfully performed that they were entirely hid by the water from the ſight of the Roman ſoldiers;* and this ſtratagem would doubtleſs have been productive of a happy effect, but that Cæſar getting intelligence thereof by the means of ſome fugitives, his troops were as careful as poſſible to avoid them. Cæſar being come to the brink of the river, found the oppoſite bank was poſſeſſed by a great army of the enemy, who ſeemed prepared to reſiſt his troops: he then ſent his horſes firſt into the river, and commanded the foot to follow; and ſo ſudden were they in paſſing the ſtream, (although they could but juſt keep their heads above the water) and ſo violent was their attack upon the Britons, that they ſoon gave back, and retired further up into the country.†

Various ſtates ſubmit to Cæſar.

Whilſt Cæſar was upon his march, the Trinobantes, one of the chief provinces of Britain, through their diſlike to Caſibellanus, who had ſlain their king, took this opportunity of revenge; for, finding that Mandubratus, their prince, was with Cæſar, and under his protection, they ſent ambaſſadors to him, ſubmitting themſelves to his direction, and offering him hoſtages; at the ſame time intreating him to protect their prince from the injuries of Caſibellanus, and ſend him back to take the government of their ſtate upon him. Cæſar willingly complied with their requeſts, ſending Mandubratus to them, demanding only forty hoſtages, and a certain quantity of proviſions for his army; which demand they inſtantly complied with. Their example was followed by the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and the Caſſi. Cæſar derived great advantage from the ſubmiſſion of theſe ſtates, becauſe from them he received ſuch information as he deſired concerning Caſibellanus, and alſo was directed to his city, which was ſtrongly fortified about with woods and marſhy grounds; in which, he was informed, there was placed a great number of men, and much cattle. He therefore determined to march thither, and attack the Britons in their fortreſs, in hopes either to kill or take Caſibellanus, and to diſperſe his allies.‡

Caſibellanus diſbands part of his army.

Caſibellanus, in the mean time, well knowing that it would be impoſſible with open force to oppoſe the paſſage of the Romans, diſbanded the greater part of his army, retaining only about four thouſand chariots, and under covert of the woods watched carefully the route which Cæſar and his army took; he alſo drove away the cattle and the people

* Two ancient authors affirm, that theſe ſtakes were to be ſeen in their days: they are ſaid to have been of the bigneſs of a man's thigh, bound about with lead, and driven into the bed of the river. Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 2. & Ann. Aſſer.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. cap. 14 & 15.

‡ Ibid. cap. 17.

from

from thence into the woods, and haraſſed the Romans in their marches, A. A. C. 54.
ſetting furiouſly upon all ſuch as were ſent out to forage; ſo that Cæſar, to enſure his own ſafety, was obliged to reſtrain his men from ſtraggling far from the main body, and to confine their plunders within the limits of their march.

Cæſar takes the city of Caſibellanus.

Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, Cæſar reſolutely marched up to the city of Caſibellanus,* and commanding his army to ſtorm it in two places at once, they ſoon gained an entrance, and put the Britons to flight, great numbers of them were ſlain, the reſt eſcaped at the oppoſite ſide, hiding themſelves in the deep receſſes of the woods, whilſt Cæſar plundered the town, and found great ſtore of cattle and proviſions. Caſibellanus, like a brave and noble general, not yet caſt down with theſe repeated ſhocks of evil fortune, formed an excellent and truly political ſcheme; for, recollecting how far the Romans were come from their ſhips, and being informed how ſmall the numbers were which were left to guard them, imagined that a favourable opportunity offered to deſtroy the fleet; therefore, he diſpatched ſpeedy meſſages to the four kings of Kent, Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taxamagulus, and Segonax, exhorting them to gather all the forces together that they could, in order to make an attack upon the Roman ſoldiers left behind in the camp, and to burn the fleet. Theſe orders they inſtantly obeyed, but indeed with ill ſucceſs; for the victorious Romans beat them from the camp, with great ſlaughter, and took Cingetorix priſoner.†

Caſibellanus ſubmits to Cæſar.

This laſt effort of the unfortunate Caſibellanus ſucceeding ſo ill, together with the diſſentions and controverſies of his allies, and the faithleſſneſs of the Britiſh ſtates, at laſt reduced him to ſuch ſtraights, that ſeeing no hopes of defending his territories any longer, and having performed all the duties of a true patriot and a valiant ſoldier, he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſevere decrees of fate, ſending ambaſſadors to Cæſar to ſue for peace; alſo, the better to gain his favour, he ſent with them Comius of Artois, Cæſar's friend. This ſubmiſſion of Caſibellanus was a moſt fortunate event for Cæſar; for, as he had determined to winter in Gaul, and the ſeaſon was now advancing, he by this means put a much quicker end to the war, than could have been expected. However, he received the ambaſſadors with the air of a conqueror, and demanded a certain number of hoſtages to be delivered up, and ſtipulated a tribute to be annually paid to the Romans; he alſo ſtrictly commanded Caſibellanus, in no manner of ſort to oppreſs Mandubratus, or the people of his dominion. This done, Cæſar taking the hoſtages, marched back to his fleet, and at two embarkations returned again with his army into Gaul.‡

Obſervations on Cæſar's expedition.

We ſhould be very glad to have known how great the annual tribute was, which Cæſar laid upon the Britons.§ It ſeems, indeed, to have

* Suppoſed to ſtand on the very ſpot where Verulam was afterwards built.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 18.

‡ Ibid. cap. 19.

§ Speed, quoting an old anonymous Chronicle, ſays, it was eſtimated at three thouſand pounds yearly. Vide Speed's Chr. fol. 49.

A. A. C. 54. been demanded only to ſave his honour, and add a conſequence to his expedition: for how could he ever expect that it ſhould be paid by the Britons, when he neither erected one ſingle fort upon the land, nor left one ſingle cohort, to enforce the payment. Theſe conſiderations have led ſeveral judicious authors to conjecture, that he has ſet his exploits in Britain in a much more favourable light than is conſiſtent with truth; and when any one ſhall reflect on his unbounded ambition, and love of fame, this opinion will ſeem far from improbable. Beſides, the expence of this undertaking we may eaſily conceive was very conſiderable; and the fatigues which he and his army underwent, far more than equal to the victories, or profits which accrued to him from it. So that the whole conſidered, there was but little juſt reaſon for him to boaſt of his enterprize; and of this himſelf ſeems to have been convinced, as he now left the iſland with a reſolution never to return to it again.

From A. A. C. 54. to A. D. 40.

From the departure of Cæſar to the invaſion of Claudius, a ſpace of ninety-ſeven years, we find but little authentic matter concerning the affairs of this realm: for during the whole of this time, the Britons met with no actual diſturbance, and but few alarms, from foreign enemies: ſo that the ancient authors have either entirely neglected the accounts of Britain, or what they have ſaid is ſo diſperſed, and ſo trifling, that the moſt which can be collected from them will throw but a faint and uncertain light upon the tranſactions of this people. Thus much appears to be certain, that ſoon after Cæſar left Britain, and the fears of a foreign enemy were diſſipated, they broached afreſh their inteſtine quarrels; and the whole land was preſently rent and torn with different factions, and civil broils.*

Civil wars amongſt the Britons.

In theſe wars, Caſibellanus and his ſucceſſors, with their ſubjects the Cattivellauni, ſo far prevailed above the reſt, that they reduced to their rule the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, and ſeveral other chief nations. Amidſt this general confuſion, thoſe nations ſeem to have been the moſt grievouſly oppreſſed who had ſo lately ſubmitted themſelves to Cæſar, and implored his protection: for of theſe, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Segontiaci, were ſo abſolutely conquered, that they loſt both name and conſequence as diſtinct ſtates, and from this time are no more mentioned by ſucceeding writers.†

Cunobelinus, a powerful prince.

During the reign of Auguſtus, there flouriſhed in this realm a king of great repute called Cunobelinus, (and ſaid by ſome to be the ſucceſſor of Caſibellanus). He was by far the moſt powerful prince of this period, and ſeems to have arrived at ſuch a pitch of grandeur and royalty, as was unknown in Britain before his time: for his rule extended over almoſt all the ſouthern part of the kingdom; his chief ſeat was at Camulodunum,‡ which royal city is ſaid in general by the modern authors to have been at

* Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. i. chap. 1.

† Ibid. & Stow's Chr. & Speed's Chr.

‡ See Camden, Speed, &c.

Maldon, in Eſſex. After his death, his dominions were divided between his widow Cartiſmandua, the queen of the Brigantes, and his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who were the moſt conſiderable princes in Britain when it was invaded by Claudius.* From A. A. C. 54. to A. D. 43.

Soon after Cæſar's return from Britain, the Roman ſtate, embroiled by civil diſſentions, turned their ſwords againſt each other. During theſe alarming commotions, Britain was forgot, and the tribute ſo far from being paid, was not even demanded; and this not only during the wars, but even long after peace and quietneſs was eſtabliſhed in the empire. Auguſtus indeed thought proper to threaten the Britons with an invaſion, which, however, he never accompliſhed; being convinced, perhaps, that the expence of carrying on the war would be far greater than the profits he could expect to reap from the conqueſt; and this was what he called "Reaſon of State."† Civil wars at Rome prevent the tribute being demanded.

Yet to add the greater terror to his threats, in the ſixth year of his reign a preparation was made, and he marched his troops forward into Gaul, when he received information that the Pannonians had revolted; therefore, altering his reſolutions relative to Britain, he turned his power againſt the rebels.‡ Thus were the Britons for a time relieved from their fears. A. A. C. 25. Auguſtus threatens to invade Britain.

Four years after, he opened the temple of Janus at Rome, threatening again to invade Britain; but when he had marched as far as Ariminum, he was met by certain ambaſſadors, ſent from ſeveral of the Britiſh ſtates, who ſubmitting themſelves to him, humbly begged his protection, and ſued for peace.§ Auguſtus, contented with theſe aſſurances, altered his intentions, and with his forces turned aſide to quiet ſome diſturbances which had ariſen in Gaul. But as theſe promiſes were moſt likely only made by ſome few of the Britiſh ſtates, whoſe intereſt might greatly depend upon the favour of the Romans, the whole of the tribute was far from being paid. A. A. C. 21. He repeats his threats.

The emperor, apparently incenſed at theſe delays, with great threatening made preparations a third time to puniſh the neglect of the Britons; but juſt as he was on the point of ſetting forward, an actual rebellion in Biſcay prevented him. Thus, after all theſe ſpecious appearances, the Britons ſtill continued unmoleſted, and in ſafety. However, they ſeem in ſome meaſure to have been intimidated; for, as ſoon as they heard of the anger of Auguſtus, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, excuſing themſelves to Cæſar, and entreating peace; they alſo ſwore fealty to him in the temple of Mars, and brought large gifts with them, which were laid up in the capitol.‖ From this time, the Britons A. A. C. 20. His threats again repeated.

* Dion. in Claud.
† Tacit. in Vita Agric.
‡ Dion. in Vita Auguſt.
§ Ibid.
‖ Dion Caſſ. lib. liii. I may here add, that the Britiſh Hiſtories ſpeak of a king, named Theomantius, or Tenuantis, who ſucceeded Caſibellanus. "This man, (ſays Rapin) ſent rich preſents to the emperor, which were laid up in the capitol." But what authority he had for this aſſertion is very uncertain.

A. A. C. 21. to A. D. 43. willingly paid tolls and impoſts upon all ſuch commodities as they purchaſed of the merchants.*

Tiberius would not invade Britain.

In the ſame manner, Tiberius (after the death of Auguſtus, whom he ſucceeded in the empire) received the preſents, and took the willing tribute of the Britons, abſtaining from all hoſtilities. During the reign of this emperor, the Britons and Romans ſeem to have kept up a perfect good underſtanding one with the other, as we may reaſonably conclude, from the tender and humane treatment which ſome of the ſoldiers of Germanicus met with, who were ſhipwrecked upon the coaſt of Britain, where they were well received by the petty kings, who ruled in thoſe parts, and ſent in ſafety back to their general.†

A. D. 40.

Caligula's fooliſh expedition.

The ſenſeleſs and wicked Caligula, who ſucceeded Tiberius in the empire, made great preparations for the invaſion of Britain; but when he had with his army proceeded as far as thoſe parts of Holland which lie facing Norfolk, there met him ſome miſerable Britons, who ſubmitted themſelves to him, and begged his protection. At the head of theſe fugitives came Admimus, the ſon of Cunobellinus, who had been baniſhed from Britain by his father; but for what particular cauſe is not recorded. Caligula received him gladly, and wrote letters to the ſenate at Rome, replete with boaſtings, and extolling his great ſucceſs, with as much confidence, as if all Britain had already been his own. Not content with all this idle vaunting, amongſt other mad and extravagant exploits, he cauſed all his men to be drawn up in their ranks, and to be ſet in battle array upon the ſea-ſhore; he alſo cauſed the baliſtas, and other inſtruments of war, to be placed in proper order, as if he was actually upon the point of engaging with the enemy: all which being done according to his command, he went himſelf into a galley which he ordered to put from the ſhore, and to proceed ſome ſmall diſtance upon the ſea; when returning again, he cauſed the trumpet to ſound the charge of battle, and iſſued forth his command for every man to fill his helmet with the ſhells that lay upon the beach, declaring, that he had now ſubdued the ocean, and that thoſe were the ſpoils, which were well worthy of a place in the capitol, amongſt the various and honourable trophies of conquered nations. He then greatly commended the courage of his ſoldiers, and rewarded them profuſely;‡ and after he had built a tower upon the ſpot, a laſting memorial of his unequalled folly! he returned to Rome, demanding a triumph for his memorable exploit.§

The ſecurity of the Britons.

Thus Britain remained a long time unmoleſted, notwithſtanding the late preparations made by the Romans; and this laſt ridiculous expedi-

* Strabo, lib. iv.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 5.

‡ Dion. lib. 59. & Sueton. in Vita, C. Calig.

§ Of this tower, ſays Camden, there are great ruins in Holland, but overflowed with the water, and to this day called *Bryton's Houſe*, in remembrance of this ridiculous expedition againſt Britain, where they often find ſtones with inſcriptions; one of which had theſe capitals upon it, C. C. P. F. thus interpreted, Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit. Camd. Brit. Stow's Chron. Vide Speed, &c.

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tion of Caligula entirely ſuppreſſed their fears, and rendered them ſo ſecure, that when Claudius (the ſucceſſor of Caligula) cauſed an actual invaſion to take place, they had neglected the making any neceſſary preparations; not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the reality of his deſign, until the arrival of the Roman legions convinced them he was in earneſt.* A. D. 40.

The Britons had long neglected to pay the tribute to the Romans, and Claudius taking the province affairs into ſerious conſideration, was determined to reduce them to obedience; and he was the more particularly moved to the commencement of hoſtilities by the inſtigation of a fugitive Briton, named Bericus, he being expelled from his native country, as a ſeditious and dangerous perſon, fled to Rome, ſupplicating the protection of the emperor; who, by his advice and perſuaſion, was entirely confirmed in his intentions. Wherefore, he ſent an army over into Britain, which conſiſted of four legions; who, with their auxiliaries and the cavalry, amounted to the full number of fifty thouſand men; and over theſe Aulus Plautius, a man of conſular dignity, was elected general. Under him in command, was Veſpaſianus, (who was afterwards emperor) and his brother Sabinus, with other excellent officers. The emperor alſo ordered the general, that if he ſhould meet with any great or unexpected reſiſtance from the Britons, he ſhould write to Rome, and he himſelf would come over into Britain in perſon to aid him.† A. D. 43.

Claudius ſends A. Plautius into Britain.

Aulus Plautius arriving at Britain, landed his men without any oppoſition from the Britons, who ſeemed not in the leaſt to have ſuſpected the reality of the emperor's deſign. At this time alſo, Cunobellinus being dead, his dominions were divided between his widow, Cartiſmandua, and his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus. Beſides, the harmony which ſubſiſted between theſe parties, was by no means ſuch as might have been expected from their near relation, nor ſuch as the ſafety of the realm required.‡

Aulus Plautius lands in Britain.

The two princes, however, upon the firſt news of the arrival of the Romans, armed their ſubjects, and withdrew into the woods; for it was not their deſign to come to an open engagement with the Roman troops, but rather to protract the time till the winter ſhould ſet in, when they expected for certainty that their enemies would depart again, as Julius Cæſar with his forces had done heretofore. But Plautius preſently on his arrival, marched up into the country, (guided, no doubt, by the ſeditious Bericus, to the places where his friends reſided, and where his chief intereſt lay, which ſeems to have been moſtly amongſt the Cattivellauni and Dobuni) and by his direction, the Romans firſt came up with Caractacus, whom they defeated; and preſently after, they engaged with his brother Togodumnus, whom they alſo overcame. Theſe important victories obtained, great part of the Dobuni ſubmitted to the Romans: theſe, moſt probably, were the ſubjects of Cogidunus, a prince beloved and eſteemed

He overcomes Caractacus and Togodumnus.

* Dion. lib. lx.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.

by

A. D. 43. by the emperor Claudius, as well for his early ſubmiſſion, as for his ſteady adherence to the Roman cauſe.*

Another action between the Britons and Romans.

Plautius having firſt left a garriſon amongſt the Dobuni, purſued the flying Britons, who had taken ſhelter behind a large river, where they were encamped, thinking themſelves well ſecured, as they knew the river was deep, and that there was no bridge over which the Romans could paſs to attack them. But Plautius perceiving the advantage they poſſeſſed, cauſed ſome of his German auxiliaries (who were excellent ſwimmers) to paſs the river; which they had no ſooner done, than, inſtead of attacking the Britiſh army, they ſet upon their chariot horſes, which they wounded and ham-ſtringed, rendering them entirely unfit for ſervice. In the mean time, Veſpaſianus having paſſed the water with his troops, (unknown to the Britons) in another place, ſet upon them ſuddenly, and a vaſt number of them were ſlain. Yet the hardy Britons obſtinately reſiſting, would not turn their backs, but maintained their ground with great bravery until the next day, when a moſt grievous and bloody conflict enſued; for ſome time the ſcales of victory hung doubtful, but at laſt the good fortune of the Romans preponderated, and the Britons, no longer able to reſiſt, were put to flight. This conqueſt was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of C. Sidias Geta; whoſe courage in this bloody conflict, was rewarded with triumphal honours at Rome, though he himſelf had not yet attained to the honour of the conſular degree.†

The Britons conquered again.

The Britons thus defeated, made their retreat to the north ſide of the Thames, which they paſſed at a place where the marſhes, and ſtagnated waters, occaſioned by the overflowing of the river, rendered the paſſage both difficult and dangerous, eſpecially to the Romans, who were unacquainted with the nature of the place; but the Germans, regardleſs of the danger, followed the enemy, and the reſt of the Roman army paſſing the river over a bridge, which they found a little higher up,‡ came upon the Britons, and gave them another ſignal overthrow. But the Roman ſoldiers being too eager in the purſuit, a great number of them periſhed in the bogs and ſwamps.§ In this conflict alſo, the Britons loſt Togodumnus, one of their chief generals, and the ſon of Cunobellinus.

Plautius ſends for the emperor.

Notwithſtanding the Romans had ſo far ſucceeded, and defeated the Britons with conſiderable ſlaughter; yet was there no proſpect of concluding the war as yet, for the Britons far from making any advances towards a peace, or expreſſing the leaſt ſubmiſſion, ſeemed only the more exaſperated, and the more inſatiate in their thirſt of revenge: wherefore,

* Tacit. in Vita Agric..

† Dion. lib. lx.

‡ Rapin makes the following remark upon this paſſage: "Notwithſtanding the authority of Dion Caſſius, it is improbable there ſhould have been a ford ſo near the Thames' mouth, as the ſcene of this action ſeems to have been laid; or a bridge a little higher up. He ſeems (adds my author) to have confounded ſome river, which runs into the Thames, with the Thames itſelf. Rapin. Hiſt. Eng. vol. i. book i.

§ Dion. lib lx.

Plautius

Plautius diſpatched meſſengers to the emperor, ſignifying to him, that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary to put a final concluſion to the war. Claudius gladly received this ſummons, and having made great preparations, with a mighty army, both of horſe and foot, paſſed over into Britain; alſo with his army he brought large elephants, whoſe ſtrange and tremendous appearance in battle might damp the courage of the Britons.* A. D. 43.

The ſucceſs of Claudius's expedition.

When Claudius had landed his forces in Britain, he encamped near the Thames; ſoon after which he paſſed the river, and entered into the country of the Trinobantes, where he had a ſharp conflict with the Britons: but in the end the Britiſh forces were totally overthrown, and the Romans got poſſeſſion of Camulodunum, the chief city of Cunobellinus.† Soon after, Cæſar won ſeveral other towns and ſtates, which were of great conſequence; ſo that when he had received the ſubmiſſion of ſuch princes as were obliged, or diſpoſed, to ſeek an alliance with him, he appointed Plautius the firſt governor of this new province, and returned back to Rome in leſs than ſix months from his firſt ſetting out, entering the city in triumph.‡

The ſucceſs of Veſpaſian.

Veſpaſianus (whom Claudius had left the ſecond in command) ſucceeded ſo well in his office, that he not only acquired great eſteem and honour, but laid the firſt foundation of his future glory and greatneſs. At the head of one of the diviſions of the Roman troops, he carried on the war againſt the Belgic Britons, who inhabited the ſea-coaſts from Kent to the land's end. Here in the courſe of a few years, after thirty ſharp conflicts, he ſubdued the Belgæ, together with the Deurotriges, two of the moſt powerful nations in thoſe parts. He alſo took above twenty towns, and entirely conquered the iſle of Wight.§ In the mean time, Aulus Plautius made war upon the inland Britons, who were commanded by Caractacus. We are not informed of the particular exploits of Plautius, but we find, in general, he was ſo ſucceſsful, that on his return to Rome he was honoured with an ovation, or leſſer triumph, the emperor walking at his left hand to the capitol.‖

When Plautius was recalled in the year of our Lord 47, the direction of the affairs in this iſland ſeems to have been managed by legates, or the commanders of the legions, to the year 50, at which time, Oſtorius Sca- A. D. 47.

* Dion. lib. lx.

† Thus ſays Dion. Caſſius; but Suetonius affirms, that he came over into Britain, and that part of the iſland ſubmitted to him within a few days after his arrival, without either battle or bloodſhed; which laſt account ſeems to be confirmed by this inſcription, given by Dr. Henry in his Hiſtory of Britain.

TI. CLAVDIO CÆS.
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI MAX. TR. P. IX.
COS. V. IMP. XVI. P. P.
SENATVS POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQVE
VLLA IACTVRA DOMVERIT
GENTESQVE BARBARAS
PRIMVS INDICIO SUBEGERIT.
See Wright's Travels, page 293.

‡ Dion, ut ſup. & Suet. in Claud. § Suet. in Vita Veſp. ‖ Dion & Sueton, ut ſup.

pula

A. D. 50. pula was deputed by the emperor to take upon him the government of Britain.

Oſtorius lands in Britain.

Oſtorius, at his firſt arrival, found all things in great confuſion; the enemy were plundering the allies of the Romans; and they committed theſe depredations with the greater boldneſs, becauſe they were not under any apprehenſions (as the winter was now begun) that the new general would enter the field againſt them, at the head of troops, which he was as yet but a ſtranger to. But he, on the other hand, prudently conſidered, that a ſudden check put upon their proceedings, muſt be every way advantageous to the Roman affairs: therefore, collecting his army together with all convenient ſpeed, he marched forward againſt thoſe who were in arms, and overcame them with great ſlaughter; purſuing thoſe which fled, and were ſtraggling abroad. And that he might render the province the more ſecure from the neighbouring enemies, he erected a chain of forts upon the banks of the rivers Nen and Severn; alſo to prevent any inteſtine diſcord, he cauſed all buſy, or ſuſpected perſons, as well ſubjects as allies, to deliver up their arms.*

The Iceni revolt.

This laſt policy of Oſtorius was the occaſion of a new war; for the Iceni,† (who had very early, and of their own accord, ſought the alliance of the Romans) incenſed at this tyrannical command, choſe rather to revolt than ſurrender up their arms. Wherefore, gathering all their forces, and being joined by ſome neighbouring ſtates, they took the field againſt Oſtorius, having got poſſeſſion of a place encompaſſed with a rude high trench, and inacceſſible to the cavalry; becauſe it had but one entrance, and that was purpoſely made as narrow as poſſible. Oſtorius, therefore, commanded his men to attack them in their entrenchment, which they preſently entered, when an obſtinate and bloody conflict enſued; but in the end the Britons were overcome, and being hampered in their own encloſures, were totally defeated, notwithſtanding their deſperate reſiſtance: for ſeeing all the paſſages through which they might hope to eſcape entirely ſtopped up, they reſolved to die bravely, and ſell their lives at as great a price as poſſible. This ſlaughter of the Iceni fixed the wavering reſolutions of many, and inclined them to peace, who waited but to ſee the ſucceſs of this revolt, and to make their final determination, either for peace or war.‡

The Cangi overcome.

Oſtorius having gained this important conqueſt, marched his troops againſt the Cangi, whoſe country he waſted and ſpoiled; the miſerable inhabitants not daring to take the field againſt him. When he had proceeded as far as the ſea-coaſts which looked towards Ireland, his progreſs was ſtopped by the information which he received, that the Brigantines§ were upon the point of revolting: this he no ſooner heard, than, altering his courſe, he marched with his army againſt them; where he put to

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8.

† The Iceni inhabited the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.

‡ Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

§ The Brigantines inhabited Yorkſhire, &c.

death

death ſome few who had taken up arms, and the reſt, on promiſe of peace, were pardoned. His next ſtep was to ſecure the conqueſts which he had made; therefore, he planted a numerous colony of veteran ſoldiers at Camulodunum.* A. D. 50.

No ſooner had Oſtorius thus prudently reſtored peace and quietneſs to the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, than freſh diſturbances called him to the field again. The reſtleſs Silures,† with Caractacus at their head, (who by his prudence and valour had made his name famous) were up in arms, and threatened deſtruction to the Roman power. To put a ſudden and effectual end to this growing evil, the Roman general, with the chief of his troops, marched towards the territories of the Ordovices,‡ for the crafty leader of the Britiſh forces having got together a numerous army, took the advantage of transferring the war from his own to another ſtate; where, with his whole hoſt, he waited the coming of the Romans: he was encamped in a moſt advantageous place, for he had fortified a ſtrong hill,§ before which there flowed a large river, the fords of which were difficult and uncertain. Alſo, to prevent the ſoldiers from landing on the oppoſite banks, he placed a great body of his beſt ſoldiers by the river-ſide, and directly before the entrenchment. All things thus prudently diſpoſed, he himſelf encouraged his men, to make a brave and noble reſiſtance; adding, in a pathetic and animating manner, that "On the fortune of that day depended the glorious re-eſta-"bliſhment of their liberties, or the perpetual ſhame of bondage and "ſervitude." He then invoked the names of their anceſtors, who had chaced Cæſar the dictator out of Britain, and by whoſe valour they were delivered from the impoſitions of the Romans, and their wives and children protected from diſgrace. Theſe words were received with repeated clamours of applauſe and approbation; and ſuch was their happy effect, that glory glowed in every Britiſh breaſt, for every man lift up his hand, and ſwore by the powers which he adored, that either death or conqueſt ſhould put an end to his labours. ‖

Caractacus oppoſes the Romans.

Oſtorius, aſtoniſhed at the valiant appearance of the Britons, as alſo the advantages of the poſt which they poſſeſſed, became doubtful of ſucceſs. But the ſoldiers themſelves loudly demanded battle, beſeeching him to lead them forward to the enemy. He therefore examining what places of the river would be the leaſt dangerous to ford, led his army thither, and they boldly ruſhing into the ſtream, made themſelves maſters of the oppoſite bank with but little difficulty. Now a fierce engagement enſued, the Britons defending their entrenchments with great bravery, threw down their darts upon the enemy; on the other ſide, the Romans

Caractacus overcome by Oſtorius.

* Tacit. An. ut ſup.

† The inhabitants of South Wales.

‡ North Wales.

§ There is a hill in Shropſhire, near the confluence of the Colun and Teme, called Caer Caradoc, from Caradoc, the Britiſh name of Caractacus, which anſwers exactly the deſcription here given by Tacitus, where the veſtiges of all theſe rampires are ſtill viſible. Camd. Brit. in Shrop.

‖ Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

A. D. 50. perceiving that they fought to great diſadvantage at a diſtance, preſſed forward to the entrenchment under the covert of their ſhields, and breaking down the rude rampire of ſtones, attacked the Britons hand to hand, who finding themſelves unable to ſupport the cloſe encounter with their antagoniſts, fled to the higher grounds, where the light-armed infantry of the Romans cloſely followed, and drove them from their poſts with great ſlaughter. So ended this day's action, in the total defeat of the Britons, and advancement of the Roman glory. Amongſt the priſoners which were taken in the camp of Caractacus, were his wife, his daughter, and his brothers.*

Caractacus betrayed to the Romans.

Caractacus indeed eſcaped from the general ruin, but being now no longer able to make head againſt his enemies; forſaken and deſtitute, he haſted to Cartiſmandua, the queen of the Brigantines, to whom he relates the ill fortune of that laſt fatal field, imploring her to defend and protect him. But ſhe, unworthy woman, in order to eſtabliſh herſelf in the favour of the Romans, put him into bonds, and delivered him up to Oſtorius; baſely ſacrificing the intereſt of her country, and cruelly betraying the unhappy man, who ſought protection at her hand, merely to advance her own private and inglorious views.†

Caractacus led to Rome.

The unfortunate Caractacus, thus perfidiouſly betrayed, was, together with his wife, his daughters, and his brethren, ſent to Rome. The fame of his noble ſtruggles for liberty were not only expanded throughout all the Roman provinces, but alſo even in the city of Rome itſelf, he was ſpoken of with great honour. When he entered Rome, the people were aſſembled from all quarters to ſee the hero, of whom Fame had ſo highly ſpoken. He was brought into the preſence of the emperor in proceſſion, his ſervants going firſt, after them was carried the bracelets, chains, and other ſpoils, the ſilent trophies of his extenſive victories over the neighbouring ſtates; then followed his brothers, his wife, his daughter; and laſt of all he came himſelf; his greatneſs of mind remaining ſtill unconquered by diſtreſs: and while others were petitioning for forgiveneſs, he neither held down his head, nor ſued in words for mercy. When he had reached the tribunal, where Cæſar himſelf was ſeated, with an undaunted preſence he ſpake the following words:

The ſpeech of Caractacus to the emperor Claudius.

" If my moderation in proſperity had been equal to the greatneſs of " my birth and fortune, I ſhould have come to this city as a friend, and " not like a captive; nor wouldeſt thou have diſdained to receive me " with articles of peace, becauſe I am deſcended of noble progenitors, and " I have ruled over many warlike nations. The diſhonour of my preſent " lot, is your glory: I had horſes, men, arms, and wealth; what " wonder then, if I was unwilling to be deprived of them? If you will " bear rule over all men, why it follows, that all men muſt become " obedient! Had I yielded myſelf to thee ſooner, neither had my for- " tune, nor your glory, been made ſo famous; for then oblivion would

* Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

† Ibid.

" have

" have quickly followed my ſufferings. But now, if you will permit me A. D. 50.
" to live, I ſhall remain an eternal example of your clemency."

When he had finiſhed this affecting ſpeech, Cæſar beholding the brave- Caractacus pardoned by Claudius.
neſs of his conduct, was ſtruck with admiration, and cauſed his bonds to be taken off, pardoning both him, and his relations, who accompanied him. The ſubduing of Caractacus was held an event of ſo much importance at Rome, that the ſenators refrained not to declare, the glory of Rome's ancient heroes was now equalled! and to Oſtorius they decreed the public honours of triumph.*

Thus far ſucceſs accompanied the Roman general in Britain, and all The ill fortune of Oſtorius, and his death.
his deſigns ſucceeded. But Fortune, who ſeldom deals her favours with an equal hand, now turned the ſcale, and ſuddenly depreſſed his former glory. The inhabitants of South Wales, whom he thought he had entirely ſubdued, boiling with revenge for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and exaſperated at the captivity of their valiant leader, ſecretly aſſembled a large troop, and fell ſuddenly upon a band of the Romans, (which were left behind to build fortreſſes in their territories) and ſo greatly overpowered them, that if they had not received ſpeedy ſuccour from the adjacent camps, they would all of them have been miſerably ſlain. However, there fell in this conflict, the camp-maſter, with eight centurions, and a great number of common ſoldiers, before the Britons were put to flight. From this time the Britons had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Romans, iſſuing upon them from the woods and marſhes, as occaſion ſerved. The Siluri ſeem to have been chiefly exaſperated, by a raſh ſpeech which the emperor is ſaid to have dropped, importing, that he would " entirely aboliſh their very name from Britain." In their deſperate fury, they intercepted, and overcame, two bands of Roman ſoldiers, who were foraging with a deſign to enrich themſelves by the ſpoils of the diſtreſſed Britons. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, the Silures grew more bold, and perſuaded the reſidue of the Britiſh ſtates to revolt from the Romans, and take up arms in the general cauſe. Oſtorius quite worn out with theſe continued misfortunes and vexations, and ſeeing no end to the increaſing troubles, died of a broken heart; grieving to find thoſe laurels, which his former conqueſts gained, now wither on his brow.

Cæſar being quickly advertiſed of the death of Oſtorius, immediately A. D. 53.
diſpatched Aulus Didius into Britain, to take the command upon him. But before he could arrive, Manlius Valens, having one legion under his Aulus Didius ſucceeds Oſtorius.
command, imprudently attacked the Silures, and was overthrown by them, with conſiderable ſlaughter. This conqueſt, the victorious Britons greatly magnified to their advantage, inviting other ſtates to join them, and continued to harraſs and ſpoil the borders of the province, till the arrival of Didius altered the face of things; for he preſently collected his forces, and drove them back to their own ſtate. Miſchief and

* Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

A. D. 53. deſtruction ſeems with too ſure a ſcent to have purſued the miſerable Britons; for what the combined force of the Romans could not alone have done, their own imprudences and civil diſcords effectually compleated. Cartiſmandua, the faithleſs queen of the Brigantines, divorced herſelf from her huſband, Venuſius; and not thus contented, ſhe publicly eſpouſed Vollocatus, her huſband's armour-bearer, and proclaimed him king. Her huſband, Venuſius, was the chief of the Huiccii,* a brave and valiant man, and famous for his knowledge in military affairs. Till this time he had continued faithful to the Romans, and under their immediate protection; but irritated by theſe unjuſt meaſures of Cartiſmandua, he revolted from them, and with all the forces he could collect, aſſailed her dominions. Theſe bickerings continued for a ſpace between themſelves alone, till ſuch time as the perfidious queen, by treachery, intercepted the brother of Venuſius. This laſt act exaſperated the people in general, who greatly favoured the cauſe of the injured Venuſius; and they being alſo fearful of her growing power, took up arms in all quarters againſt her, and invaded her kingdom with a great army. Matters now growing ſerious, and the conſequences alarming, the Romans thought it high time to take the field, and protect their allies from the threatening danger: therefore, two cohorts were ſent to join with the forces of Cartiſmandua, and a ſharp and bloody battle enſued. The victory was long doubtful, but in the end, the Brigantines, with the aſſiſtance of the Roman troops, overcame the invaders, and drove them from the field. Yet this was not the end of the war, for at laſt, Venuſius, repeating his attacks, ſucceeded ſo well, that he drove out his faithleſs queen, and got poſſeſſion of the kingdom.†

The Britons are quieted.

About the ſame time, alſo, a legion under the command of Cæſius Naſica fought with the Britons in another place, and was ſucceſsful. After theſe ſevere ſtrokes of ill fortune, the Britons were quiet for a time. Didius himſelf doth not appear to have had any hand in the conqueſts here made; for being far advanced in years, and having in his former days obtained many honours, he thought it ſufficient for him to execute his charge, and expel his enemies by the help of others, ſo that he did but juſt preſerve what acquiſitions his predeceſſors had gained. Only, that further in the iſland he erected ſome few forts, purely for the name and opinion of having enlarged his government.

A. D. 54. Claudius Cæſar dying whilſt theſe things were acting in Britain, was ſucceeded by Nero; a bloody and deteſtable tyrant, who was as capricious in his reſolutions, as he was wicked in the execution of them. For ſome time he was doubtful in his own mind whether he ſhould not recall the Roman troops from Britain, and leave the diſtreſſed inhabitants in

Claudius ſucceeded by Nero.

* The Huiccii inhabited Warwickſhire and Worceſterſhire. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. chap. iii. ſect. 1.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. 10. & Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 9.

full poſſeſſion of their own native freedom. But then again, his vanity preponderated in the ſcale, joined with a pretended regard for the glory and memory of his father, Claudius.* A. D. 54.

The firſt three years of Nero's reign, Aulus Didius continued governor of Britain, and was then ſucceeded by Verannius, who died within a year after his arrival. His laſt will manifeſted his ambition, in which he beſtowed much flattery upon Nero; and vaunted, that if his life had been ſpared two years longer, he would have reduced the whole province to obedience. A vain and inglorious boaſt! which it is not likely he could have accompliſhed; for the whole ſervice that he performed during the time of his government, was only making ſmall inroads into the territories of the Silures, and waſting part of their country.† A. D. 57.

Aulus Didius made governor of Britain.

No ſooner was Verannius dead, than Suetonius ſucceeded him in his command. This man, during the courſe of two years, made war upon the Britons with great ſucceſs, ſubduing freſh nations, and eſtabliſhing garriſons.‡ A. D. 58.

Suetonius's ſucceſs.

In his third year, he determined to invade and ſubdue the iſland of Mona, or Angleſea, which was well inhabited, and had conſtantly afforded an aſylum for all ſeditious perſons, who were enemies to the Roman government. The garriſons which he had erected in Britain, he thought would be a ſufficient check upon the inhabitants, as they would alſo ſecure the province itſelf from any foreign invaſion. Therefore, collecting a great army, he ſet forward on his expedition; and becauſe the ſea betwixt Britain and Angleſea is ſhallow, and the landing very uncertain, he cauſed a number of flat-bottomed veſſels to be built, in which his infantry were tranſported to the oppoſite ſhore, the horſes paſſing over the ford. Againſt them, on the other ſide, the Britiſh forces were drawn up in cloſe array, and well furniſhed with weapons. Amongſt them appeared their wives and daughters, all habited in mourning attire, running to and fro, their diſhevelled hair fleeting in the wind, and brandiſhing flaming fire-brands in their hands. Round about them were ſeen the Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth horrid imprecations. Amazed and terrified at ſuch an unuſual appearance, the Roman ſoldiers ſtood aghaſt, as marks only for the Britons to diſcharge their weapons at. But ſoon encouraged by the animating example of their chieftain, they forgot their fear, and marching boldly up to their enemies, encountered them ſo ſharply, that they quickly put them to flight. Suetonius made a cruel uſe of his victory, ſlaughtering the flying Britons, and thruſting the Druids into the fires which themſelves had kindled. Having thus obtained firm footing on the iſland, A. D. 61.

Invades the iſle of Angleſea.

* Sueton. in Vita Neron.
† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 9.
‡ Tacit. in Vit. Agric.

he

A. D. 61. he proceeded to place garriſons in their towns; he alſo overthrew their altars, and burnt their ſacred groves.*

The Icenians begin a dangerous revolt.

Whilſt Suetonius was thus employed in Angleſea, the Britons at home, taking the advantage of his abſence, began a rebellion, ſo alarming in its conſequences, that it threatened a total deſtruction to the whole body of the Romans, and ended in a prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide. The Icenians ſeem firſt to have ſtirred in this revolt, and their example was preſently followed by the reſt. The chief cauſe which induced them to take this ſtep, appears to be as follows: †

Cauſe of the revolt.

Praſutagus, their king, and a faithful ally to the Romans, dying at this time, in order the more firmly to fix the peace of his ſtate, and the better to ſecure his houſe and family from inſult, in his laſt will made Nero joint heir with his two daughters, to all his effects. But the conſequence of this meaſure proved directly contrary to his intention; for as he was very rich, his will was no ſooner known, than his whole wealth was ſeized upon by the avaricious Romans, and his realm was plundered by the greedy centurions. His queen, Boudicea, a woman of great courage, remonſtrating againſt their unjuſt proceedings, was taken by them, and ſcourged in a contemptuous manner. Not thus content, they violated the chaſtity of her two unfortunate daughters; the chief men of the ſtate they thruſt out of their poſſeſſions, and all the late monarch's miſerable relations they reputed as ſlaves. ‡

The Trinobantes join the revolters, and why.

This complication of grievances called aloud for redreſs, and the unhappy ſufferers raiſed up their wretched heads, determining to make a violent ſtruggle for the recovery of their loſt liberty. Deſperate in their grief, they ruſh to arms, and are quickly joined by the Trinobantes, another powerful nation; who, too like them, were groaning under the cruel oppreſſion of the conquerors. With theſe the colony of veteran ſoldiers ſtationed at Camulodunum, were exerciſing their unlimited power, thruſting the inhabitants from their houſes and eſtates, ſeizing upon their goods,§ and retorting the ignominious names of ſlaves upon thoſe who dared to remonſtrate. Some lent them money at an exorbitant intereſt, and then made their demands upon them when they were unable to pay, inſiſting upon the full reſtoration. And to complete their calamity, the very prieſts, (who officiated in a temple erected in that city, to the honour of Claudius) under the colour of religion, ſeized upon and waſted the little wealth, which yet remained to theſe wretched ſufferers. ‖ Ripened by theſe repeated injuries to rebellion, they roſe againſt their tyrannical oppreſſors, and flocked with joyous hope of re-

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Xiphilin ex Dion Caſſ. lib. lxii.
‖ Xiphilin, from Dion Caſſ. gives theſe reaſons:——"The occaſion of the war was the confiſcation of goods, which had been remitted by Claudius Cæſar, and the which Decianus Catus (the procurator of the realm) declared ſhould be renewed. Add to this, that C. Seneca had lent them four hundred ſeſtercies (which amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of our money) upon an exorbitant intereſt, and with great force and violence compelled them to pay the whole ſum at one payment.

venge

venge around the ſtandard of Boudicea; who, exaſperated by her wrongs, led on the Icenii in perſon, diveſting herſelf entirely of the delicate effeminacy of her timid ſex. A. D. 61.

No ſooner had theſe injured parties joined their forces, than they poured like an irreſiſtible torrent upon the colony at Camulodunum. The Roman ſoldiers, unable to ſupport the onſet, fled to the temple, and there defended themſelves for two days; when the Britons forcing an entrance, they were all put to the ſword, and the city reduced to aſhes. Leaving this ſmoking trophy of their deſperate revenge, they met with Pœtus Cerealis, lieutenant of the ninth legion, who (ignorant of what had happened) was coming (with all the ſoldiers under his command) to aid the colony. The enraged Britons ſuddenly ſurrounding his troops, cut off all his foot; himſelf with the cavalry eſcaped with great difficulty, flying to the camp, where he defended himſelf in the entrenchments.* Camulodunum deſtroyed.

In the mean time, Suetonius receiving theſe alarming accounts, left Angleſea with the greateſt ſpeed, when paſſing directly through a part of his enemy's country, he came to London, (which city yet continued faithful to the Romans;) his firſt intention was to ſtop there, and abide the coming of the enemy, but upon maturer conſideration, he reſolved not to coop himſelf up in a place ſo confined, but rather lead his army out upon the open plains; nor could he be won by the tears and intreaties of the inhabitants (who ſupplicated his protection) to ſtay: therefore, the ſignal for his army to remove being made, all who choſe to accompany him, he received as part of it; but ſuch as ſeemed unwilling to go, as well as thoſe who were aged and infirm, he left behind. Suetonius leaves Angleſea, and returns to Britain.

No ſooner had Suetonius left London, but Boudicea, queen of the Icenii, with her numerous army, entered the city, putting all whom they found therein to the ſword. From thence they marched on to the free city of Verulam, (now called St. Albans) which they alſo conquered, taking great ſpoils. The ſucceſs which had hitherto crowned the labours of the incenſed Britons, and the hope of recovering their native liberty, added daily freſh ſupplies to their army; for their number, which at the firſt revolting amounted to 120,000, was by this time ſo much increaſed, that their forces conſiſted of full 230,000 fighting men; a moſt tremendous multitude! all fixed in their hatred to the Romans and their allies, and crying aloud for vengeance.† They retaliated the injuries they had received from their enemies with a heavy hand, for they would not ſell or exchange any of their priſoners, but either killed with the ſword, gibbeted, burnt, or crucified, all thoſe who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands.‡ London and Verulam deſtroyed.

Suetonius having now collected the whole of his forces together, amounting nearly to ten thouſand men, determined to try the fortune of a pitched battle; therefore, he choſe a place which was every way ſafe The two armies meet.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
† Xiphilin ex Dion, lib. lxii.
‡ Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

and

A. D. 61. and convenient, at the end of an open plain, incloſed at the back with a large thick wood, and the entrance to it very narrow; ſo that, on the one hand, he was ſecured from the private ambuſhes of his enemies, and on the other, he was not in danger of being ſurrounded, and hemmed in by their numerous forces. When he had taken poſſeſſion of this advantageous poſt, he put his men in due array for the battle, and in that poſition waited the approach of the Britons, who, with heroic Boudicea at their head, were now advancing towards them, thinking themſelves ſecure of conqueſt; and that the revenge might be the more complete, they had brought their wives and their daughters, in waggons and carts, to behold the diſtreſs and miſery which they now intended to bring upon their late inſulting conquerors. Before the engagement, their queen, who was a tall and comely woman, ſtood in her chariot clad in her royal robes; on either ſide of her was placed one of her injured daughters; * when, looking upon the ſurrounding multitudes, ſhe encouraged them, in a noble and couragious ſpeech, to fight bravely in the defence of their country. She declared to them, that their being led by a woman was far from being any diſgrace; on the contrary, it was agreeable to their antient cuſtoms: for her own part, ſhe affirmed, that ſhe fought neither for wealth nor dominion in the proſecution of the war, but only revenge of her repeated injuries. She ſhewed, that the inordinate luſt of the Romans was grown to ſuch a pitch, that even age itſelf could not ſecure their wives and daughters from ſhameful violation; and added, that the gods themſelves had favoured their juſt vengeance, in permitting the ſlaughter of ſo many of thoſe tyrants as they had already deſtroyed. Thoſe who eſcaped, had either hid themſelves in their camp, or ſaved themſelves by flight. She then concluded, with exhorting them to exert their utmoſt valour, as men determining either to conquer, or to die; for, ſays ſhe, "this is my reſolution, who am but a woman, even though "you, who are men, may wiſh to live like ſlaves." Repeated ſhouts, and clamours of applauſe, proclaimed the effect of this animating ſpeech upon the Britiſh troops. On the other hand, Suetonius was not ſilent at this approaching danger, but addreſſed his ſoldiers in a juſt and ſenſible manner, exhorting and intreating them not to be diſmayed at the loud and repeated clamours of their barbarous enemies, "who, (ſaid he) notwith-"ſtanding their numbers, and ſecurity of the victory, unarmed as they are, "will not be able to withſtand the force of your weapons, nor your valour, "who have ſo often put them to flight; and the ſmallneſs of our army, in "compariſon with the numerous multitude of our enemies, will greatly "augment the glory of the victory." His ſoldiers heard his exhortations with joy, and by their readineſs to engage the enemy, ſeemed to preſage the approaching conqueſt.

When Suetonius had finiſhed his ſpeech, and given forth the neceſſary orders to his troops, they all prepared for battle, ſtanding ſtill in their

* Dion, lib. lxii. & Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 11.

poſt

poſt until the Britons were come up, who firſt began the combat, fiercely aſſaulting the Romans with their darts. The Romans abode the conflict, without quitting their ſtations, until the enemy had ſpent the greater part of their miſſive weapons, when the fourteenth legion ſallied out upon them in a pointed battle, and being cloſe ſupported by the auxiliary troops, drove them back; Suetonius then cauſed the cavalry to advance, who, with their long lances, broke the ranks of the enemy, and put them to ſuch confuſion, that they gave back on every ſide. To make the calamity the greater, the diſtreſſed Britons had blocked up all the paſſes with the carts and waggons, in which they had brought their women, that their flight was now impeded, ſo that a prodigious ſlaughter enſued. The victorious Romans triumphed in the horrid deſtruction, and ſo cruel were they in their conqueſt, that even the hapleſs women, who had been the mournful ſpectators of the overthrow of their deareſt friends, to compleat the revenge of theſe mercileſs conquerors, were all of them put to the ſword. In the action, four hundred of the Roman ſoldiers were ſlain, and a few more wounded; but much more fatal was this day to the Britons, for of them near eighty thouſand were deſtroyed.* A. D. 61.

Suetonius, before he began this deciſive battle, had ſent expreſs orders to Pœnius Poſthumus, camp-maſter of the ſecond legion, that he ſhould come to him with all his troops to reinforce the army: but he, either through fear of being intercepted by the Britons in his march, or apprehenſive that they would entirely ſubdue the Romans, neglected the orders of the general, and kept himſelf cloſe within his camp. When he heard of the ſucceſs of Suetonins, he was ſo overcome with ſhame and grief, that he inſtantly ſlew himſelf. P. Poſthumus ſlays himſelf.

The miſerable remnant of the Britons, who had by flight eſcaped from this fatal field, began now to gather head again, reſolving once more to try the chance of war. But in the interim, their hapleſs queen, unable to ſupport the horror of the late defeat, ended her life by poiſon. This laſt accident ſo damped their ſpirits, that the greater part of them, changing their former reſolutions, diſperſed themſelves; and thoſe who remained in arms were all of them eaſily ſubdued.† Boudicea poiſons herſelf.

Evil fortune, ſtill untired, purſued the hapleſs Britons; nor yet was the capacious meaſure of their woes filled up: for the late deſtructive war, was ſtill more deſtructive in its dreadful conſequences; as, during their troubles, they had entirely neglected the cultivation of their grain, a grievous famine enſued, which reduced them to the greateſt diſtreſs. Suetonius alſo, cruel in his conqueſts, purſued the flying remnants of theſe miſerable ſufferers with unrelenting rigour. This ſeverity of the governor, moved Junius Claſicianus, who had lately ſucceeded Catus as procurator, (and who was no friend to Suetonins) to propagate reports greatly to his diſadvantage; declaring, that a new governor ought to be ſent, who, Suetonius recalled.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 11.
† Ibid. & Vita Agric.

A. D. 61. without the malice and arrogance of a conqueror, would receive ſuch as ſubmitted themſelves with clemency. He alſo wrote to Rome, that unleſs Suetonius ſhould be recalled, and another placed in his ſtead, the war with the Britons would be endleſs. When Nero had received theſe letters, he ſent Polycletus, a favourite freed-man, with a pompous retinue into Britain, to examine into the affair, and to reconcile the differences between the governor and the procurator. But his reports being more favourable concerning Suetonius than thoſe which the procurator had made, he was for a while continued in his charge. But he, ſoon after, in the diſpatch of ſome buſineſs, having unfortunately loſt a few gallies upon the ſhore, was finally recalled, either the end of this year, or early in the beginning of the next.*

A. D. 62. P. Turpilianus ſucceeds Suetonius.

Petronius Turpilianus ſucceeded Suetonius in the government of Britain; a man of mild behaviour, who, as he was not well acquainted with the offences of the Britons, was the more gentle in receiving thoſe to mercy who ſubmitted themſelves to him. During his rule, the war died away, he not attempting to enlarge the extent of the province; nor did the Britons (who now enjoyed the bleſſings of peace) in the leaſt moleſt or diſturb his quiet. After he had been three years poſſeſſed of the government, he ſurrendered it up to Trebellius Maximus.†

A. D. 65. T. Maximus; his idleneſs.

Trebellius was ſtill more unwarlike and inactive than his predeceſſor; for he was by no means acquainted with the management of war affairs. He maintained the tranquility of the province by a method of ſoftneſs and compliance; through theſe means, the Britons were lulled, as it were, into a ſtate of perfect idleneſs: for being of late ſo overcome with the toils and fatigues of war, they had, in the preſent moment, learned to love ſuch vices, as humoured them in pleaſure and eaſe. The civil wars, which now rent Rome itſelf, were a ſufficient cauſe that the ſluggiſhneſs of the governor was not enquired into: yet, though the Britons were by this means kept in quiet, the Roman ſoldiers under his command grown turbulent and licentious through their idleneſs and inactivity, began to murmur. Theſe ſparks of ſedition were blown into a flame by Roſcius Cælius, lieutenant of the twentieth legion; who, greatly diſliked the governor: from private bickerings they proceeded to public diſſentions; ſo that the army in general, taking part with Cælius, took up arms againſt their chief; but he, by flight, eſcaped their preſent fury. During his abſence, the government of the province was managed by the lieutenant, who kept all things in peace and good order; Cælius indeed bearing the chief authority. But ſome time after, Trebellius reſumed the command, but with an authority altogether precarious, without all ſpirit, and deſtitute of all dignity.‡

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 11.
† Ibid. & Vita Agric.
‡ Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 9. & Vita Agric.

To reform theſe grievances, Vitellius ſent Vettius Bolanus into Britain, to take the charge of the province upon him; but he treading in the ſame ſteps with his predeceſſors, there remained toward the enemy the ſame ſloth and negligence, with the ſame inſolent ſpirit in the camp: this difference only to be made, that Bolanus was a virtuous man, and ſubject to no hate, becauſe he had given no reaſon for it; therefore, inſtead of gaining a proper authority over them, he only ſecured their affections. Throughout the whole government of Bolanus, the civil wars continued at Rome between Vitellius and Veſpaſian; the latter of theſe he ſeems moſt to have favoured: for when Vitellius ſent to him in Britain, requiring him to ſend ſome of the Roman troops to reinforce his legions, Bolanus returned for anſwer, that "the Britons were a people ſo "very unquiet, that they could but juſt be kept in order with all the "forces which he had; therefore, he could not ſpare any, without ha"zarding the entire loſs of the province." During all this time the Britons lived quietly in their different ſtates.* A. D. 69. Bolanus made governor of Britain.

When Veſpaſian had thoroughly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Roman empire, he recalled Bolanus, in whoſe ſtead he ſent Petilius Cerialis, who firſt broke in upon the peace which the Britons hitherto had enjoyed; and he ſtruck a general terror into the ſeveral ſtates by making war upon the Brigantines, who were eſteemed the moſt powerful nation of the whole province. Several bloody engagements enſued; but ſo ſucceſsful in general was the Roman chief, that he conquered the greater part of their country, and continued to ravage the reſt with war and devaſtation: by which actions he acquired great renown and glory. He was principally aſſiſted in his wars by the valour and conduct of Julius Agricola, who had the charge of part of the army, and fought with great ſucceſs.† A. D. 70. The Brigantines overcome.

Cerialis was ſucceeded alſo by a brave and valiant man, named Julius Frontinus, who, beſides the ſecuring all the former conqueſts, entered and ſubdued the powerful and warlike nation of the Silures; and his excellent conduct was the more manifeſt, as he had not only the bravery of the enemy to ſtruggle with, but alſo the difficulties of places and advantageous poſts, which the Britons had taken poſſeſſion of, from their perfect knowledge of their own country.‡ A. D. 75. The Silures overcome.

After this governor, came Cnæus Julius Agricola, who arrived in Britain about the middle of the ſummer, where he found the army already retiring into their ſtations, imagining that the ſervice of the year was at an end. But he being thoroughly convinced, that the honour and ſucceſs of a general depended greatly on his exploits in his firſt ſetting out, A. D. 78. Agricola ſucceeds to the government of Britain.

* Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 9. Vita Agric.
† Vita Agric.
‡ Ibid.

A. D. 78. therefore, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ſummer being far ſpent, and the intention of the ſoldiers to take their eaſe, he determined to ſet forward againſt the enemy, and not omit the ſmalleſt occaſion which offered to keep them under. The Ordovicians were the firſt that felt the fury of his arms, who had a little before his arrival in Britain almoſt totally cut in pieces a band of horſemen belonging to the Romans. This favourable eſſay encouraged ſuch of them as were deſirous of war to riſe; whilſt others, more prudent, ſtill delayed, till they had witneſs of the courage and conduct of the new general.*

The Ordovices overcome.

Agricola now advancing againſt the Ordivicians, entered their territories; but as they did not chuſe to come forth upon the plains to encounter with him, he reſolved to make the firſt attack. Notwithſtanding they were poſſeſſed of the advantages of the higher ground; and becauſe his ſoldiers ſhould not have any reaſon for complaint, he led the way himſelf, at the head of the army. Animated by his bold example, with more than wonted alacrity they aſcend the riſing grounds, and courageouſly ſetting upon the Britons, put them to flight, purſuing them with ſo great a ſlaughter, that almoſt all the whole nation was now cut off. This dreadful effect of the valour and prudence of Agricola, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of the reſt of the Britons, that they choſe to remain quiet, and ſubmit themſelves to him.

Angleſea ſubdued.

The Roman general, that he might eſtabliſh his fame on ſtill furer grounds, was not content with the conqueſt already gained, but reſolved entirely to ſubdue the iſle of Angleſea, (which Suetonius Paulinus had firſt invaded.) As this important reſolution was quickly formed, when he proceeded to the execution, the want of ſhipping appeared to be a material objection; but this difficulty could not prevent his perſeverance in his deſign; therefore, he cauſed ſuch of his auxiliaries as knew the fords (and who were very dexterous in ſwimming, ſo as in the water at once to manage themſelves, their horſes, and their arms) to enter the river in the fleeteſt places, and make a ſudden deſcent upon the enemy; who were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation when they ſaw that neither the water itſelf, nor the want of ſhips, could ſtop the progreſs of the Roman troops, that they ſubmitted themſelves to them, and yielded up the iſland.

Agricola's prudent government.

The whole of the ſummer being now paſt, Agricola ſpent the winter in the reformation of ſuch abuſes as had been the cauſes of the war; and firſt began with his own family, doing nothing with partiality, but according to the deſerts of men. He then eaſed and remitted ſeveral grievous tributes, cauſing an equal diſtribution of all public burthens; and, above all, he utterly aboliſhed all exactions, which had been more grievous to the wretched Britons than even the tribute itſelf. By theſe means he acquired the love of the people in peace, as much as he had inſpired them with dread in war.

* Vita Agric. & infra.

When

When the ſummer was come, he aſſembled his army, and made ſudden attacks upon the enemy, harraſſing them continually from place to place in ſuch ſort, that they could not obtain the leaſt reſt or quietneſs. He carefully took poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts, uſing every circumſpection in the examination of all places which ſeemed likely to prove dangerous, before his army was permitted to paſs them. Theſe prudent meaſures, as on the one hand they ſecured him the victory, ſo on the other, they ſo damped the courage of his enemies, that they dared not take the field againſt him. When he had thus reduced all things to good order, he proceeded, with the ſweet allurements of peace, to ſecure the wavering minds of the Britons; and ſuch an effect had theſe lenitive meaſures upon them, that ſeveral communities, which till this time had aſſerted a ſtate of equality and independence, laid down their arms, ſubmitting themſelves unto him, giving hoſtages, and permitting forts and garriſons to be erected in their different ſtates.* The ſummer campaign being over, he ſpent the following winter in civil adminiſtration; privately exhorting the people, now pleaſed with eaſe and inactivity, and openly aſſiſting them in building of temples, houſes, and places of public aſſembly: he alſo cauſed the noblemen's children to be inſtructed in the liberal ſciences. Allured by theſe flattering temptations, the Britons now began to loſe ſight of their antient ferocity and national cuſtoms, adopting the language and habits of the Romans.

A. D. 79.

Agricola reduces the Britons to peace.

Not content with theſe acquiſitions, Agricola, the third ſummer, purſued his conqueſts. Marching to the north, he diſcovered, and paſſed through, ſeveral nations, before unknown to him or his army, and came quite up to the mouth of the Tay. Nor did the Britons offer to moleſt Agricola during his march; relying, perhaps, on the hope, that in the winter he would return again with his army to the ſouth. But he having thus gained footing in their territories, erected a great number of ſtrongholds and garriſons; chuſing their ſituation ſo advantageouſly, that every ſingle fort was ſufficient for its own defence; ſo that in theſe forts they paſſed the winter quite ſecure, although in the very midſt of their enemies, who thus baffled in all their deſigns, abandoned themſelves to the utmoſt deſpair.

A. D. 80.

Agricola goes towards the north.

The fourth ſummer he ſpent in ſecuring thoſe countries which he had paſſed through, and taken poſſeſſion of; and in order the better to effect his deſign, he built a line of forts directly acroſs the narrow neck of land

A. D. 81.

He erects forts to ſecure his conqueſt.

* Though Tacitus has not named theſe nations, it ſeems likely that they ſhould be the Otodini, who inhabited great part of Northumberland; the Gadeni, who poſſeſſed the mountainous parts of Northumberland, and Tiviotdale; and perhaps the Selgovæ, the antient inhabitants of Eſkdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale, lying along the ſhores of the Solway Firth. Theſe fortreſſes, which he built to ſecure his conqueſts, were made (as it is thought) from ſea to ſea, in, or near, the tract where Hadrian's rampart, and Severus' wall, was after erected.

which

A. D. 81. which ſeparates the friths of Forth and Clyde, exactly in that ſelf-ſame place in which Antoninus Pius after erected his wall. By this means, all the ſouth ſide of Britain was made ſecure to the Romans, and the unconquered northern enemies driven, as it were, into another iſland.

A. D. 82. Agricola coaſts upon the ſea.

In the fifth ſummer he coaſted about upon the ſea, and paſſed the frith of Clyde, himſelf leading the way in the firſt ſhip. During this cruize, he diſcovered and ſubdued ſeveral ſtates, till then unknown to the Romans ;* when coming to that part of the country which fronts Ireland, he had a full ſight of it; therefore, in theſe parts he alſo erected forts, with a view of returning when proper occaſion ſerved, in order to make an attack upon that iſland: and what might the more incline him to reſolve upon this ſtep, ſeems to have been the reports of a certain petty king of that country, who, by ſome domeſtic diſſention, was expelled from thence, and taking refuge under the protection of Agricola, repreſented to him that the conqueſt of the whole iſland might eaſily be accompliſhed. Pleaſed with his accounts, Agricola received him with great ſhew of friendſhip, as imagining that he might at ſome time be very uſeful to him.

A. D. 83. The Britons fall upon the Romans.

The ſummer being now come, Agricola ſuſpecting that the nations before would univerſally take up arms in the defence of their liberty, cauſed his fleet to be brought round to him, that it might coaſt about the ſhore, attending upon the motions of the army, who alſo marched cloſe by the ſea-ſide. The Calidonians plainly perceiving that there was now left to them no other way of preventing the advancement of the enemy than by battle, had immediate recourſe to arms. The information of their coming was reported to the Romans, and there were not wanting ſome amongſt them, who, maſking their fear under the colour of prudence, adviſed Agricola to return back beyond the firth of Forth, and ſecure the army from the approaching danger within their ſtrongholds. But he, deſpiſing their councils, reſolved to abide the fortune of the field; and becauſe he was informed that the Britons were determined to attack him in ſeveral bands, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent his being ſurrounded, for he knew that they had the advantage of him, as well in numbers, as in their knowledge of the country. The Britons, on the other hand, being made acquainted with the diſpoſition of Agricola's army, changed their own, and uniting the whole of their forces together, in the depth of the night fell upon the ninth legion, (which was weaker than the reſt †) and having ſlain the guards, entered the trenches; the Roman ſoldiers overcome with ſleep,

* Theſe were, perhaps, the Epedii, Cerones, and Carnonacæ, the original inhabitants of Cantyre, Argyleſhire, Lorn, and Lochabar. Vide Horſley Brit. Rom. page 366, 367, & 369.

† The ninth legion loſt all its infantry in the fatal revolt under Boudicea; and though it had been recruited with 2000 legionary ſoldiers, and eight cohorts of auxiliaries, was not yet ſo ſtrong as the reſt. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

or

or the general diſmay, roſe not readily to oppoſe the torrent, ſo that the Britons had already purſued the fight even into the camp itſelf. But Agricola, alarmed by the ſpies, followed cloſe at the backs of the enemy, cauſing his light infantry to attack them in the rear, whilſt they were yet engaged; when the whole army giving a ſhout, the ſpirits of the ſoldiers belonging to the ninth legion were revived, on hearing the ſudden approach of aſſiſtance, they therefore bravely repulſed the enemy. When the riſing morn diſcovered to the Britons their dreadful ſtate, hemmed in, as they were, on every ſide, amazement and terror ſhook their very ſouls; yet with deſperate courage they maintained the conflict; and even at the very gates of the camp a bloody engagement enſued. The Britons in the end were totally routed, and fled to their ſecret receſſes in the woods and marſhes, whoſe friendly covert ſheltered them from purſuit, or elſe this victory had been made ſo complete, that with the day the war would alſo have been determined. A. D. 83.

The Roman ſoldiers, elated with their ſucceſs, cried out to their general, that "Nothing could now be inſurmountable to their valour." They therefore deſired to penetrate into the heart of Calidonia, and advance till, by a continued ſucceſſion of battles, they might at laſt reach the utmoſt confines of Britain. Thus courageous were they grown by conqueſt, who, before the engagement, were deſirous of making a retreat. The Britons, far from being ready to ſtoop to their conquerors, were only grown more deſperate; and the better to prepare for war, they armed their young men, removing their wives and children to places of ſecurity; and in a general convention of the different ſtates, they bound themſelves by ſolemn league, ratified by ſacrifices and offerings to their gods. Thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both ſides abundantly irritated. Both armies retire for the winter.

When the ſummer was begun, Agricola ſent forth his navy to ravage the coaſts, and terrify the enemy. Having reinforced his army with ſome brave Britons, (from ſuch of the ſouthern nations as he could rely upon) he cauſed them all to be lightly armed, and putting himſelf at their head, marched into the country of the Calidonians, advancing towards his enemies, who were already encamped on the Grampian hills.* The Britons had now united their forces together, to the amount of thirty thouſand men in arms, and were daily ſtrengthened by their friends, who flocked to them from all quarters, being deſirous of revenging their injuries upon the Roman army, many of them bearing the banners of honour, which they had obtained in former wars. At their head was Galgacus, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of their leaders in courage and in birth. When the ſoldiers were all aſſembled, he addreſſed them in a brave and animating ſpeech, ſetting before them the ſweets of liberty, and painting out the horrors of ſlavery in the moſt dreadful and affecting terms; he A. D. 84. Agricola marches againſt the Britons.

* Probably the place now called Fortingall, about fifteen miles from Dunkell.

exhorted

A. D. 84. exhorted them to fight courageouſly in the defence of their native freedom. They received this noble oration of their chief with loud and noiſy ſhouts of acclamation; when preſently the boldeſt run to the front of the army, to give the earlieſt proofs of their valour and reſolution.

Agricola encourages his ſoldiers.

No leſs forward were the Roman legions, inſpired with freſh ardour from the brave example of their warlike general; who called upon them to exert their utmoſt courage, ſetting before them the glory which they would gain by victory; as on the iſſue of that important day depended the honourable end of fifty years hard ſtruggle. The ſoldiers joyfully heard the exhortations of their leader, and flew to arms.

Battle between the Britons and the Romans.

The armies on both ſides advancing, the combat was at firſt begun and maintained at a diſtance; the Britons carefully eluded the miſſive weapons of the Romans, whilſt they poured a torrent of their own upon them. Agricola ſeeing this, cauſed three cohorts of Batavians,* and two of the Tungrians,† to ruſh upon the enemy, and come to cloſe encounter with them, who being unuſed to ſuch kind of fighting, (and alſo having ſwords very large and pointleſs, which were now rendered uſeleſs) they were overcome, and retired upon the hills, but being cloſely followed, the whole of their cavalry was put to flight; their chariots mingling with the foot, they were themſelves entangled in their own bands; many of their chariots now abandoned by their guides, the horſes wildly tore them through the field, beating down both friends and foes alike. The infantry of the Britons, who were ſtanding upon the hills, and had not yet engaged, began by degrees to deſcend upon the plain, in order to ſurround the Romans, and attack their rear, whilſt they urged the victory; but the watchful Agricola ſuſpecting their intentions, ſent forth four ſquadrons of horſe (which he had kept in reſerve) to engage with them; which they did ſo fiercely, that the Britons were repulſed, and the execution of their ſcheme prevented. The Roman general now turned the deſigns of his enemies upon themſelves, for he cauſed thoſe ſquadrons of cavalry, which fought in the front, to wheel round and fall upon the rear of the Britons, which was ſo ſuddenly done, that a vaſt ſlaughter enſued. The enemy now retreated on every ſide, purſued by the Romans; but ſome, who were too forward in the purſuit, paid ſeverely for their raſhneſs; for the flying parties of the Britons, when they found the companies had quitted their main body, faced about, and ſet upon them fiercely; when turning again, they fled to the woods. The carnage was ſo great, that the whole field was covered with ſcattered arms, carcaſes, and mangled limbs, whilſt the ground itſelf was dyed with ſtreams of blood. In the end, the Britons were totally routed, and ten thouſand of their army ſlain; the Romans remaining victors in the field, having only loſt three hundred and forty men.

The deſpair of the Britons.

This was a night of great rejoicing to the conquerors; but who can expreſs the dreadful horror of the vanquiſhed! In deep deſpair they wan-

* Theſe were the ancient Hollanders.

† Inhabitants of the countries of Liege, Cologn, &c.

der

der about, and from all ſides the yells of the wretched women are heard; A. D. 84.
wives mourning for their huſbands, mothers for their children, and maidens for their parents, all in one diſmal concert joined! others dragging along the wounded with them, calling to thoſe who had eſcaped! On every ſide the riſing flames were ſeen, the wild effects of their ungoverned grief, who ruſhing from their own houſes, had ſet them on fire; flying to the caverns and lurking-holes, and then again quitting them as unſafe. The next day diſcovered a more ample ſcene of conqueſt; profound ſilence reigned upon the ſolitary hills; around was ſeen the thick black ſmoak, ariſing from the deſerted and flaming houſes; but not one ſingle ſoul was there to be found by the ſcouts, ſo that the Romans could get no intelligence whither the unhappy Britons were fled.

Agricola having obtained this important victory, would not purſue his conqueſts further at the preſent, becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced; therefore, conducting his army into the territories of the Horeſtians,* he there received hoſtages of the inhabitants. The fleet he cauſed to coaſt round Britain, and ſo return to Rhutupium,† from whence it had ſailed: he himſelf lead his army ſlowly through the northern ſtates into their winter quarters. Agricola retires for the winter.

In the beginning of the next year, Agricola ſent a plain and modeſt account of his proceedings to the emperor Domitian; who received it with all outward demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction, cauſing the ſenate to decree to his honour triumphal ornaments, a ſtatue crowned with laurels, with whatever elſe was beſtowed inſtead of a real triumph. But notwithſtanding Domitian carried this ſunſhine in his face, he was at his heart envious of the glory which Agricola had acquired, therefore he was recalled from his government during the courſe of the year.‡ A. D. 85. Agricola recalled.

Agricola was ſucceeded by Saluſtus Lucullus, who, though he ſeems not to have acquired any great renown, could not eſcape the envy of the capricious emperor; for after he had held the government a ſhort time, he was put to death at his command. His only offence appears to have been the inventing of a new kind of lance, which he called after his own name, the "Lucullean lance;" and for this pardonable piece of vanity he loſt his life.§ A. D. 86. Lucullus ſucceeds Agricola.

From this period there follows a chaſm in the Britiſh hiſtory for better than thirty years. During the whole reigns of Nerva and Trajan, hiſtorians have been quite ſilent concerning the affairs of Britain. And at this diſtance of time, it will be no eaſy matter to diſcover whether the perfect quietneſs of the province was not the ſole cauſe: however this may be, it is very likely that the Roman ſoldiers and their allies employed this interval in ſtrengthening their fortreſſes, and making ſome of thoſe A chaſm in the Britiſh Hiſtory.

* Now called Angus.
† Suppoſed to be Sandwich haven.
‡ Tacit. Vita Agric.
§ Sueton. in Vita Domit. ſect. 10.

A. D. 86. famous military ways, the veſtiges of which are evident to this very day in various parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 117. At the time which Hadrian ſucceeded to the empire, the northern Britons (who had been for ſome time unruly) broke out into an open commotion: this revolt became alarming to the province, wherefore they diſpatched meſſengers to the emperor, and he ſent Julius Severus with all ſpeed into Britain; by whoſe aid the turbulent ravagers were beat back, and quietneſs in ſome meaſure reſtored to the province. But before he could complete the whole of his intentions, he was recalled, and ſent againſt the Jews, who now began to rebel.*

Julius Severus ſent into Britain.

A. D. 121. Soon after the departure of Severus, the revolters broke forth again, and began a very dangerous inſurrection; inſomuch, that the emperor thought his preſence neceſſary to put a final ſtop to theſe troubleſome proceedings. Wherefore, attended by three legions of choice ſoldiers, he came to Britain, and by the prudent meaſures which he purſued, preſently reſtored peace and order. He reformed many things which he found amiſs; and the better to ſecure the Roman province from the ſudden attacks and inroads of the reſtleſs Calidonians, he cauſed a rampart, or wall, of earth, † to be made, as a boundary of the province; from the mouth of the Tyne eaſt, to the Solway Firth on the weſt. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for Hadrian's not entering into Calidonia, and reducing thoſe nations to perfect obedience. Some affirming, that after the departure of Agricola they had again recovered their liberties; whilſt others aſſert, that he voluntarily ſlighted the whole of the country, as judging it would have coſt more to conquer, and keep in ſubjection, than it would yield profit when conquered. ‡ Hiſtorians have not informed us how long this prudent emperor continued in Britain; but it is certain, that his departure was haſtened by a revolt in Alexandria. He left behind him Priſcus Licinius, as governor of Britain, who kept the province in peace and good order; but he was ſoon after recalled to proſecute the Jewiſh war.§

Hadrian comes into Britain.

A. D. 138. Hadrian was ſucceded in the empire by Antoninus Pius, early in whoſe reign the commotion was again begun in the northern parts of Britain; for the Mæatæ, a nation who formed a part of the Brigantines, and inhabited beyond the wall of Hadrian, had made fierce attacks upon the Genounia, a neighbouring nation, and who were under the protection of

The Mæatæ revolt.

* Xiphil. ex Dion, lib. lxix.

† Camden (from an ancient author) deſcribes this wall as made of great timber planks, fixed into the ground, and joined one to the other, not unlike a hedge. Camd. Brit. in Introduc.

‡ Rapin indeed affirms, that he met with certain old ſoldiers who had ſerved under Agricola, and from them he received ſuch unfavourable accounts of the country, that he choſe not to enter it. Rapin's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. book i.

§ Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 7. Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. Vit. Hadrian.

the Romans. These proceedings caused such a stir in this part of the province, that the emperor dispatched Lollius Urbicus into Britain, where he no sooner arrived, than setting upon the Mæatæ, he entirely subdued them:* and after several sharp engagements, recovered the whole country as far as the isthmus which separates the Firths of Forth and Clyde. With a design to secure his conquests, and enlarge the province, (after the example of Hadrian) he, by the direction of the emperor, raised a strong rampart across the isthmus, exactly upon the tract where Agricola before had erected a chain of forts; and this rampart he set as the utmost bound of the Roman empire in Britain.† A. D. 138.

Marcus Aurelius succeeding Antoninus Pius, sent Calphurnius Agricola into Britain to quiet some disturbances which were just began. It is not unlikely but that the Mæatæ, and their neighbours, who were but lately subdued, might be now desirous, if possible, to shake off their bonds. We are not acquainted with the success of Agricola; but we may judge that it was very good, because we hear no more of this commotion during the reign of Aurelius.‡ A. D. 161. M. Aurelius sends Agricola into Britain.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius, his son Commodus succeeded him in the empire; in the beginning of whose reign, the restless Calidonians broke the wall which Lollius Urbicus had made, and being joined by the Mæatæ, burst like a torrent upon the northern parts of the province. To quell this rebellion, the Roman general took the field against them, but his army was soon overcome, and himself slain; the conquerors continuing their marches, and wasting the country. When Commodus was acquainted with these mischances, he sent Ulpius Marcellus (a brave and prudent general) into Britain; on his arrival (having first restored good order and discipline to the army) he marched against the tumultuous revolters, and, by his valorous conduct, defeated them in several set engagements, driving them back again into their own territories with great slaughter: so that they were forced to sue for peace, and for a time continued quietly within their own territories. But the success of Marcellus had like to have proved fatal to him; for the degenerate and wicked emperor, being as envious as he was inactive, listened to the praises which were bestowed upon this excellent commander with a jealous ear; so that soon after being recalled, he but narrowly escaped with his life.§ A. D. 180. Marcellus sent into Britain.

* This is what I take to be the true meaning of that passage in Pausanius, where he declares, that "the emperor deprived the Brigantines in Britain of much of their land, because they had made incursions into the Genounia, a neighbouring nation, under the protection of the Romans." The part deprived seems to be the Mæatæ, (who are sometimes called by the general name of Brigantines) for they appear to have lost their sovereignty by being conquered. Paus. Arcad. Digest. lib. xxxvi.

† Script. Hist. Aug. in Vita Ant. Pii.

‡ Ibid. in Vita Ant. Philos.

§ Xiphil. ex Dion. lib. lxxii.

A. D. 180. After Marcellus had left Britain, we have no certain account of his
The Roman ſoldiers accuſe Perennius.
ſucceſſors in the government; but that they were baſe and unworthy, we may eaſily judge, from the general diſcontent and mutinies which enſued in the army. It ſeems, Perennius (who was a great favourite of the emperor's) managed all the buſineſs of the war according to his own pleaſure; and making advantage of his maſter's idle diſpoſition, he took all occaſions to enrich himſelf at the expence of the empire, diſbanding ſuch officers as were not ſuited for his purpoſes, and placing others in their ſtead, who were every way diſqualified for the charge they filled. Theſe unlawful meaſures he purſued to ſuch a length, that an univerſal diſcontent enſued in Britain amongſt the whole Roman army; wherefore, they ſelected fifteen hundred chief perſonages, whom they ſent to Rome, to accuſe him to the emperor: and their juſt complaints were duly attended to; for Commodus (beginning now to be jealous of his riſing power, and fearing that his views extended farther than might be ſafe for him to allow) delivered him up to his accuſers, who firſt cauſed him to be ſcourged, and then beheaded. And even this vengeance could not ſatisfy their inſatiable hatred toward him; therefore, they ſlew alſo his wife, and his two ſons, as deſirous to cut off even his offspring from the face of the earth.*

A. D. 191. Though this act of Commodus ſtifled for a time the diſcontent of the
Pertinax ſent into Britain.
army, yet it did not entirely extinguiſh the ſpirit of diſſention which prevailed amongſt them; wherefore, he ſent Helvius Pertinax into Britain, with orders to puniſh ſuch as were diſcontented and rebellious. Pertinax venturing himſelf too far in the ſuppreſſion of a tumult, was ſtricken down to the ground by one of the ringleaders, and left for dead; but recovering from his hurts, he at length appeaſed the trouble, and brought the chief offenders to juſtice. Yet he gained not the love and reſpect of the ſoldiers; for which cauſe, he earneſtly intreated the emperor to diſcharge him from his office, which was ſoon after done, according to his requeſt.†

A. D. 192. When Pertinax had ſurrendered up the government, Clodius Albinus
Clodius Albinus ſent into Britain.
was ſent into Britain. This man was in ſuch high eſteem with the emperor, that he would have honoured him with the title of Cæſar; but he declined it. Some little time after his arrival, a falſe report prevailed, that Commodus had been aſſaſſinated at Rome; wherefore, depending upon the truth of this rumour, Albinus aſſembled the army, and made an oration to them, wherein he condemned the conduct and government of emperors, ſetting before them the conveniencies and advantages of the common-wealth. This being related to Commodus, he was vexed to his very ſoul, and, in great anger, ſent Junius Severus to take the

* Xiphilin. ex Dion, lib. lxxii. & vide Lampridius.

† Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. in Vita Commod. & vide Lampridius.

rule

rule of Britain upon him, and thruſt Albinus from his office. But Com- A. D. 192.
modus being actually ſlain ſoon after theſe reſolutions were made, Clodius aſſerted his authority, and Severus never got poſſeſſion of the government.*

During the ſhort reigns of Pertinax and his ſucceſſor, Didius Julianus, A. D. 193.
Albinus kept all things in quietneſs in Britain; taking every method that he could to ingratiate himſelf in the affections of the ſoldiers.

Albinus keepeth quietneſs in Britain.

Severus, who after the death of Pertinax, had been declared emperor A. D. 194.
by his army in Germany, having ſlain another competitor for the empire, who had been ſet up in Syria, marched towards Rome, where, Didius Julianus being ſlain, he was received by the ſenate, and his title was confirmed. But now fearing the power of Albinus, whom he found ſtirring with ambitious views in Britain, in order to quiet this dangerous rival, he created him Cæſar, and proclaimed him partner with him in the empire. Thus for a ſhort time all things remained in peace; but when Severus thought himſelf ſecurely ſettled in his ſtate, he ſought all means to rid himſelf of Albinus: his private practices failing to take effect, he cauſed him to be publicly declared a traitor, and an enemy to the Roman ſtate. When Albinus heard of theſe unjuſt proceedings, he gathered all his forces together, and entering Gaul, marched forward to Lyons, where meeting with Severus, a bloody engagement enſued: the victory falling with Severus, the army of Albinus was totally routed, and he in deſpair put an end to his own life. During the abſence of Albinus, the government of Britain fell to Heraclitus, of whoſe actions we find no records left. It ſhould ſeem, that either he was ſoon recalled by Severus, or, that the Britons did not greatly regard his management of the province affairs.†

Severus declared emperor.

The Calidonians taking the advantage of the weakneſs of the province, A. D. 198.
and being joined by the Mæatæ, poured their forces through all the northern parts, and waſted the country wherever they came. To quiet theſe diſturbances, and ſecure the peace of the province, Severus ſent Virius Lupus into Britain to repel the invaders, and keep them within the limits of their own ſtate. But on his arrival, finding that they were too ſtrong for him, he prevailed upon the Mæatæ to retire, on condition of paying them a conſiderable ſum of money for ſome priſoners of war, which they had taken.‡ But this ſtep was a very unlikely one to check the progreſs of theſe free-booters; for though it kept them quiet for a time, they ſoon forgot all their fair promiſes, and broke out again, renewing their former ravages from time to time, for the ſpace of ſeveral years; till at

The Calidonians revolt.

* Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. in Vita Commod. & vide Capitolinus.

† Xiphilin. in Dion, lib. lxxvi. & Herodian. lib. iii.

‡ Theod. ex Dion, in lib. lxxv.

laſt,

A. D. 198. laſt, it is likely, Lupus (tired out with theſe continual troubles) wrote to the emperor to ſend over a larger body of forces, or come himſelf in perſon, to reſtore tranquility to the province.*

A. D. 207. Severus comes into Britain.

Severus, though upwards of ſixty years old, and alſo afflicted with the gout, reſolved, notwithſtanding theſe impediments, to enter Britain himſelf. The love of renown was not yet extinguiſhed in his aged breaſt, which joined with the ardent deſire to add the ſirname of Britannicus to his own, were his chief motives for coming in perſon; his other reaſons were, the continuing his army in action, and the removing his two ſons from that ſcene of looſeneſs and debauchery, into which they were now deeply plunging at home. The northern diſturbers, when they heard that the emperor and his ſons were actually upon the march towards Britain, began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences which might ariſe from reſiſtance; wherefore, they ſent ambaſſadors, who, at his arrival, made him fair proffers of peace. But being willing to perform ſome ſignal action, his vanity prompted him to refuſe thoſe offers, and fixed his determination to enter the north with war and force of arms. Having firſt regulated ſuch matters as were amiſs in the ſouthern part of the kingdom, he committed it to the government of his younger ſon, Geta, whilſt he, with Caracalla, (his eldeſt ſon) proceeded with their army to the north, and entered the country of the Calidonians.

The difficulties attending the march of Severus.

Innumerable were the obſtacles which he found in his march; the country was full of woods, ſwamps, and dangerous paſſes; his army was conſtantly harraſſed by ambuſhes, and ſudden attacks of the enemy, who broke out upon them from their lurking places, retiring quickly again, before head could be made againſt them; himſelf ſo afflicted with the gout, that he could not ride on horſeback, but was carried in a litter; add to this, the conſtant anguiſh of mind in knowing himſelf expoſed to the machinations of his wicked and unnatural ſon, who, impatient to obtain the empire, was ſtriving to haſten thoſe few laſt ſands which yet remained of his father's life. Yet amidſt all theſe troubles and anxieties, with wonderful preſence of mind, he bore his infirmities, and made his way even into the very heart of Calidonia; cutting down whole woods, draining marſhy grounds, and erecting bridges over ſuch rivers as were not eaſily forded, ſo that all the difficulties attending his march were by degrees removed. The better to effect theſe important works, he divided his army into two parts; the one of which was conſtantly upon the watch, in order to guard and protect the other from the ſudden attacks of the enemy, whilſt they were purſuing their labours.†

A. D. 208. Peace concluded with the Caledonians.

This unconquered reſolution of the emperor to proceed in his undertaking, (although we are informed by a cotemporary writer, that he loſt

* Xiphilin. ex Dion, in lib. lxxvi. & Herodian. lib. iii.

† Ibid.

no

no fewer than fifty thouſand of his troops in his march) ſtruck ſuch a fear A. D. 208.
into the inhabitants of Calidonia, that they were glad to conclude a peace, even on the hard conditions of ſurrendering up to him a conſiderable part of their country. When this peace was ratified, upon his return he ſurveyed the rampire (or wall of earth) which Hadrian had cauſed to be made; and obſerving that it was not by any means ſtrong enough to prevent the irruptions of the northern enemies, he therefore began another of ſolid ſtone, which was compleated in two years. This wall he raiſed to the height of twelve feet, making it eight feet broad, and fortified it ſtrongly with towers and caſtles, at convenient diſtances. The veſtiges of this ſtupendous work are yet to be ſeen, nearly parallel with the rampart of Hadrian, a few paces further to the north; it extended from the eaſt near Tynemouth, to the Solway Firth at Boulneſs, on the weſt.*

Having finiſhed this laborious work, he retired to York, afflicted with A. D. 210.
a cruel diſeaſe, which confined him to his chamber. During the interval, the northern nations (hearing, perhaps, of the emperor's indiſpoſition) broke out again into an open commotion. This breach of faith ſo highly exaſperated Severus, that, in an oration which he made to his ſoldiers, he ordered them to proceed to the utter deſtruction of the revolters.† Severus dies at York.

He himſelf was ſo afflicted with his deſeaſe, that he could not execute his determined vengeance with his own hand; therefore, he placed Caracalla at the head of his forces, and ſent him againſt the Calidonians: but he not regarding the orders which he had received from his father, applied himſelf rather to the gaining the affections of the ſoldiers, than the proſecuting of the war. He took all opportunities of degrading his abſent brother before the chief officers, and by fair promiſes ſought ſo far to advance himſelf in their favour, that on his father's death (which he was daily contriving) he might be elected ſole emperor, and his brother entirely excluded. In the mean time, Severus, (who, through the fidelity of his ſervants, had happily eſcaped all the machinations of his diſſolute ſon) worn out with his own infirmities, and grievous afflictions, died at York; in his laſt moments appointing his two ſons to be his ſucceſſors in the empire.‡ Caracalla goes againſt the revolters.

Caracalla was no ſooner informed of his father's death, than, concluding a peace with the Mæatæ and the Calidonians, he marched haſtily to the ſouthern parts of the province, in order to take poſſeſſion of the empire: but on his arrival, he found that his brother had managed his affairs with ſuch policy, and gained ſo much importance during his Severus being dead, a peace is concluded in the north.

* Xiphilin. & Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 19.

† Dion Caſſius informs us, that he concluded his ſpeech with theſe lines from Homer:

——"Let none your mercy ſpare,
"Let none eſcape the fury of the war,
"Children unborn ſhall die."
Xiphil. ex Dion, lib. lxxvi.

‡ Xiphil. ex Dion, & Herodian.

abſence,

A. D. 210. abſence, that he was obliged (to his extreme regret) to ſhare the imperial honours with him. Matters thus far agreed upon, the two brothers ſettling all things quietly in Britain, haſtened towards Rome to be confirmed in the empire.

A chaſm of ſeventy years in the Britiſh hiſtory.

After the departure of theſe two emperors, for a ſpace of more than ſeventy years hiſtorians have ſaid ſo little upon the affairs of Britain, that no certain or ſatisfactory account can be made out. From this long ſilence we may naturally conclude, that the governors of the Roman province maintained peace and good order with their allies and neighbours; and that the Britons, inured to the yoke of their conquerors, held it more eligible quietly to endure their bondage, than ſtrive for liberty at the expence of their eaſe, and hazard of their lives. So much does indolence dull and obliterate the traces of glory and the love of freedom in the ſouls of men; and when joined with luxury, ſo ſoftens and effeminates their diſpoſitions, that even deſpotiſm in their governors, and cowardice in themſelves, may by degrees become not only familiar, but even pleaſant. It is true, it requires more than common policy and cunning to effect this amazing change in the very ſouls of men; nor could it ever be done, without they themſelves lead the way, by ſwallowing the gilded bait of proffered eaſe: for when once the mind is inured to idleneſs and diſſipation, men become obſtinate in wretchedneſs, and prefer the preſent grovelling condition to a future ſtate of glorious liberty, if only to be purchaſed by repeated labours, and the hazards of war. Such is the mind, when debaſed with vice! So much doth this world's happineſs often border upon ſtupidity and fond conceit.

To fill up this chaſm in the Britiſh hiſtory, is not in the power of an author; it is true, ſome few names of the governors of Britain during this ſpace might perhaps be collected from inſcriptions; but as theſe alone would convey no ſatisfaction to the reader, they are thought of but little conſequence.*

A. D. 255. Thirty tyrants in Britain.

It is ſuppoſed, that ſome of thoſe thirty tyrants who infeſted the Roman ſtate at one time, acted their parts in Britain; this opinion has been confirmed by ſeveral of their coins being found in this kingdom.† And indeed it is very likely that it was ſo, but yet their actions in this part of the world were not material enough to obtain a place in the ancient records.

A. D. 276. Sedition in Britain.

In the time of Probus, there appears to have been ſome ſudden ſedition raiſed in Britain, which was ſoon appeaſed by Victorinus, a favourite of the emperor.‡

* Vide Camd. Brit. & Horſley's Brit. Rom. p. 289, 290, 296.

† Vide Speed's Chron. who has given ſix of their coins; and Stow's Annal. who ſays, that Lollianus, Poſthumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus, are ſuppoſed to have held Britain from Galienus.

‡ Camd. Brit. in Introduct.

When

When Diocleſian was elected emperor at Rome, he aſſociated with him Maximianus, as partner in the imperial dignity. Early in their reign, a new ſet of formidable enemies infeſted the narrow ſeas, who were the Franks and Saxons, the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts of Holland, and the neighbouring parts. Theſe pirates made frequent attacks upon the borders of Britain, carrying off great booties. To put a ſtop to theſe dangerous proceedings, Maximianus ſent out Carauſius with the fleet, to ſcour the ſeas, and protect the province. Carauſius had not been long in his office, before he was cenſured with injuſtice in the diſcharge of it: he was accuſed of attending rather to the enriching of himſelf, than the ſuppreſſion of the pirates; for he was obſerved never to attack their ſhips when they were outward bound, but ſet upon them conſtantly as they returned, enriched with their booty. Maximianus, therefore, ordered him to be privately put to death; but he eſcaping the ſnare that was laid for him, and hearing that preparation was made againſt him, engaged the whole fleet in his favour, and ſailed from Gaul to Britain, where he aſſumed the purple. In the province he behaved with ſuch prudence and moderation, that all the army quickly declared their reſolution of ſupporting his cauſe. To render himſelf ſtill ſtronger, he entered into articles of peace with the Franks and the Saxons, taking many of them into his army, and alſo into his fleet. Thus reinforced, he became a formidable competitor for the imperial honours; for he was now abſolute maſter of the Britiſh ſeas, and his power extended over all the Roman dominions in Britain.*

A. D. 284.

Carauſius ſent againſt the pirates; aſſumes the purple.

Maximianus finding his enemy too ſtrong to be ſubdued without a large fleet, choſe rather for a time to compromiſe the matter with him; therefore, he confirmed his title as emperor, and gave him the whole government of Britain, as well as of a few ports upon the ſea-coaſt of Gaul; all which he enjoyed with tranquility for ſeveral years. During this interval, (it is thought) he employed the time in ſtrengthening his alliances, and enlarging the limits of the Roman province, by ſubduing the Mæatæ, and their neighbours. He alſo repaired and ſtrengthened the wall which Hadrian had built, and added to it ſeven additional caſtles, with other neceſſary works.†

Carauſius declared emperor at Rome.

In the mean time, Maximianus, who waited but a convenient opportunity to attack Carauſius, (whom he yet held as a tyrant and uſurper) intended to make war upon him; but being kept back by contrary winds, and wanting ſkilful pilots, his purpoſe was hindered. Maximianus, and his colleague, Diocleſian, ſoon after elected two Cæſars, Galerius Maximianus and Conſtantius Chlorus, who were appointed to aſſiſt them in their government, and the keeping of the provinces in peace. To Conſtantius fell the charge of recovering Britain. Having received his commiſſion, he haſted through Gaul, and ſuddenly ſeizing upon

A. D. 292.

Conſtantius ſent againſt Carauſius.

* Eumen. in Panegyr.

† Aurel. Victor. lib. ix. cap. 21, 22. & Hen. Hiſt. Brit. chap. xix.

A. D. 292. Bulloign,* he blocked up the haven in ſuch manner, that it was rendered entirely uſeleſs, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of Carauſius to prevent him; for as this was the beſt harbour which he had upon the continent, he uſed every means to preſerve it, but in vain. Conſtantius having obtained this important point, marched from Bulloign, and becauſe he had not a fleet as yet ſufficiently ſtrong to make an immediate attack upon his enemy, he gave orders for more ſhips to be built in ſeveral ports of Gaul; and that he might not in the mean ſeaſon be idle, he with his army entered Holland, and reduced to obedience ſuch of the nations as had revolted, and entered into alliance with Carauſius. Neither, on the other hand, was Carauſius unemployed at home, but applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to make every preparation neceſſary for the oppoſing the threatening ſtorm. But whilſt things were going forward on both ſides in this manner, Carauſius was treacherouſly ſlain at York by Alectus, his familiar friend.†

A. D. 293. Alectus aſſumes the purple. When Conſtantius heard of the death of Carauſius, he ceaſed to purſue his purpoſe of invading Britain, and returned to Rome. After his departure, Alectus aſſumed the purple in Britain, and enjoyed his ſtate unmoleſted for the ſpace of three years.

A. D. 296. Conſtantius goes againſt Alectus. Conſtantius was now ſent againſt Alectus with all thoſe preparations which had been made to attack his predeceſſor. Conſtantius, when he had collected the whole of his fleet together, divided them into two parts, intending to land his army in two ſeveral places, in order to divert the intention of the enemy. Leaving the ſhore in very foggy weather, he paſſed unſeen by the great fleet of Alectus, which was hovering about the iſle of Wight. Having happily eſcaped this danger, he with the firſt part of his fleet reached the Britiſh ſhore, where he landed his men without any oppoſition. His firſt ſtep was to burn all the ſhips, as well becauſe they ſhould not fall into the hands of his enemies, as to make his men the more bold and adventurous, as knowing there was no hope left of eſcaping death, but by the conqueſt of their enemies. Alectus no ſooner heard that Conſtantius had landed his troops, than he ſailed from the iſle of Wight, and leaving his ſhips, with his whole army advanced to give him battle. His march was very precipitate, and without the leaſt order, ſo that Aſclepioditus (captain of the guard) with a great body of forces, accidentally meeting with him in his way, ſet upon his ſtraggling army, which, after a ſharp conflict, he entirely routed. Alectus, who in the beginning of the battle had diveſted himſelf of his royal robes, to prevent his being noticed, was ſlain in the field, and lay a long time diſregarded ere his death was known.‡

* Geſſariacum in Orig. Panegyr. viii.
† Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 22. Eumen.
‡ Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 22.

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The remnant of the defeated army, who conſiſted chiefly of Franks and Saxons, continued their courſe to London, and ſet upon that city with the utmoſt fury, hoping, when they had ſpoiled it of all its wealth, to make their eſcape from thence by ſea. But fortunately for the inhabitants, the ſecond part of the fleet of Conſtantius (which had been ſeparated from him by the fog) entered the Thames, and reached the city in ſuch a critical moment, that they ſaved it from the deſtructive ravages of the aſſembled foes, whom they ſet upon with ſuch fury, that they were entirely overcome, and the chief part of them put to the ſword. By this ſeries of happy events, Britain was delivered from her enemies, and again united to the Roman empire, after it had been diſmembered from it for the ſpace of more than ten years: the ſea was alſo cleared from pirates, and the free courſe of navigation once more reſtored. Neither was this ſucceſs more pleaſing to the Romans, than it was to the Provincial Britons, who regarded Conſtantius as their guardian angel, ſent from Heaven for their deliverance.* A. D. 296. The remnant of the army defeated.

The two emperors, Diocleſian and Maximianus, now thought good to reſign their ſtate, and the glory of their condition, to taſte the more perfect comforts of a private life. Their reſolutions were both put in execution at one time, and the firſt of May was the day in which they choſe to bid adieu to the empire. They were ſucceeded by the two Cæſars, Conſtantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus. In the diviſion of the empire; Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, fell to the ſhare of Conſtantius; but he, content with the honour, and not deſirous of bearing ſuch wide rule, reſigned both Italy and Africa to the government of his colleague. He made his principal reſidence in Britain, where he was engaged in ſome diſputes with the northern nations, the particulars of which are not known. However, on his return from Calidonia, he fell ſick at York, and died July 5, A. D. 306, after he had in his laſt moments nominated Conſtantinus for his ſucceſſor, who eſcaping from Galerius, was preſent at his death.† A. D. 305. The two emperors reſign their ſtate.

Conſtantinus was the eldeſt ſon of Conſtantius, and his mother's name was Helena, ſo juſtly famous in ancient hiſtory for her piety, and religious performances. She is ſaid to have been a native of Britain, and daughter of a petty king, whoſe name was Coil; and it is alſo affirmed, that Conſtantinus was born in this kingdom: though both of theſe circumſtances may be true, yet they are not affirmed by the teſtimony of any cotemporary writer. He began his reign at York, being ſaluted emperor by the army, immediately after the death of his father.‡ After his election, the affairs of Britain required him to make ſome ſhort ſtay; for when he had performed the laſt honours to his deceaſed father, he proceeded A. D. 306. Conſtantinus ſucceeds to the empire.

* Eumen. Panegyr.

† Eutrop. lib. x. cap. i. & Aurel. Vict.

‡ Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 2. Vide Uſſer. de Primord. Eccleſ. Brit. cap. 8.

A. D. 306. with his army to the north to finiſh the war againſt the Mæatæ and Calidonians, (who now began to be called by the new names of Picts and Scots) where, compelling ſome by force, and paying others, he concluded peace with thoſe nations. Having now greater things in view, he ſet ſail from Britain, and landed on the continent, where he obtained a conſiderable conqueſt over the Franks in Batavia; he alſo defeated ſome communities who had revolted in Germany, and made both the Gauls and Germans his friends.* When he had thus ſettled the province affairs, he withdrew his forces from Germany, Gaul, and Britain, to the amount of ninety thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſe. With this prodigious army he ſet forward toward Italy in order, by battle, to aſſert his claim to the empire againſt Maxentius, ſon of the abdicated Maximianus, who had aſſumed the purple at Rome; but Conſtantinus defeating him in a deciſive engagement, quickly afterwards reduced Italy, and became maſter of the world, to which this glorious conqueror reſtored the heavenly bleſſings of peace and liberty.†

Uncertainty relative to Conſtantinus coming again to Britain.

It is very uncertain whether Conſtantinus returned again to Britain after he had reſtored peace to the empire, which indeed is a matter of diſpute, though of but very little conſequence. From this time to the death of Conſtantinus, which happened May 22, the year of our Lord, 337, the iſland ſeems to have enjoyed a profound peace.‡

A. D. 337. Conſtantinus' three ſons ſucceed him.

After the death of Conſtantinus, his three ſons, Conſtantinus, Conſtans, and Conſtantius, ſucceeded him. To the elder, by diviſion, fell Spain, Gaul, Britain, and part of Germany; but he, thinking that the empire was not equally ſhared amongſt them. and looking with a covetous eye upon the territories of his brethren, invaded thoſe of Conſtans, ambitiouſly deſiring to add them to his own. In the proſecution of the war, he fell into an ambuſh near Aquilea, where he loſt his life, together with the greater part of his army. This unfortunate accident happened in the ſpring of the year 340.§

A. D. 343. Conſtans comes into Britain.

Conſtantinus thus overcome, his brother Conſtans ſeized upon his dominions, over which he ruled for a time with great prudence and diſcretion. He prepared a large fleet, and viſited Britain in the beginning of

* Vide Camd. Brit. in Introduct.

† Euſeb. Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 4.

‡ Camden is of the opinion, that the words of Euſebius hint as much, where he ſays, "At laſt Conſtantinus ſailed over into Britain, which is ſurrounded with the ſea, and having overcome the inhabitants, he began to think of other parts of the world, that he might relieve thoſe who needed his aſſiſtance." In another place, "After he had inſtilled into his army the principles of humanity, modeſty, and piety, he invaded Britain, &c." But an excellent modern author obſerves, that "This is not ſufficient evidence, becauſe, (adds he) theſe ſhort hints of Euſebius moſt probably refer to what Conſtantine performed here in the beginning of his reign." Which of theſe opinions is the moſt juſt, is left entirely to the judgment of the reader. Camd. Brit. in Introduct. & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Britain, vol. I. chap. i.

§ Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 9.

the

the year 343, in order to ſuppreſs the Picts and Scots, who had begun to make inroads into the neighbouring province. The particulars of his expedition, or the ſucceſs he met with, are not known:* however, from the peace, which ſeems for a few years after this time to have prevailed in the province, it ſhould appear that they were ſubdued, and reduced to quietneſs. A. D. 343.

Some time after his return from Britain, he recovered from a lingering diſeaſe, which had long afflicted him; when giving ear to the councils of wicked and diſſolute men, he fell into many enormous vices. For the ſupport of his unbounded extravagances, the provinces were laid under ſuch heavy exactions, that they univerſally complained; nor was his behaviour at home in the leaſt more equal, inſomuch that he became ſo diſagreeable to the ſoldiers, that they mutinied, and ſet up Magnentius againſt him, by whoſe means he was ſlain at Elna, in Rouſillon, the 18th of January in the year of our Lord, 350. After his death, Magnentius uſurped the government of Africa, Italy, and Gaul; to theſe, moſt likely, Britain alſo may be added.† A. D. 350. Conſtans ſlain by Magnentius.

Conſtantius, when he heard of the murder of his brother, notwithſtanding his affairs in the eaſt required his cloſe attendance, laid them aſide for a time, to revenge his death upon the uſurper. Wherefore, gathering a great army together, he came againſt him, and after a cruel and bloody engagement, routed his forces. This battle was fought at Murſa, in Panonia, the 28th of September, in the year of Chriſt's nativity, 351. A. D. 351. Magnentius defeated.

Magnentius, after this defeat, ſuſtained ſeveral other heavy loſſes, and being at laſt driven to the higheſt pitch of deſpair, he ſhut himſelf up in the city of Lions, where he executed the moſt horrid and bloody reſolution, murdering firſt his mother, next all his relations, and laſt of all himſelf, to prevent their falling into the hands of his juſtly incenſed enemies.‡ This cruel deed was perpetrated the 11th day of Auguſt, in the year 353. After the death of Magnentius, all thoſe nations over which he had uſurped the rule, ſubmitted to Conſtantius; who preſently after appointed Gratianus Funarius (the father of Valentinian, who was after emperor) to be the governor, (or, as he was then called, the vicar of Britain;) but Gratianus did not long enjoy the honour of his poſt, as in a very ſhort ſpace of time we find Martinus in poſſeſſion of this government.§ A. D. 353. The horrible end of Magnentius.

Conſtantius acted not with that equality which became a conqueror, but cruelly purſued even the diſtant favourers of the deceaſed tyrant with A. D. 354. Conſtantius cruel.

* The accounts of this war are unhappily loſt, with the firſt part of the hiſtory of Ammianus Marcellus, in which it is moſt likely they were recorded.

† Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 9.
‡ Ibid. cap. 12. Xoſim. lib. ii.
§ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xiv. cap. 5.

unrelenting

A. D. 354. unrelenting rigour. For this cauſe he ſent one Paul, a Spaniard, his ſecretary into Britain, to ſeize upon all who had been concerned in the ſedition, and to lay them in bonds: this mercenary ſervant more than executed the unjuſt commands of his maſter, and ſeized upon great numbers of harmleſs people, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. Martinus, who was now vicar of Britain, and whoſe ſoul was pierced with the cries of oppreſſed innocence, took their cauſe upon himſelf, and remonſtrated with the inhuman officer, declaring his injuſtice, and beſeeching him to forbear to hurt thoſe who had not offended. Enraged at the charge of Martinus, Paul, in the heighth of his paſſion, accuſed him alſo of being confederate with Magnentius, and was proceeding to apprehend him, when he drew forth his ſword, and ſmote at Paul, with the intention of ſlaying him, but miſſing his aim, and having no hopes of eſcaping the fury of the emperor for this deed, he ſuddenly turned the point with more certainty againſt himſelf, and falling upon it, expired on the ſpot. Paul now met with no farther oppoſition in the execution of his cruel deſigns; wherefore, a prodigious number being put into bonds, were carried before the emperor, all of whom were either executed, baniſhed, or other ways grievouſly puniſhed. But yet Almighty God, who had permitted the vile oppreſſor, Paul, to execute his purpoſes, at laſt brought the whole weight of his vengeance upon him, for he was ſome time after burnt alive, at the command of the emperor Julian.*

A. D. 360. The northern nations begin freſh diſturbances.

The Roman province, which, during the ſpace of the laſt hundred and fifty years, had received but trifling diſturbances from their troubleſome neighbours, the Scots and Picts, was now in a very flouriſhing condition. For as the war ceaſed to engroſs their attention, wealth and plenty, the bloſſoms of peace, began to appear in their full luſtre. Allured by this tempting proſpect, the reſtleſs northern free-booters reſolved now once more to enter the province, and reap with their ſwords the profits of the induſtrious. By ſome means or other they paſſed the wall of Severus, and ſet upon the borders of the ſouthern nations; wherefore, Julianus (who had but lately received the honourable title of Cæſar) being governor of Gaul, ſent Lupinus into Britain with a conſiderable army; he himſelf not being able to come in perſon, becauſe he was at this time buſied in the German wars. No ſooner was the arrival of Lupinus announced to the northern ravagers, than they left the borders of the province, and retired precipitately to their own nations; which, when the general heard, he proceeded no farther than London, where uſing his endeavours to put all things in good order, he abode but a ſhort time; for when he had ſent ſome additional forces to the chief garriſons, he returned again to the continent.† The Roman army in Britain receiving this neceſſary reinforcement, kept their dangerous enemies in

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xiv. cap. 5. & Ibid. lib. xxii. cap. 3.

† Ibid. lib. xx. cap. 1.

ſuch

ſuch awe during the ſhort reign of Julian, and the ſtill ſhorter of his ſuc- A. D. 360.
ceſſor, Jovinan, that they were fearful of making any further attacks upon their territories.

In the firſt year of Valentinian, either through the negligence of the Roman army, or the greater boldneſs of the northern inſurgents, a dreadful and alarming commotion was ſet on foot, which threatened danger to the whole Roman province. Three very powerful bands, compoſed of the Scots, the Picts, and the Attacotes,* taking the advantage of a time when the Franks and the Saxons were plundering the ſouthern coaſts, poured like an irreſiſtible torrent into the northern parts of Britain, ſlaying firſt Nectaridius, who had the charge of the ſea-ſhore, and after defeated Bulchobandes, a valiant leader of the provincial ſoldiers. To ſtop this dreadful inundation, Severus, an officer of diſtinction, was firſt ſent into Britain, and after him Jovinus, who had purchaſed great fame with his ſword in the German wars. But neither of theſe chiefs had brought forces enough to quell their numerous enemies, who ſwarmed from all quarters, and for the ſpace of three ſucceſſive years continued their deſtructive depredations.† A. D. 364. The northern nations ravage the province.

Alarmed by theſe violent proceedings, Valentinian ſent Theodoſius, one of the braveſt and moſt prudent generals of that age, at the head of a large army, into Britain. When he arrived, he found the province in a moſt deplorable condition; ruin and deſtruction had paved the way of the rude revolters, who were at this time advanced as far as London: but hearing of his coming with additional forces, they retired with their booty from thence. He, without any loſs of time, quickly purſued the track which they had taken, and coming up with them, fought a ſevere battle; they were ſoon entirely routed, and ſo precipitate was their flight, that they left the whole of their vaſt ſpoils behind them, which Theodoſius, with great juſtice and goodneſs, reſtored again to the original proprietors. Having obtained this ſignal victory, he invited two very able men from the continent to Britain, that they might aſſiſt him in his undertaking. The one was Civilis, a prudent man, and well verſed in civil affairs; the other, Dulcitus, a valiant chief, and experienced in military matters. He ſpent the winter in regulating what was amiſs, and ſettling the tranquility of the ſouthern parts of the province.‡ A. D. 367. Theodoſius comes into Britain.

In the ſpring he took the field again at the head of his army, marching directly to the north. The enemy fled before him from all parts, abandoning the forts and towns which they had taken from the provincial ſoldiers; however, they left behind them the dreadful marks of their rapa- A. D. 368. The ſucceſs of Theodoſius in Britain.

* The Attacotes were a ſavage people, who ſeem to have inhabited in ſome of the moſt northern parts of the kingdom. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. c. iii. ſect. 9.

† Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

‡ Ibid.

A. D. 368. cious and deſtructive diſpoſitions. Theodoſius continuing his march took poſſeſſion of the fortifications which they had relinquiſhed; ſuch as were deſtroyed he rebuilt, and thoſe which were damaged he repaired, placing ſtrong garriſons in all of them, to ſecure them from any ſudden attacks; ſo that by degrees he recovered the whole country as far as the wall which Severus had built. But not content with theſe acquiſitions, he puſhed his victories ſtill further, and entered and ſubdued all thoſe nations which dwelt between the two walls, driving the lawleſs ravagers beyond the iſthmus, which ſeparates the firths of Forth and Clyde; where he repaired the rampart which Lollius Urbicus (at the command of Antoninus Pius) had built, and made it once more the boundary of the Roman province in Britain. The limits between the two walls he reduced into the form of a province, naming it Valentia, in honour of the emperor Valens.*

Conſpiracy againſt Theodoſius.

Having conquered and driven forth the foreign enemies, he next proceeded to repair and ſtrengthen all the forts and garriſons throughout the province, which had been neglected during the foregoing peace. The military diſcipline in the army he again reſtored, and kept the whole in readineſs to repel the forces of their troubleſome neighbours. He caſhiered the Arcani, a ſort of light troops ſtationed upon the frontiers of the kingdom, to give timely notice of any approaching danger, becauſe he found they had betrayed their truſt; and he placed others in their room. During the expedition into the north, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of this excellent commander; the ringleader and chief contriver of which was one Valentius, who had been baniſhed for ſome enormous crimes. But happily, before his infamous plot was ripe for execution, it was diſcovered to Theodoſius; by this fortunate circumſtance, his life was redeemed from the dangerous ſnare of treachery. Valentius, with ſome few of his accomplices, were brought to juſtice; the reſt eſcaped from puniſhment, for Theodoſius would by no means permit any further enquiry to be made after them, leſt, conſcious of their guilt, and hopeleſs of mercy, they ſhould raiſe a freſh diſturbance in the army, to ſecure their own ſafety.†

Theodoſius reſtores peace and tranquility to the province.

Thus prudently did Theodoſius regulate his conduct in the great charge which he had undertaken; and having now ſecured the province from the attacks of their foreign enemies, he ſet about ſuch regulations as were neceſſary to be made in the government, that the connection between the Roman army and the provincial Britons might be held faſt by the bond of friendſhip and reſpect. He began by reforming many abuſes in the collecting of the public tribute; he alſo perſuaded the emperor to remit ſome part of the tax, which he thought oppreſſive to the inhabitants. He then proceeded to encourage and aſſiſt the Britons in building them houſes, repairing their cities, and enlarging their

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. cap. 8. † Ibid, b. xxviii. cap. 3.

towns:

towns: ſo that from a wretched ſcene of ruin and diſtreſs, the province was in a ſhort time reſtored to plenty and happineſs. When this noble general had thus happily executed his commiſſion, he returned to Rome; and ſoon after, Fraomarius, the king of the Buccenobants, in Germany, was ſent into Britain, and put at the head of the German auxiliaries which ſerved there.* A. D. 368.

After the departure of Theodoſius, the Roman province in Britain enjoyed a profound peace for ſeveral years. Their ſtrong-holds and garriſons being well manned, prevented the incurſions of the Picts and Scots, whilſt a large and powerful fleet protected the ſea-coaſts from the ravages of the Franks and Saxons. And ſtill longer might this happy tranquility have continued, had not the provincial ſoldiers and the Britons joined their whole force to advance an unfortunate pretender to the empire. The cauſe of all this fatal diſturbance was as follows: A. D. 375.

The beginning of a rebellion againſt Gratianus.

Gratianus, who ſucceeded his father Valentinian in the empire, ſoon found himſelf unable to manage the government alone; it is true, his brother Valentinian was partner with him, yet being but an infant, he was not able to bear any part in the adminiſtration; wherefore, in the fourth year of his reign he aſſociated with him, Theodoſius, (the ſon of that Theodoſius who had ſo valiantly reſtored peace to Britain) making him equal with him in the honour and management of the ſtate, that through his aſſiſtance he might recover the declining condition of the empire. The advancement of Theodoſius proved highly offenſive to Maximus, who at this time was governor in Britain; for, as he thought that the ſervice which he had done the ſtate was equal to what had been performed by Theodoſius, ſo alſo he thought that his right to the honour of emperor was at leaſt equal to his. Inflamed with anger at this ſuppoſed inſult, he determined to ſeize by force upon that ſhare of honour which he thought was due to his merit: therefore, he ſecured the favour of the army, and ſo wrought upon them by fair promiſes, that they all declared their firm intentions of ſupporting him in his claim to the empire. Beſides, he had ſo ingratiated himſelf with the provincial Britons, as well by his mild government, as in marrying the daughter of a Britiſh chief, that, without the leaſt reluctance, a great body of them, the very flower of their youth, joined the army, and determined to follow his fortunes. A. D. 379.

Maximus aſſumes the purple in Britain.

No ſooner was he aſſured of their aſſiſtance, than he aſſumed the purple, and taking the advantage of the abſence of Theodoſius, who was now employed in the eaſt, he with the whole of his army ſailed into Gaul, where he was no ſooner arrived, and ſet up his claim, than the ſoldiers from all parts of the continent flocked to his ſtandard: for Grati- A. D. 381.

The death of Gratianus.

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

A. D. 381. anus was a very weak and unpopular prince, and his rule was diſagreeable to the whole army; ſo that Maximus gained ground with ſuch rapidity in the empire, that the emperor ſoon found himſelf deſerted, and in no condition to make head againſt the uſurper. Wherefore, deſtitute of friends, he fled to Lions, and there was treacherouſly ſlain by his remorſeleſs enemies, the 25th of Auguſt, in the year 383.

A. D. 383. The ſucceſs of Maximus.

Maximus now obtained all the provinces which had been under the government of Gratianus; no ſooner had he taken poſſeſſion of them, than he created his ſon Victorinus (whom he had by his Britiſh wife) Cæſar, and made him his partner in the empire. This laſt act ſo highly pleaſed the Britons, who came in his army, that they all of them unanimouſly agreed to ſupport his cauſe to the utmoſt of their power. The young Valentinian hearing of the revolt of the army, and the death of his brother, ſought to make peace with Maximus, who receiving his propoſals with reſpect, a preſent agreement was patched up, and a ceſſation of arms enſued for a ſmall ſpace; alſo Maximus was allowed by Theodoſius to aſſume the title of Auguſtus. He then ſettled himſelf in his ſtate, at Trier, in Germany; but yet he could not long remain quiet in his poſſeſſions, for with ambitious views he marched towards Italy, hoping to intercept the young Valentinian, and ſeize upon his territories; but he having timely intelligence of the tyrant's deſign, fled with his mother to Theodoſius, and perſuaded him to take the field againſt him.

A. D. 388. The overthrow of Maximus.

Whilſt theſe things were carrying on in the eaſt, Maximus purſued his conqueſts in the weſt; and coming to Aquileia, all Italy and Africa ſubmitted to him. But he enjoyed not long the honours which he had obtained; for Fortune, tired of advancing his glory, now ſuddenly thruſt him from her favour, to make room for his mighty and renowned antagoniſt, Theodoſius, who, partly perſuaded by Valentinian, and partly moved by ambition, took the field, and coming ſuddenly upon Maximus, defeated him in two great battles, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping by flight, took refuge in Aquileia. But how different was his reception now, from that which he had found when he entered the city, crowned with his conqueſts; depreſſed by the ſevere ſtrokes of misfortune, he, who of late was the idol of their praiſe, was now become the object of their contempt. Nor was this all the ſufferings of this wretched chief; for the very ſoldiers who had vowed to ſupport his cauſe, forgot their promiſes, and for the hope of reward, delivered him up to his enemy, at whoſe command he was preſently beheaded, in the year of our Lord, 388.*

The Britons who accompanied Maximus ſettle in Gaul.

The Britiſh forces who had accompanied Maximus, were not preſent at theſe unfortunate engagements; for they, with young Victor at their head, had been ſent into Gaul, where the ſame evil fate which fell upon

* Vide Camden, Speed, &c.

the

the father at Aquileia, purſued the unhappy ſon; for he was ſlain in a A. D. 388.
ſharp engagement, and his forces were routed. Theſe misfortunes were dreadfully felt by the miſerable Britons, who now found themſelves in the midſt of their enemies' country, without a leader, without proviſions, deſtitute of ſuccour, and having no ſhips to tranſport them to their native home. In this truly deplorable caſe they wandered about, until they reached the ſouth-weſt part of Gaul, where they waited in daily hopes of getting ſome paſſage to Cornwall; but this alſo failing them, they were obliged to make their abode with the Belgæ, who received them with great kindneſs; ſo that they never returned again to Britain, but ſettled finally in that part of the continent, which was then called Aremorica, and now goes by the name of Britanny, in France. In the mean time, the rumour of theſe miſhaps reaching the ears of Andragatius, who kept the ſeas, (and was the very man that ſlew Gratianus) he was ſo ſtruck with fear, that he caſt himſelf headlong from his ſhip into the waves, and was drowned.*

Britain ſoon felt the fatal abſence of her warlike ſons, and groaned A. D. 393.
beneath the oppreſſion of her cruel enemies: for the reſtleſs Scots and Picts, emboldened by the weakneſs of the province, broke through their bounds, and began afreſh their ravages in the north, whilſt all the ſouthern coaſts were plundered and ſpoiled by the piratical Franks and Saxons. At this time, Theodoſius, by the death of his colleague, Valentinian, became the ſole maſter of the world. When hearing of the dangerous ſtate of the province in Britain, he ſent Chryſantus, a man of great valour and reputation, to its relief. This officer, (who afterwards became a biſhop) expelled the enemies, and reſtored tranquility to the ſtate.† The Scots and Picts break out again.

Theodoſius the Great died on the 17th of January, in the year of our A. D. 395.
Lord, 395, and was ſucceeded by his two ſons; Arcadius, the elder, bearing rule in the eaſt, and Honorius, the younger, in the weſt. When Honorius entered upon the imperial dignity, he was but ten years of age; for which cauſe, he was placed under the tuition of a nobleman, named Stilico, who had been the faſt friend of his father, his conſtant companion in all his wars, and the ſharer of all his glorious victories. No ſooner was the death of Theodoſius made public, and the tender years of his ſucceſſor known, but, like a mighty torrent, the enemies of the weſtern empire poured in upon it from every quarter, and ſeemed to threaten the ſtate with immediate ruin and deſtruction. Amidſt this general tumult, the Roman province in Britain ſhould hardly have eſcaped: their ferocious enemies, the Scots and Picts, taking the advantage of the time, broke forth again, and entering the ſouthern parts, deſtroyed and waſted the country wherever they came: driven to the greateſt diſtreſs, Troubles in the Roman empire.

* Vide Camden, in Introduct.

† Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. vii. cap. 12.

A. D. 395. the provincial ſoldiers fled before them, whilſt they, following their fortune, made daily advances into the land, till at laſt, Stilico, having in ſome meaſure compoſed the dangerous diſturbances on the continent, ſent a reinforcement of troops into Britain, by whoſe timely aſſiſtance the revolters were ſuppreſſed, and once more driven back within the limits of their native homes.

A. D. 407. Mutiny amongſt the ſoldiers in Britain.

But unfortunately for the province, after the foreign enemy was quelled, their ſtate was ſoon rent and torn by civil factions at home; the ſpirit of mutiny and diſcord ſeized upon the Roman troops, inſomuch, that regardleſs of the emperor, who held his rule at a diſtance, they elected one amongſt themſelves, whoſe name was Marcus. For a time he held his ſtate; but ſoon after, the giddy multitude, in their capricious humour, pulled him from his dignity, and deprived him of his life, ſetting up another, named Gratian, in his ſtead, from whoſe government they expected more ſatisfaction. But their reſolutions being as uncertain as the blaſts of wind, at four months end they alſo murdered him, and raiſed to his ſeat one Conſtantine, an officer of inferior degree. So ſtrangely infatuated were the minds of this rebellious crew, that preſaging lucky omens from the name of this ſoldier, was the ſole cauſe of his rapid advancement.*

A. D. 408. Conſtantine's expedition into Gaul.

The aſpiring diſpoſition of Conſtantine, was, moſt likely, what preſerved his life, and ſecured him the favour of his electors: for by keeping them in employ, and other prudent meaſures, which he ſeems to have purſued, he both reigned longer, and made a greater figure, than either of his unfortunate predeceſſors. This extraordinary adventurer, when he thought himſelf ſecure in the favour of the army, leſt they ſhould relapſe, reſolved to amuſe their mindswith great expectations; wherefore, he meditated an expedition into Gaul. For this purpoſe he ſought all means to ingratiate himſelf into the favour of the Britiſh youth; many of whom he trained to arms, and enliſted into his bands. When he had prepared all things according to his wiſh, for this important undertaking, he with the beſt of all his troops, and the flower of Britain's ſons, ſet ſail, and landed on the continent. His firſt endeavours were crowned with great ſucceſs; nor had he been long there, before he got poſſeſſion of the two rich and extenſive provinces of Gaul and Spain. Elated with his advancement, he fixed his ſeat of empire at Arles, which he called Conſtantia, after his own name; and declared his eldeſt ſon (who had formerly been a monk) his partner in the ſtate. Thus far the proſpect was fair before him, and all his attempts ſucceeded to his wiſh; but a ſhort time entirely changed the ſcene, and all the glories which he had ſuddenly obtained were as ſuddenly eclipſed! Making an attempt upon Italy, he failed of ſucceſs; and ſome ſhort time after, he quarrelled with his beſt and

* Bede. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 11.

moſt

moſt powerful friend and aſſiſtant, Gerontius; which quarrel uſhered in all his misfortunes, for this valiant general, piqued at the ingratitude of Conſtantine, turned his arms againſt him, and intercepting his ſon, Conſtans, he ſlew him at Vienna, in Gaul. Immediately after this ſevere ſtroke, Conſtantine himſelf was cloſely beſieged in Arles, by the army of Honorius; and when the city was taken, he was there ſlain in the church, whither he had fled, as to a place of ſecurity, in the year of our Lord, 411.* A. D. 408.

After the death of Conſtantine, Britain yielded to Honorius, who ſent Victorinus thither with a powerful reinforcement, to prevent the ravages of the Scots and Picts, who had begun to make diſturbances upon the borders of the province. But now the glory of the Roman empire declined apace; their enemies prevailed on every ſide: the continual troubles which ſurrounded the ſtate, obliged Honorius to recall Victorinus from Britain, and the whole of the army with him, to his aſſiſtance. After the departure of the Roman army from Britain, the whole province was left in a very defenceleſs ſtate; not only on account of their leaving the iſland, but alſo by the great emigrations of the Britiſh youth with Maximus and Conſtantine.† A. D. 412.

Victorinus ſent into Britain.

The Scots and Picts no ſooner heard that the Roman troops had left Britain, than thinking themſelves ſecure of conqueſt, and puſhed on with the hopes of plunder, they ſallied fiercely forth upon the provincial Britons. But the reception they met with was ſuch as they did not in the leaſt expect; for after a ſharp engagement or two, they were diſperſed and driven back. This victory was chiefly owing to a large number of veteran Romans, who, from their connections and poſſeſſions in the land, choſe not to leave it when the regular troops were called away. Theſe men alarmed at the approach of the lawleſs enemies, had encouraged and aſſiſted the Britons to make a bold reſiſtance in defence of their natural rights. Yet this happy effect was but a temporary mitigation of thoſe evils which were ready to burſt upon them; for their deſtructive foes renewed their ravages from time to time, and were continually gaining ground. The Romans who yet remained in Britain, ſeeing no hopes of protecting the province from their frequent attacks, and finding their ſituation full as unſafe as it was diſagreeable, made application (joined with the Britons) to Honorius for aſſiſtance; but he having full employment for the whole of his forces, to ſupport the tottering empire from ruin, returned for anſwer, that it was impoſſible for him to aſſiſt them; and added, that "he entirely gave up all claim to their alle-"giance," adviſing them to defend themſelves by their own courage. This unſatisfactory reply, had ſuch an effect upon the Romans, that they preſently diſpoſed of their poſſeſſions, and taking their effects with them, A. D. 414.

All the Romans leave Britain.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12. † Ibid.

departed

A. D. 414. departed to the continent, in ſearch of a more quiet habitation, leaving the diſtreſſed Britons to ſhift for themſelves.

The Britons' grief at the departure of the Romans.

With aching hearts, the wretched Britons beheld the departure of their guardian friends! with ſtreaming eyes, they ſurvey their native land naked and defenceleſs, laid open to the mercy of their barbarous enemies! They now foreſaw their inevitable deſtruction was at hand! Various were their councils, various their reſolutions, yet little comfort reſulted from either! A ſhort time ſoon proved how juſt their apprehenſions were, and brought to paſs thoſe miſerable calamities which they expected daily: for the Scots and Picts receiving information of this laſt emigration from the province, poured in their troops, and began again their wonted depredations. Sometimes the Britons fled before them, and ſecreted themſelves in their deep receſſes; at other times, endeavouring to make head againſt them, they were overcome, and purſued with ſlaughter. For, void of military diſcipline, and having their ſpirits depreſſed by miſeries, they were at leaſt half overcome before the engagement was begun; whilſt, on the other hand, the ferocious ravagers, hardy and inured to toil, their minds fluſhed with the hope of plunder, bore down their opponents, and returned home laden with their ſpoils.*

A. D. 416. The Britons intreat Honorius for aid.

Theſe dangerous invaſions they repeatedly made, continually advancing and extending their rout; whilſt the Britons, driven to deſpair, ſent humble ſupplications to the emperor Honorius, at Rome, for aſſiſtance, and promiſed both willingly and faithfully to hold their obedience to him. Moved with their earneſt petitions, and pitying their diſtreſſes, he received theſe meſſengers very favourably; and becauſe he was now more at leiſure to attend to their complaints, than he was when they had implored his ſuccour before, he reſolved to lend them what aſſiſtance he could. Therefore, he ſent immediately into Britain a whole legion of his troops, with which reinforcement he thought they might be able to repel their intruding foes.

The Scots and Picts driven back.

This ſalutary aid was received by the provincial Britons with the greateſt marks of joy and gratitude; their ſpirits now revived again, and they prepared with ardour to accompany the Romans againſt their cruel enemies. Marching directly to the north, they fell upon them, and after ſome ſlight ſtruggles, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, purſuing them to the utmoſt confines of the province of Valentia. This important ſervice performed, the Romans adviſed the Britons to repair the wall of Antoninus Pius, and fortify it ſtrongly; by which means, it was thought the incurſions of the northern nations might be eaſily prevented, and the ſouthern parts of the iſland ſecured from their miſchievous attacks. After having given them this advice, and inſtructed them in the moſt proper method of rendering this fortification ſtrong and advantageous,

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12.

the Romans bid the inhabitants farewel, and returned again in triumph back to Rome.* A. D. 416.

The Britons, flushed with their late victories, employed themselves with great alacrity in the repairing the wall, as they had been advised; but, instead of building it strong and substantial with stone, they were content with raising it up with earth alone. In the mean time, the Picts and Scots lay close in their retreats; but hearing that the Romans were returned to the continent, they issued from their lurking places, and came down to the isthmus, where the new wall was made; some passed the firths in their curroghs, (or little boats) whilst others made their attack upon the wall itself; by this means they beat down an entrance, and soon gained firm footing in the province of Valentia, which they laid waste, and then proceeded as far as the wall of Severus, where entering the borders of the southern province, they spread an universal terror and confusion throughout the whole island. The Britons were now convinced, that the temporary aid which was afforded them from Rome, had only protracted, not cured, their desperate grievances. They now saw the same ruin hovering round them which they had feared before, and were again oppressed with the same despair. Having no hope left them, but from the aid of Honorius, they dispatched fresh messengers to Rome, who set forth their deep distress with so much energy, and painted the horrors of their state in such lively colours, that the emperor was moved to pity their miserable condition, and sent again another legion, under the command of Gallo, of Ravenna, to their aid.† A. D. 417. The Britons sue again to Honorius for succour.

The Roman troops landed in Britain in autumn, when being joined by what forces the provincials could collect together, they marched immediately against the enemy, who not suspecting any reinforcement from Rome, or fearing any opposition from the Britons, were busied in plundering the country. The Romans taking the advantage of their security, fell suddenly upon them, and made a prodigious slaughter. The remnant which escaped by flight returned to Calidonia, and there hid themselves in the woods and mountains, whither they were accustomed to retire with their annual booty. The Britons now seeing the rock on which their endeavours had split before, at the persuasion of the Romans gave up the whole province of Valentia; because they found the wall acros the isthmus was a very insufficient fortification to protect the country; and the more especially, as the narrowness of the firths on either side made the passage in their curroghs so easy and convenient.‡ A. D. 418. The Scots and Picts again put to flight.

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 11. & Gildas in Hist.

† Ibid. Ibid.

‡ Ibid. Ibid.

After

A. D. 419. After this reſolution was formed, the army returned to the more ſouthern wall, which Severus had built. The Romans (who now reſolved to make a longer ſtay in the iſland than the legion which preceded them had done, in order to ſettle the peace of the province upon ſurer grounds) agreed to aſſiſt the Britons in the repairing and ſtrengthening the wall in ſuch a manner, as might reſiſt the repeated attacks of their enemies. The Britons chearfully and thankfully accepted of their offer, and both parties together proceeded to accompliſh this important work. The whole expence was chearfully diſcharged, either by private contributions, or public collections; every inhabitant willingly gave his aſſiſtance, either by his labour, or as much of his effects as he could conveniently ſpare; for this was a general cauſe, and therefore demanded a general help.*

The Romans aſſiſt the Britons in repairing the wall of Severus.

A. D. 420. The Romans thinking they had now ſecured the northern parts of the province, turned their next conſiderations to the ſea-coaſts on the ſouth, which were often invaded, and damaged by the piratical Franks and Saxons, who infeſted the ſeas, and were now become a formidable ſet of enemies. To prevent their landing, cloſe upon the ſhore, at convenient diſtances, they erected ſtrong forts, and built ſeveral caſtles. After this, the Roman general gave to the Britons exact models of ſeveral kind of arms, and inſtructed them carefully in the uſe of them; and now being upon the point of taking his leave, he repreſented to them, that it was by no means convenient to him, or his ſoldiers, to return again to their aſſiſtance; therefore, he exhorted them to exert the utmoſt of their courage, and to ſtand bravely up in the defence of their native rights: "For, (added he) you are neither inferior in bodily ſtrength, or natu-
"ral endowments, to your enemies, therefore the victory will entirely
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The Romans finally leave Britain.

A. D. 421. Gallo left South-Britain in a flouriſhing condition; the inhabitants were poſſeſſed of ſtrong garriſons, and alſo large ſplendid cities, enriched with ſculptures, and various ſpecimens of Roman grandeur. The country was alſo well cultivated, and delightful, and through the whole province ran thoſe juſtly celebrated military roads, which facilitated the travelling from place to place. Happy if that noble ſpirit, and love of glory, which ſo ſtrongly marked the characters of their anceſtors, had yet continued hereditary to their ſons; without that animating ardour

The ſtate of Britain.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12. & Gild. Hiſt.

† Ibid. Ibid.

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The Scots and Picts deſtroy the province of Valentia.

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* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12. & Gild. Hiſt.

† Ibid. Ibid.

A. D. 426. ſo faintly kept up, the plunderers renewed the aſſault, and ſoon broke down a paſſage through the rampart, and entered upon the borders of the ſouthern nations; whilſt the affrighted Britons fled on every ſide, and were fiercely purſued by the Barbarians, who, without remorſe or pity, deſtroyed all that they found in their way. They employed the whole ſummer in plundering the country; at the end of which, enriched with the ſpoils, they joyfully returned to their ſecret receſſes in the north, where, with their wives and families, they ſpent the winter in revellings, at their eaſe. Theſe unwelcome viſits, they forgot not to renew with the ſpring, for ſeveral years, driving the wretched Britons from their houſes and poſſeſſions, and carrying off all their effects with them to their own homes.*

The miſeries of the Britons deſcribed.

The miſerable Britons, driven from their eſtates, now fled from before their cruel enemies, wandering about the country, ſecreting themſelves in woods and caverns, without any other means of ſubſiſtance than what they obtained by hunting, and ſlaying the wild beaſts of the field; or elſe by ſetting upon ſuch of their own countrymen as the common enemy had ſpared: ſo that the whole ſouthern part of Britain became one general ſcene of ruin and confuſion; inſomuch, that it was hard to determine which was the moſt dangerous enemy, the lawleſs northern plunderers, or the wretched natives themſelves, now grown deſperate, and driven to the higheſt pitch of deſpair.†

A. D. 446. For near twenty years was the ſouthern parts of the iſland waſted and deſtroyed by the mercileſs Picts and Scots; during which time, the unfortunate inhabitants had wandered from place to place, oppreſſed with indigence, and groaning beneath the ponderous burthen of their afflictions, without the leaſt expectation of any effectual help, until the fame of Aetius, governor of Gaul, reached their ears, which revived a tranſitory gleam of hope in their minds, that through his aid they might be freed from the barbarity of their oppreſſors; and reſtored to peace; the loſs of which they had ſo long lamented, the loſs of which they had ſo cruelly felt. The better to effect their purpoſe, they ſent ambaſſadors to Aetius, with mournful letters, addreſſed to him in this manner: "To "Aetius, thrice conſul, the groans of the Britons." In which they painted their deep diſtreſs in the moſt lively and feeling terms, concluding the whole in the following pathetic ſtile: "The barbarians drive "us to the ſea, the ſea forces us back again upon the barbarians; in theſe "dreadful extremities, deaths awaits us equally on both ſides; either "we muſt fall by the ſwords of our enemies, or elſe be drowned in the "ſwelling waves." But, alas! their riſing hopes of comfort were ſoon ſuppreſſed, by the refuſal of the governor to aſſiſt them; for, at this time, his forces were all employed in ſervices of much greater conſequence to the Roman empire; wherefore, however ſtriking their complaints might be, the moſt he could afford them was pity and compaſſion.‡

The Britons ſue to Aetius, governor of Gaul, for aid.

* Gildas Hiſtoria, & Hiſt. Ninii.
† Ibid. & Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 12.
‡ Bede, ut ſup. cap. 13.

Oppreſſed

Oppreſſed with grief, the unfortunate ambaſſadors return to Britain, and relate with tears their want of ſucceſs. Who ſhall paint the horror of the ſurrounding natives? Deprived at once of their laſt beam of hope, and left in all the tortures of deſpair! The wretchedneſs of their ſtate was augmented by their grief; and their daily increaſing miſeries hung heavy on their thoughts! And, add to all theſe dreadful misfortunes, an intolerable famine began now to prevail amongſt them: ſo that in theſe affecting extremities, ſome retired to their ſolitary caverns, and mourned in ſecret; ſome croſſed the ſeas to Gaul, and ſought protection with their countrymen, in Acremorica; ſome fled to North and South Wales: and others took refuge in Cornwall and Devon; diſperſing themſelves on all ſides, and leaving their whole poſſeſſions to the mercy of their intruding enemies. The remaining part, grown deſperate in their diſtreſs, iſſued from the woods and caverns, whither they had retreated, and ſet upon the enemy with uncommon fury, often depriving the ſpoilers of their ſpoil. This ſucceſs of a few parties, led others to follow their example; ſo that the ravagers, at laſt wearied out with continual ſkirmiſhes, retreated back, and by degrees left the country, returning home to their own ſtates, where for a time they remained quiet. This tranſient and unhoped for appearance of peace, was quickly ſeized upon by the diſtreſſed Britons, who, leaving their ſolitary retreats, deſcended upon the plains, and applied themſelves with the greateſt diligence to till the land: ſo plentifully was their induſtry repaid, that the famine, before ſo grievous amongſt them, was preſently mitigated; and, in the end, by repeated endeavours, abundance once more bleſſed the ſtate. When the Britons were thus happily delivered from their troubles, could any one expect to find them ſo dull and ſtupid, as not to foreſee of how ſhort continuance this dawn of peace was like to prove, becauſe it ſprung from no certain, or ſolid principle. Surely, if they had in the leaſt reflected on the cauſe of their enemies' retreat, they would rather have found it to to have proceeded from their want of ſpoils equal to their troubles, than the fear of the Britiſh arms: of courſe it muſt naturally follow, that wealth and plenty would ſoon induce them to return again, and renew the war, ſince the hope of plunder was the only motive which urged them to the battle; the repeated inſtances which the Britons had ſeen of this important truth, ſhould have taught to have kept up good order and military diſcipline, whilſt the fair occaſion offered, in order to ſecure, by force of arms, the profits of their laborious toil. But ſo blind were they to their own welfare, that careleſs of the future danger, they reſolved to ſeize upon the preſent happy moment, to riot in the plenty which they now enjoyed! They quickly forgot the Being to whom they owed their preſervation, and gave themſelves up to idleneſs and vice! At the ſame time, a dreadful peſtilence began to rage in the land, which ſpread ſuch ſudden deſtruction amongſt them, that the living were ſcarcely ſufficient to bury the dead. Though thus oppreſſed and weakened; though thus laid open to the freſh invaſion of their enemies; like men obſti-

A. D. 447.

The deſperate ſtate of the Britons.

A. D. 447. nately determined upon their own total deſtruction, they ſtill followed their inordinate ſluggiſhneſs, until they had filled the meaſure of their woes top full.*

A. D. 448. But now approached apace the fatal time, in which the total downfall of the miſerable Britons ſhould be made complete! The northern ſpoilers returned again to their wonted depredations, and a tumultuous fear overwhelmed the ſouthern nations. Raiſed by their approaching ruin from their lethargic ſlumber, they ſoon beheld the fatality of their errors, and dreadfully lamented their miſpent time! To heighten the terror of their apprehenſions, a report did now prevail amongſt them, that the Scots and Picts had collected the whole of their power, and entered into a ſtrong confederacy together, entirely to root them out from the ſouth of Britain, and plant their own northern tribes in their poſſeſſions. However true or falſe theſe reports may have been, they ſeem to have had a ſurpriſing effect upon the minds of the timorous Britons; for they preſently called a grand council of all their different ſtates, in order to conſult upon the moſt likely means to ſtop the threatening danger. After many conſiderations, and much debate, one of their kings, and a man who ſeems to have borne the greateſt ſway in the council, named Vortigern, in an evil and ill-fated hour, roſe from his ſeat, and after declaring, that he thought they could not of themſelves withſtand the irreſiſtible torrent of their enemies, propoſed to them, that they ſhould call in the Saxons, a brave and hardy people, to their aſſiſtance. The advice of this chief was received with joy by the ſurrounding multitude, who were all ready to catch hold of the leaſt hope of ſuccour, without once giving themſelves the trouble to reflect upon the conſequences, or weigh the danger which might reſult from ſuch an imprudent ſtep.† From this general approbation, the matter was quickly reſolved upon, and ambaſſadors ſent with letters to the Saxons, to implore their aſſiſtance.‡

The Britons ſend to the Saxons for aid.

The

* Gildas Hiſt.

† Ibid. & vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 14.

‡ Witichindus has given us the letter of the Britons to the Saxons, in the following abject ſtile: "Moſt noble Saxons, "We, the wretched and diſtreſſed Britons, "worn out by the conſtant incurſions of "our cruel and mercileſs enemies, and be-"cauſe we have heard of the fame of thoſe "glorious victories, which by your valour "you have obtained; therefore have we "ſent our humble ſuppliants to you, to "implore your kind aſſiſtance. We have "large and plentiful poſſeſſions, abound-"ing with every neceſſary; theſe, with "ourſelves, we ſubmit to your diſpoſal, "if you will generouſly lend us your ſuc-"cour againſt our inveterate foes. Long "have we enjoyed the ſweets of peace "under the powerful protection of the "Roman arms, and now we know none "ſecond in glory to them, but your-"ſelves: therefore, to you we lift up our "hands for aſſiſtance, and in return are "willing to abide whatever ſervice you "ſhall impoſe upon us." But ſurely, however diſtreſſed the Britons might be, they never would have debaſed themſelves in ſuch a groveling manner. It is far more likely, that Witichindus compoſed this letter for them, than they for themſelves;

as

The Saxons gladly accepted theſe invitations from the Britons; for, as they lived entirely by the ſpoils which they ſeized upon from others, a fair occaſion ſeemed now to offer, by means of which they might enrich themſelves. Wherefore, receiving the meſſengers with every mark of friendſhip, they promiſed them that they would ſhortly come to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army, and protect them from the ravages of their enemies. The Britons received this anſwer from their ambaſſadors with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction. They now ſuppoſed that their deliverance was at hand, and were highly pleaſed at the happy ſucceſs of their councils. Thus blinded with their own fatal errors, they foreſaw not the dreadful ſtorm which was gathering over their heads, replete with ruin and deſtruction.* A. D. 449.

The Saxons promiſe help to the Britons.

In the mean time, the Saxons, elated with the hopes of plunder, prepared themſelves to perform the promiſes which they had made to the Britons; and ſent a conſiderable reinforcement into Britain, under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa, who were brothers, and born of a noble lineage, tracing their pedigree from Woden, one of their chief gods, as all the German heroes at that time were accuſtomed to do. They landed with their forces in three long ſhips, called keels,† upon the iſle of Thanet, in the year of our Lord, 449, and were joyfully received by Vortigern, and the reſt of the Britons.‡

The Saxons land in the iſle of Thanet.

as alſo may be the caſe in the following anſwer of the Saxons: "Know ye, that "the Saxons are the Britons' friends, and "ready at all times to aſſiſt them; re-"turn ye, therefore, back, and make "your countrymen glad with theſe joy-"ful tidings." Nennius and others, ſay, the Saxons were not invited by the Britons, but being exiled from their own country, landed here. However this may be, it is certain that they were well received by the Britons.

* Witichindus, Geſt. Sax. lib. i.

† Verſtegan quoting Pomarius, aſſures us, that, at this firſt arrival of the Saxons, there came nine thouſand men, under the command of the two warlike chiefs. But Hector Boetius makes their number to be ten thouſand, and ſays, they came in thirty ſhips, or gallies. Verſt. Reſtit. of decayed Intellig. cap. v. page 116.

‡ Wm. Malmſ. Geſt. reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 1, &c.

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE

OF

ENGLAND.

PART II.

From the Arrival of the Saxons to the End of the Heptarchy.

THE joyful Britons quickly appointed a reſidence for their new-come friends, reſigning to them the iſle of Thanet. And now, becauſe the Scots and Picts were continuing their hoſtilities in the north, Vortigern intreated his allies to take the field againſt them: and they, deſirous of ſhewing their valour, by ſome great exploit, readily agreed to his propoſal; wherefore, joining their forces with the Britiſh army, they preſently began their march towards the foe, who were now advanced as far as Stamford, in Lincolnſhire, where the two armies met, and a ſharp engagement enſued; but through the valour and conduct of the auxiliary Saxons, a complete victory was obtained, and the northern ravagers were put to flight with prodigious ſlaughter. This important conqueſt gained the Saxons ſuch great credit with Vortigern, and the whole community of the Britons, that they looked upon them as their guardian angels, ſent from Heaven to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs.* A. D. 450. The Saxons overcome the Scots and Picts.

Hengiſt and Horſa ſeem, from their firſt ſetting out from Germany, to have formed the deſign of ſettling themſelves in Britain;† and now, perhaps, the fertile and pleaſant appearance of the country, as well as the unwarlike diſpoſition of the inhabitants, were the grand A. D. 452. Freſh aid ſent for from Germany.

* Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. Will. Malmſ. & alia.

† Gildas Hiſt. cap. 23.

and

A. D. 452. and irreſiſtible temptations which confirmed at once their former intentions. Seeing how high they ſtood in the favour of the king, and the people in general, their next ſtep was with ſmooth and guileful ſpeeches, under the maſk of ſound friendſhip, to prevail upon them to invite a ſecond band of troops from Germany; by whoſe aſſiſtance they might be able to ſecure the kingdom from all its enemies, and raiſe its peace upon a laſting baſis. Allured by the tempting proſpect of eaſe and quietneſs, the heedleſs Britons readily entered into the ſubtle propoſals of the Saxons; and accordingly meſſengers were inſtantly diſpatched by the b other chiefs to their native land, inviting their friends and relations to come over into Britain, and partake with them the ſpoil of the country.*

A. D. 453. Fired at the animating ſound of war, and eager for the plunder, the valiant German youth aſſembled together, and accepted of the fair invitation from Britain, with fierce and clamorous acclamations of joy: they flocked from every quarter, and uniting together in a large company, embarked on board ſixteen ſhips;† when, looſing the flying ſails, they chearfully ſet forward on their voyage, following the fortune of the two warlike brothers, and big with the expectations of their future rewards. On their arrival in Britain, they were received with open arms by their countrymen, and ſoon made acquainted with the promiſing proſpect which lay before them. With this laſt warlike band, came Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, who was a young ſprightly damſel, in the full bloom of her beauty, of which ſhe poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare. The Britiſh king no ſooner ſaw this lovely virgin, than he was ſo deeply enamoured with her perſon, that, regardleſs of his fame, or the dangers which were likely to ariſe from ſuch an imprudent ſtep, he reſolved to take her to his bed; wherefore, gaining the conſent of her father, contrary to the advice of his chief friends, he inſtantly made her his wife;‡ and this action was the more juſtly cenſured by the murmuring Britons, becauſe ſhe was of a foreign ſtock, and alſo a heathen. Hengiſt overjoyed at the advancement of his fortune, and now grown more bold in his demands, petitioned the king to grant him a larger quantity of land, for the reſidence of himſelf and his army, than what had been hitherto allowed for them. His petition was inſtantly complied with, and all Kent was given into his hands. Though theſe proceeding of the king were in the higheſt ſenſe diſtaſteful to the people, yet all their remonſtrances were in vain; for Hengiſt and his followers continually gained ground in his favour, and every day advanced their footing in the land.

Vortigern marries Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt.

* Nenrii, Hiſt. cap. 36, & Will. Malmſ. lib. i.

† The Scottiſh writers ſay, that this ſecond reinforcement conſiſted of five thouſand men, who came over in eighteen ſhips.

‡ Nenn. Hiſt. & Malmſ. ut ſup.

The

The Saxons perceiving that the eyes of the Britons began to open upon their designs, and finding their murmurs continually increased, resolved at once to secure their fortune, and resolutely hold the territories which they now possessed: but because they did not think themselves sufficiently strong as yet, to enter into open hostilities with the Britons, Hengist once more had recourse to his subtle persuasion; intimating to the king, that if he would permit him to send fresh messengers into Germany, he would invite his brother Octa, and his son Ebussa, to come over into Britain, and bring with them a powerful reinforcement; adding further, that through their assistance, the British dominions might be greatly extended, by the entire conquest and subjugation of the Scots and Picts.* The prospect of extending his rule, without the trouble of conducting a tedious war, was so flattering to the lazy ambition of Vortigern, that he presently consented to the proposal of the guileful Saxon, and empowered him to send again into Germany for aid. Messengers were quickly dispatched, and agreeable to the invitation of Hengist, the two chiefs embarked with their army, and coasting about Britain, arrived at the Orkney islands, where they landed, and did much mischief; passing from thence into Northumberland, they settled there; where they continued for a long time, not as an independent state, but as subjects to the kings of Kent.† A. D. 454. More assistance sent for by the Saxons.

Woeful experience soon confirmed the suspicions of the Britons, relative to the faithless Saxons; and they plainly saw that the obstinacy of their king would end in their ruin: wherefore, repeating their murmurs, they proceeded to threatenings, so that discords and clamours rose on all sides. Hengist and his brother seeing that the people were not to be pacified by their arguments, and assurances of peace, pulled off the mask of friendship, and declared themselves the enemies of the British state. In the mean time, the last party of Saxon troops, who were settled in Northumberland, entered into a firm league with the Scots and Picts; and joining the whole of their forces together, spread like an inundation from the north. The wretched Britons, unable to resist, fled in confusion from their houses and possessions, some taking refuge in the woods and solitary places; others fly to the rocks and mountains, or seek to hide themselves in vaults and caverns, where they felt every pinching want, and experienced the full extent of worldly woe. In this distress, they wandered about in search of their miserable sustenance, more like ghastly spectres from the grave than human beings! Others, more provident, gat them to the sea-shore, and collecting together what vessels they could, sailed into Gaul, and sought protection amongst their friends in Brittanny. Whilst the rest, driven to despair, come down from their forlorn habitations, and submit themselves to the yoke of their cruel con- A. D. 454. The Saxons unite against the Britons.

* Malms. lib. i. Mat. West. sub anno 453.

† Ibid.

querors;

A. D. 454. querors; and even this ungracious mercy was prized as a ſuperlative favour, for many of theſe hapleſs wretches were put to death.*

A. D. 455. The battle at Aelford, in Kent.

During all theſe dreadful miſchances, Hengiſt, and his brother Horſa, were not idle in their territories in Kent; for having openly made a breach of their faith, they ſet upon the Britons in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, where they met with great reſiſtance; for the chief leaders of the Britiſh ſtates, when they found that Vortigern was deaf to all their remonſtrances, had depoſed him from his authority, and ſet up Vortimer, his eldeſt ſon,† a brave and valiant man, under whoſe banner they prepared to take the field; and being joined by numbers of the miſerable fugitives from all quarters, their army was daily increaſed, ſo that calling upon God to aſſiſt them, they advanced againſt their enemies, and deſpaired not of ſucceſs. Hengiſt and Horſa, when they heard that Vortimer was coming againſt them, collected all their troops, and kept themſelves in readineſs to give him battle. Both armies met in a place called Egleſthorp, (now Aelford, in Kent) where, after a ſharp and grievous engagement, it was hard to determine which had the advantage. However, if the Britons were not abſolutely overcome, they were at leaſt ſo weakened, that they judged it prudent to withdraw themſelves for a time from Kent: neither was Hengiſt in condition to purſue them. This battle is made famous by the deaths of two chief perſonages; Horſa, brother to Hengiſt, on the part of the Saxons; and Catigern, brother to Vortimer, on the part of the Britons.‡

A. D. 457. Another battle between the Britons and Saxons.

Hengiſt, after the death of his brother Horſa, ſent into Germany for farther aſſiſtance; and employed himſelf with the greateſt diligence in ſtrengthening his army, during the time which the Britons let him be at reſt. When two years had elapſed, Vortimer, having reinforced his bands, returned into Kent, and met the forces of Hengiſt, who was accompanied with his ſon, Æſc, at Creecanford, (now called Crayford) where a ſevere encounter enſued; but finally the Saxons got the upper hand. In that unfortunate field, the Britons loſt four of their chief

* Witichindus, Geſt. Sax. lib. iii. Gild. Hiſt. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 15. et alia.

† Neither Bede nor Gildas make any mention of this prince; and by Henry Huntingdon, he is ſaid, with his brother Catigern, to have been at the battle of Aelford, but under the conduct and command of Aurelius Ambroſius; to whom the leading of the following engagements alſo are attributed. The Saxon Chronicle gives the honour to Vortigern himſelf, but Nennius aſcribes it to Vortimer, as alſo does Ethelward, Malmſbury, and the chief of our ancient hiſtorians. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. Chron. Sax. Nennii, Hiſt. cap. 45. Ethelward, lib. i. Malmſbury, lib. i. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 454.

‡ Malmſ. Ethelward, ut ſup. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 455. Some have written that Hengiſt fought three times this year with the Britons, and being overcome, he retreated to the iſle of Thanet, and the Britons recovered Kent; and after that, Hengiſt fled into his own country for more help. Verſtegan is of opinion, that he was not forced, but went voluntarily thither for further aſſiſtance. Hen. Hunt. lib. i. Verſtegan, 129.

leaders,

leaders, beſides four thouſand of their common men.* Vortimer, with his remnant of the army, fled before the Saxons, leaving Kent with all the ſpeed they could, and gat them to London. This laſt unfortunate blow, ſtruck ſuch a damp into the ſouls of the Britons, that they dared not for a long time return into Kent; ſo that Hengiſt was left to poſſeſs his ſtate unmoleſted for ſeveral years. Immediately after the ſucceſs of this laſt battle, Hengiſt, who hitherto had contented himſelf with the name of *heretogen*, or general, now aſſumed the title of king, and began his rule over Kent, the firſt kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy, eight years after his firſt arrival into Britain.† A. D. 457.

* Ethelward, & alia, ut ſupra.

† Hen. Hunt. lib. i.

HISTORY

OF THE

KENTISH SAXONS.

KENT, the firſt kingdom poſſeſſed by the Saxons, contained all that part of the country, which to this day bears its original name. It ſtretched from the Eaſtern Ocean to the river Thames, its boundary on the north; to the ſouth-weſt, its borders were terminated by the counties of Surry and Suſſex.*

The ACTS *of* HENGIST, *the firſt* SAXON KING *of* KENT, *continued.*

From A. D. 457. to A. D. 465.

AFTER Hengiſt had aſſumed the title of king, he bore rule over the whole diſtrict, without any interruption from the Britons, for the ſpace of ſeveral years. At this diſtance of time, as well as from the confuſion in which the accounts of this extraordinary man are found, it will be impoſſible to trace out the whole of his political proceedings. In this lamentable obſcurity are buried many important facts, which, could they happily be recovered, would lead us to make the ſeveral periods complete, and finally ſettle many intereſting diſputes relative to ſeveral of the chief tranſactions. In the ſame unfortunate confuſion are the matters concerning the Britons, and their proceedings: as well as in reſpect to the commanders, under whoſe banners they were led to the battle. Two fierce encounters between the Britons and Saxons have been recited above, and are attributed, together with two more that follow, to the proweſs of Vortimer, by ſome, and thoſe reſpectable authors; whilſt others give Aurelius Ambroſius † the honour of firſt leading the Britons to the field againſt their faithleſs foes. However this may be, it is certain, that under the command of one, or both, of theſe chiefs, the Britons entered Kent again, in the year of our Lord, 465,‡ eight years after their laſt battle, and fought with the Saxons at a place

Third battle between the Britons and Saxons.

* Vide Camden in Brittan. vol. I.

† Gildas Hiſt. cap. 25. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib i. cap. 16. and ſee a preceding note, page 66. Some have imagined, that Vortimer and Aurelius Ambroſius were but one and the ſame perſon; if this could be proved, it would at once clear up the obſcurity; but as it cannot from ancient authority, it muſt remain in its ſtill doubtful ſtate. Vide Hollingſhed's Chron. vol. I.

‡ Chron. Sax.

called

called Wippeds Fleet: this was a ſharp and bloody engagement on both ſides, ſo that the victory was long doubtful; but in the end, Hengiſt and his followers prevailing, the Britons were driven from the field. The Britons had divided their hoſt into twelve diviſions, at the head of every one of which was placed a leader, under the command of the chief general; all theſe leaders, as well as a prodigious number of common men, were ſlain before they made their retreat.* Yet this victory was by no means pleaſing to Hengiſt and his party; for though they had gained the upper hand, yet had they loſt a great number of their beſt troops, as alſo one of their chief captains, named Wipped, from whom the place where the battle was fought, obtained its name.† A. D. 465.

The loſs ſuſtained on either ſide was ſo ſeverely felt, that for the ſpace of eight years they kept themſelves quiet; the Britons not daring to moleſt the Saxons, whilſt on the other hand, the Saxons ſeem to have been too weak to ſally out upon the Britons: but this interval they employed in ſending for ſuccour from Germany, and ſtrengthening their forces. In the year 473, the war was again begun, and Vortimer, at the head of his Britons, invaded Kent, and at a place near the ſea-ſide, called Colmore, he met with the Saxons, under the conduct of Hengiſt, and his ſon, Æſc, when another ſharp conflict enſued: in the beginning, the Saxons had the moſt favourable proſpect of victory, as being poſſeſſed of an advantageous poſt; but during the courſe of the battle, they were, by degrees, drawn from thence, when the Britons rallying their forces again, ſet upon them afreſh, and beat them back with great ſlaughter, purſuing them to the iſle of Thanet, where they fled, and took refuge in their ſhips.‡ A. D. 473. Fourth battle between the Britons and Saxons.

Soon after this laſt battle, Vortimer departed this life, haſtened, as it is thought, by the machinations of Rowena. And no ſooner was his death publicly known, than Vortigern, (who, during all theſe dangerous diſturbances, had hid himſelf cloſely in Wales) ſhewed himſelf again to his ſubjects, and either by force, or crafty perſuaſion, prevailed upon them to re-eſtabliſh him in the kingdom. In the mean time, Hengiſt, hearing that Vortimer was dead, and that Vortigern had again reaſſumed the reins of government, and truſting to the power which he had over him, came from Thanet, where he had privately ſtrengthened his army, and took poſſeſſion of his former dominions. And becauſe he found that he had not ſucceeded ſo rapidly as he expected by the force of arms, he was determined to try the effect of treachery and deceit: wherefore, he ſent ambaſſadors with a ſhew of peace to Vortigern, who made pro- A. D. 474. The treachery of the Saxons.

* Chron. Roffenſis, MS. in bib. Cott. inſig. Nero, d. ii.

† Ethelward, Hiſt. lib. i.

‡ Some have affirmed, that it was now that Hengiſt returned to his own country, and did not come back again to Britain until the death of Vortimer.

miſes

A. D. 474. miſes of great things, and pleaded hard that a day might be fixed, when they might meet on both ſides as true friends, in order to compoſe the fatal diſturbances which had hitherto prevailed, and eſtabliſh a laſting cordiality between them. Theſe fair propoſals deceived not only Vortigern himſelf, but all his court; ſo that the Saxons obtained their ends, and a day was appointed by the Britons, as alſo a place pitched upon for the meting, which was the plains of Ambri, near Saliſbury. On the day fixed for the final negotiation of this important buſineſs, (which was in the month of May) the Britons and Saxons met together. The former relying on the faith and aſſurance of peace of the latter, came into the field unarmed, and proceeded in a friendly manner to begin the conſultation; the latter alſo received them with chearful countenances, and the ſame appearance of good-will. But on a ſudden, in the midſt of the buſineſs, Hengiſt aroſe from his ſeat, and gave the watch-word * to his companions, who inſtantly drew forth every man a long knife, which he had concealed under his garment, and ſet upon the defenceleſs Britons: and ſo certain were they in their cruel deſign, that three hundred of the chief perſonages of the realm were ſlain.† Eldol, a brave nobleman, (and ſaid to have been the governor of Cheſter) ſeeing the treachery of the Saxons, caught up a large ſtake which accidentally lay in his way, and made ſuch a brave reſiſtance, that after he had killed and wounded ſeventy of his enemies, he made his eſcape from the reſt.‡ Hengiſt had ſtrictly forbid his party to make any attempt upon the life of Vortigern, wherefore, in the beginning of the maſſacre, he was ſeized upon and kept ſafe; and for his ranſom, he was obliged to give up to Hengiſt, the counties of Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex.§ This fatal blow made ſuch an impreſſion upon the ſpirits of the Britons, that, ſuſpecting the dreadful conſequences which might ariſe from the death of their chief nobles, they fled again to their ſecret receſſes in the woods and caverns.

A. D. 476. The dreadful death of Vortigern.

Incenſed at theſe treacherous proceedings of the Saxons, and the weakneſs of their king, who, beſides his ſluggiſh diſpoſition, is accuſed of committing inceſt with his own daughter, thoſe of the Britons, whoſe ſouls yet retained ſome ſparks of native glory, roſe up againſt him, and chaced him into Wales; advancing to the kingly dignity, Aurelius Ambroſius, a valiant man, and of Roman origin. ‖ Encouraged by the hope which they placed in the valour and conduct of this chief, the fugitive Britons came from their ſecret places, where they had taken refuge, and with one conſent, imploring the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, flocked around his ſtandard. His firſt ſtep was to march into Wales againſt Vortigern, who

* This word was Nimeð Eure Seaxer, that is, draw forth your Seaxes, or daggers. Nennii, Hiſt. cap. 47 & 48.

† Ibid.

‡ Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 461. & Ranulph Higden, Polychron. lib. v.

§ Nen. Hiſt. cap. 48.

‖ Gild. Hiſt. cap. 25. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 16.

had

had retired amongſt the mountains, where he built a ſtrong caſtle, and fortified the entrances in ſuch a manner, as he thought would reſiſt the repeated attacks of his enemies. When Aurelius approached the caſtle, he girt it round with a cloſe ſiege; and after a ſhort ſpace, by caſting brands of fire into it, burnt it to the ground; and Vortiger, with all his adherents which were ſhut up with him, periſhed in the flames.* A. D. 476.

When Aurelius had compleated his expedition in Wales, a new and unexpected alarm called for his immediate aſſiſtance; for a freſh band of Saxons, tempted by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, had lately ſailed from Germany, and were landed in Suſſex, where they had overcome the Britons, and ſlain their leader. This dangerous evil called for a preſent remedy; wherefore, with all his forces, he marched directly towards the enemy, to put, if poſſible, a final ſtop to their advancement.† But as the ſucceſs of his arms, and the proceedings of theſe late-come enemies, who now founded the kingdom of Suſſex, will be fully related in the hiſtory of that kingdom, it is thought proper to omit them here, and paſs on to the affairs which relate to Kent alone. A. D. 477. The beginning of the kingdom of Suſſex.

Aurelius was called back from purſuing the advantages which he had gained in Suſſex, by the rapid progreſs that Hengiſt was making in the kingdom; who had paſſed through the very heart of it, and was got beyond the Humber, ſpoiling the country as he went. Aurelius following cloſely at his heels, came up with him at a place called Maſſabel, where both armies joined, and a very bloody battle enſued, which ended in the total overthrow of the Saxons.‡ After this, Aurelius fought another battle with the ſame ſucceſs, againſt Hengiſt and his party, upon the banks of the river Dune. Tired out with theſe unfortunate chances, Hengiſt returned into Kent, where, remaining peaceable for a time, he departed this life in the year of our Lord, 488.§ A. D. 488. The death of Hengiſt.

Hengiſt had three children, two ſons and one daughter. The eldeſt was Hatwaker, who is reported to have been duke of the Saxons in Germany, and left in that ſtation, to govern them in the abſence of his father; from whom the noble family of the dukes of Saxony is ſaid to have taken its origin.‖ Æſc was his ſecond ſon, who accompanied him into Britain, and was his conſtant companion in his wars; and after his death, ſucceeded The children of Hengiſt.

* Gild. Hiſt. cap. 25. & Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 16. Some ſay, that it was burnt by lightning from Heaven.

† Matthew of Weſt.

‡ It may not be improper here to take notice of the various opinions amongſt the ancient authors, concerning the death of Hengiſt; for Matthew of Weſtminſter, the author of the Chron. Roſſenſis, and others, affirm, that he was taken either at, or ſoon after, this battle, by Eldol, earl of Cheſter, and conveyed to Conneſbury, and there beheaded at the command of Aurelius: but by what we may judge from Gildas, Bede, Ethelward, &c. as well as from the poſitive affirmations of Marinus, Florentius, the monk of Worceſter, and other authentic writers, it appears more likely, that he died honourably at home.

§ Sax. Chron. ſub anno 488.

‖ Petrus Albinus, in Geneal. Hiſt. &c.

A. D. 488. ceeded him in the kingdom of Kent. His laſt child was a daughter, named Rowena, greatly eſteemed for her beauty; ſhe was, as has been before obſerved, married to Vortigern, king of the Britons, by whom he had one daughter, who, as ſhe grew to woman's eſtate, increaſed in beauty and perſonal perfections; her charms ſo ſtrangely bewitched her luſtful father, that contrary both to the laws of God and nature, he took her to his bed; from this horrid inceſt ſprang a ſon, who was named Fauſtus;* in diſpoſition directly oppoſite to that of his wicked parents, for as he grew up, he devoted his life to virtue and religion.

ÆSC, *the ſecond* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 489. The peaceable reign of Æſc.

AT the death of Hengiſt, Æſc, his ſon, appears, with his army, to have taken refuge in the city of York, where Aurelius Ambroſius purſued him, and planted a cloſe ſiege before the walls. Fortune favouring the attempts of the Britons, Æſc was expelled from thence, and fled into Kent, where he was joyfully received by his countrymen, and proclaimed king, in the room of his deceaſed father.† From the time of his election, to his death, there is but little recorded of this prince; perhaps, owing to the profound peace in which he held his government: for as he was leſs ambitious of the uncertain glory of war than his father, he contented himſelf with ſecuring thoſe dominions which he already poſſeſſed, rather than running the doubtful chance of enlarging his boundaries, and extending his rule.‡ And if he forbore to aſſault the Britons, they were to the full as backward in giving him occaſion: for Ambroſius, and his ſucceſſor, Arthur, had their whole time taken up in endeavouring to ſuppreſs the riſing danger in other parts of the kingdom; for, beſides thoſe Saxons who had taken poſſeſſion of Suſſex, (as has been before obſerved) a freſh party of them arrived on the weſtern coaſts of Britain, and had made their footing ſure.

A. D. 495. The kingdom of Weſſex began.

Theſe laſt-mentioned Saxons came under the conduct of Cerdic, and his ſon, Kenric, in the year of our Lord, 495; and this ſame year they began the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons.§ But to return to the affairs of Kent.---Although the rule of Æſc was ſo mild and equitable, he failed not to gain the favour of his warlike and turbulent ſubjects; for, in honour of him, the Saxon kings of Kent, who ſucceeded him, were called Æſcings for a conſiderable time after.‖ He reigned twenty-four years in peace, when he died, and left his kingdom to his ſon.**

OCTA, *the third* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 513. Octa repairs Tong caſtle.

OCTA ſucceeded his father, Æſc, in the kingdom of Kent; and, like him, he ſeems to have governed the dominion in peace. He repaired

* Nennii, Hiſt. cap. 52. & Polychron. lib. v.
† Nen. Hiſt. cap. 62.
‡ Will. Malmſ. lib. i.
§ Chron. Sax.
‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 5.
** Chron. Sax.

and fortified the caſtle of Tong, and placed therein a ſtrong garriſon of men, to guard the adjacent country.* This caſtle, which ſtood but a little diſtance from Sittenbourn, (where the earth-works are yet to be ſeen) was built by Hengiſt, his grandfather; and here, it appears, that Vortigern firſt ſaw the beautiful Rowena, being invited by her father to a banquet.† A. D. 513.

In the reign of this king, Erchwine, a noble Saxon chief, with a large party of ſoldiers, came from Germany, purſuing the fortunes of their countrymen who had ſettled in Britain, and landing in the eaſtern parts of the iſland, began the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons.‡ Yet Erchwine bore not his rule as over an independent ſtate, but as feodary to Octa, king of Kent. A. D. 527. Kingdom of the East Saxons begun.

After that Octa had reigned peaceably two and twenty years, he died in the year 535, and left the kingdom to his ſon, Hermenric.

HERMENRIC, *the fourth* KING *of* KENT.

HERMENRIC ſucceeding to the kingdom, held it the ſpace of twenty-five years in peace, when he died, and left the crown to Ethelbert, his ſon.§ He had alſo one daughter, whoſe name was Rikell; ſhe was married (in her father's life-time) to Sledda, the ſecond king of the Eaſt Saxons. A. D. 535. Hermenric rules in peace.

In this king's reign, Ida came into Northumberland with a powerful reinforcement, and taking upon him the title of king, began his reign in that diſtrict. ‖ A. D. 547. Kingdom of Northumberland begun.

ETHELBERT, *the fifth* KING *of* KENT.

ETHELBERT was very young when he ſucceeded his father Hermenric in the kingdom of Kent. The ſurrounding Saxon ſtates, taking the advantage of his youth, ſet upon his territories, ſeeking to add them to their own. But yet, with the aſſiſtance of his friends and noblemen, he weathered through the boiſterous ſtorm, and held his dominions with great honour.** A. D. 560. Ethelbert's youth and troubles at his entering the kingdom.

The firſt battle which he fought, and the firſt that was fought between the Saxons themſelves, was againſt thoſe of Weſſex, under the command of Ceauline, their king, and his valiant ſon, Cuth. Ethelbert had paſſed the bounds of his own kingdom to meet the foe, and was come to a place called Wibbandune, where the enemy were prepared for the engagement, A. D. 568. Ethelbert overcome by the W. Saxons.

* Scala Chronica, lib. i.
† See Lambardes Peramb. of Kent, page 245.
‡ Henry Hunt. lib. ii.
§ Polychron. lib. v.
‖ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.
** Ibid. lib. i. cap. 1.

A. D. 568. which proved a desperate and bloody one: the end was unfortunate to Ethelbert; for his whole army was defeated, and two of his chief commanders, Oslac and Cnebban, were slain in the field; so that he was glad to save himself, and the remnant of his soldiers, by flying precipitately back again into Kent.* But notwithstanding this heavy misfortune, he neglected not to defend the borders of his realm, and when he had gained more experience in war, and had advanced in years, he prevailed against all the Saxon states round about him, on this side of the Humber, reigning with greater glory than any one of his predecessors.†

A. D. 575. At this time began the sixth kingdom of the heptarchy; for Uffa, a valiant man, coming from Germany, entered the eastern parts of Britain, which he subdued; and assuming to himself the title of king, called his dominions the East Angles.

The kingdom of the East Angles begun.

A. D. 585. Now begun the seventh, and last, kingdom of the Saxons, called Mercia; which was the largest in circuit, and contained more counties than any of the rest. Its first king was Crida, a brave and valiant chief.‡ But to return to the affairs of Kent.

The kingdom of Mercia begun.

A. D. 594. Ethelbert having fixed his throne in peace and tranquility, his next step was to contract an alliance with Chilperic, the king of France; and he married his daughter, whose name was Berta, a Christian lady. By this means it pleased God, of his mercy, to lay the first foundation of the Christian religion, which so soon after began to flourish in the land: for one of the special articles of the agreement between her father and her husband, was, that she should be permitted to use the laws and rites of her church. What by her persuasion, and the counsels of Letardus, a Christian bishop, who accompanied her from France, the king's mind was turning towards the true faith; which was the reason that he so readily granted Augustine the permission of preaching to the people, and was himself so easily converted.§

Ethelbert marries Berta, daughter to the king of France.

A. D. 616. King Ethelbert, after he had gloriously reigned over the Kentish Saxons the space of fifty-six years, exchanged his mortal crown for one more desirable, the 24th of February, in the year of our Lord, 616, and was buried in a church which himself had founded, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, near Canterbury, by the side of Berta, his queen, who died some time before him.‖

The death of king Ethelbert.

The second wife of king Ethelbert.

After the death of his first wife, Berta, he was again married, but the name of his second consort, who out-lived him, is buried in oblivion.

* Chron. Saxon.
† Will. Malmf. lib. i. cap. i.
‡ Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.
§ Bede, lib. i. cap. 25.
‖ Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 5.

Happy

Happy for her, if her wicked marriage with her ſon-in-law, Edbald, A. D. 616. after the death of Ethelbert, her firſt huſband, had alſo been forgot.*

Ethelbert had two children by Berta, his firſt wife; a ſon, named Edbald, who ſucceeded him in his kingdom; and a daughter, called Ethelburga, ſirnamed Tace, a lady of ſingular beauty and piety, who was afterwards married, in the reign of her brother Edbald, to Edwine, king of Northumberland, whom ſhe converted to the Chriſtian faith.† The iſſue of king Ethelbert.

OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

Now we have ſeen the riſe of ſeven diſtinct kingdoms of the Saxons, who divided the greateſt part of South-Britain amongſt them. The names of theſe ſeven monarchies, were, Kent; Suſſex, or the South Saxons; Weſſex, or the Weſt Saxons; Eaſtſex, or the Eaſt Saxons; Northumberland; the Eaſt Angles; and Mercia; all of which will be treated of diſtinctly; to every kingdom its own particular hiſtory. Names of the ſeven Saxon kingdoms.

Another obſervation may be neceſſary to be made, that, though the whole of thoſe numerous ſupplies which came from Germany, are conſtantly called by the general name of Saxons; yet they were compoſed of three different nations: the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The Jutes took poſſeſſion of Kent, the iſle of Wight, and ſome ſmall part of Weſſex; the Saxons inhabited Eaſtſex, Suſſex, and Weſſex; the Angles ſettled themſelves in the kingdoms of the Eaſt Angles, of Mercia, and Northumberland.‡ Alſo, the reader is wiſhed to take notice, that Northumberland was ſometimes divided into two ſeparate dominions, Deira and Bernicia, making then, in fact, eight kingdoms. Thus Matthew, the monk of Weſtminſter, in the year of our Lord, 586, reckons up eight Saxon kings, all of them cotemporary; as Ethelbert, in Kent; Ciſſa, in Suſſex; Ceauline, in Weſſex; Crida, in Mercia; Ercwine, in Eſſex; Titillus, in the Eaſt Angles; Ella, in Deira; and Ethelfred, in Bernicia.§ Different German nations ſettling in Britain.

Notwithſtanding (as we have ſeen) the Saxons had ſet up ſeven independent ſtates, each of them having within itſelf a ſovereign command; yet one of them always ſeems to have been ſupreme above the reſt, if not in abſolute power, at leaſt in glory and honour; and to the king, of whatever ſtate had the ſuperiority, was given the title of "King of "the Engliſh men.‖" This ſupremacy did not ſucceed from the father to the ſon, or always continue in the ſame kingdom, without reverſement; but always that king who had the greateſt power, or gained the One kingdom ſupreme above the reſt.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib ii. cap. 5. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. i.

† Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 9. Here I may remark, that Capgrave, the legend writer, gives Ethelbert another daughter, whoſe name he calls Edburga, and ſays, ſhe was a nun in the monaſtery of Minſter, in the iſle of Thanet, where ſhe died, and was buried; and that her body was afterwards removed by Lanfranc, to his church of St. George, at Canterbury. Caſſ. in Vit. Edburg.

‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Malmſ. &c. &c.

§ Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 586.

‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 5.

A. D. 616. greateſt ſucceſs in war, was the heir to this honorary title: ſo that one particular nation alone did not obtrude upon their neighbours, but all of them, at times, had their ſhare of the glory.*

The poſſeſſions of the Britons.

At the eſtabliſhment of the heptarchy, the Saxons had by degrees over-run the greateſt and beſt part of Britain; but yet the natives poſſeſſed a large tract of land on the weſt, extending from Land's End to the firth of Clyde; the inhabitants were all of one religion, and uſed the ſame language, being in all reſpects but one and the ſame people; yet they were not univerſally governed by one prince, for the land was divided into four conſiderable ſtates, or principalities, as Cornwall, South Wales, North Wales, and Cumberland; each of theſe diſtricts had its own prince, who was the perſon of chief authority amongſt them, and head over the ſeparate clans; as the head of each clan was a ſort of ſovereign over thoſe who were under him: and it was theſe princes, who, as their diſpoſition led them to war, from time to time made inroads into the heptarchy, and fought frequently againſt the Saxons, with great variety of ſucceſs. Of theſe princes we have ſcarce any ſatisfactory records; for, though ſeveral authors have ſet themſelves down ſeriouſly, to make out a complete ſeries of them, in a regular ſucceſſion, yet their accounts (after all the pains they have taken) are ſo very ſuſpicious and uncertain, that they cannot afford the leaſt ſatisfaction to a reader, who wiſhes to ſee nothing but truth in the hiſtory of his country. Thus much we may be aſſured of, that when theſe kings were not employed in foreign wars againſt their general enemy, they were either diſturbing their own communities with civil broils, or making inroads into the bordering territories of their neighbours; ſo that the miſerable inhabitants felt little of the comforts of peace and tranquility; or, if they did, it was ſo tranſitory, that it may be ſaid only to make them more wretched, by giving them a taſte of a bleſſing, which they were not deſtined to enjoy.

The characters of five Britiſh kings.

Five of theſe tyrants are mentioned by Gildas, the Britiſh hiſtorian,† as living in his own time, and cotemporary with each other. The firſt of theſe was Conſtantine, whom the author grievouſly accuſes of perjury, adultery, and other horrid crimes; ſumming up the whole, with his cruel murder of two royal youths, together with their governors, even before the holy altar. Theſe unfortunate young men are ſaid to have been ſons of Mordred, the former king of that diſtrict, over which Conſtantine now uſurped the ſovereignty; and therefore, he ſeems, by their deaths, to have made his way to the throne.‡ The ſecond was Aurelius Conanus, not in the leaſt better than the former; him the author accuſes as a murderer of his neareſt relations; as laſcivious and adulterous; as a hater of peace, and a follower of injuſtice, declaring his

*. At the end of heptarchy, a regular liſt is given of the Engliſh monarchs, in which, at one ſight, the reader may ſee the ſucceſſion of this honourable title.

† Gildas, in his epiſtle.

‡ Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 543.

thirſt

thirſt for civil wars, and greedineſs for ſpoils, unjuſtly taken from their poſſeſſors. The third was Vortiporus, a wicked, guileful, and deceitful man; who, though he was the ſon of a good king, was himſelf a deteſtable tyrant; like the former, he murdered his relations, and caſt his wife from his bed, cauſing her to be ſlain, that he might with the more freedom enjoy his luſtful paſſions. The fourth was Cuneglaſs, a contemner of religion, an oppreſſor of the clergy; one who offended God with his grievous ſins, and warred againſt man with his ſword; he was proud of his own wiſdom, and placed all his truſt in riches, and worldly pomp; he alſo forſook his wife, to follow his own inordinate deſires. The laſt was Malgo Cunus, whom our author calls the dragon of the iſles; and alſo that he was, in arms and dominion, ſtronger and greater than any other Britiſh potentate. Beſides his commiſſion of horrid and unnatural crimes, he is accuſed of ſlaying his uncle, who was then king, to pave his own way to the throne. After this, he put away his firſt wife, and took the conſort of his brother's ſon (whilſt he was yet living) to his bed; but when he had committed this open adultery for a ſhort ſpace, he cauſed both this unfortunate woman, and her guiltleſs huſband, to be put to death. Such are the characters of theſe five tyrants, who flouriſhed in the days in which Gildas lived. Nor has that mournful author in the leaſt favoured the Britons themſelves, but repreſents them as a people beſotted with vice, and obſtinately blind to their own good. Although this author, in the overflowing of his zeal, may have ſomewhat exaggerated the accuſations, yet his authority is by no means to be doubted.* More names of Britiſh princes might eaſily be made out, and a long detail of their acts purſued, but as the truth of their hiſtory is entirely doubtful, there needs no excuſe for dropping the whole, and purſuing what appears to be more certain and authentic. A. D. 616.

The actions of the Scots and Picts unknown.

The Scots and Picts retired to their own nations, and from the deciſive battle of Stamford, in the year of our Lord, 450, to the middle of the ſixth century, we have no true accounts of their proceedings; not ſo much owing, perhaps, to their own inactivity, as to their want of authors to record them; yet it ſeems likely, that their wars (if they made any) were confined within their own territories: for had they ſtruck any blow of conſequence in the neighbouring dominions of the Saxons, the hiſtorians of the early ages would not have paſſed over them in ſilence.

The HISTORY *of the* KINGDOM *of* KENT *continued.*

EDBALD, *the ſixth* KING *of* KENT.

AFTER the death of Ethelbert, ſo juſtly famous in the Engliſh annals, as well for his valour, as his piety and virtue, his ſon Edbald ſucceeded in the kingdom of Kent. During his father's life-time, he had been A. D. 616.

Edbald apoſtates from the true faith.

* Epiſt. Gildæ.

care-

A. D. 616. carefully inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith, and ſeemed to profeſs the ſame with great ſteadineſs; but no ſooner was he ſet upon the throne, than, throwing off the maſk of religious purity, he diſcovered a mind depraved and vicious. He married the widow of his deceaſed father, and proceeded to live in ſuch a diſſolute manner, that his ſubjects ſoon threw off all reſtraint, and returned apace to their former idolatry. But being afflicted with a grievous diſtemper in his mind, the ſtings, perhaps, of a wounded conſcience, he was at laſt, through the perſuaſion of Laurence, archbiſhop of Canterbury, re-converted to the Chriſtian faith; in which he continued ſtedfaſt to the end of his life.*

A. D. 617. Edbald marries a ſecond wife. After his return to religion, his firſt wife either died, or he put her away; for he married a ſecond, named Emme, the daughter of Theodebert, king of Lorragne, by whom he had ſeveral children. Edbald reigned in peace twenty-four years, and died in the year of our Lord, 640, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, by the ſide of his father.†

The iſſue of Edbald. By Emme, his ſecond wife, he had two ſons, and one daughter. Ermenred, his eldeſt ſon, died before him. Ermenred married Oſlave, by whom he had two ſons, Ethelred and Ethelbert, who were afterwards murdered at the command of Egbert, their couſin-german;‡ and four daughters, Dompnena, who married a Mercian prince, Ermingburga, Erinburga, and Ermengytha, who were nuns.§ Edbald's ſecond ſon was named Ercombert, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom. His daughter's name was Enſwith; ſhe died a virgin, at Fulkeſtone, a religious houſe in Kent.

ERCOMBERT, *the ſeventh* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 640. Ercombert; his wife, and iſſue. ERCOMBERT, the ſecond ſon of Edbald, ſucceeded him in the government of Kent. This prince was a very religious man, and the firſt who deſtroyed the temples of the idols, throughout his kingdom; of his civil or military government, we find nothing recorded. He married Sexburga, the daughter of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles,‖ by whom he had two ſons, and two daughters. His ſons were Egbert and Lothair, both of them reigned in Kent after him. His firſt daughter was Ermenhild, who married Wulfere, king of Mercia. His ſecond daughter was Ercongoda, a profeſſed nun in the monaſtery of St. Bridget's, in France, where ſhe died, and was buried in the church of St. Stephen.** Ercombert reigned twenty-four years, and after his deceaſe, his eldeſt ſon, Egbert, ſucceeded him.††

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 5. & alia.
† Bede, ut ſup.
‡ Chron. Sax.
§ Vita S. Werburgæ, MS. in the Cott. Lib. marked Caligula, A. 8.
‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 9.
** Bede, in loc. cit. & Malmſ. lib. i. & Chron. Johan. Brompton.
†† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 664.

EGBERT, *the eighth* KING *of* KENT.

EGBERT had no ſooner aſcended the throne of his father, than he caſt a jealous eye upon Ethelred and Ethelbert, the two ſons of his uncle Ermenred, and to whom, indeed, the crown, of right, belonged; they had been excluded in the reign of Ercombert, becauſe of their tender age, and Egbert, ſuſpecting that now they were growing to man's eſtate, they would be troubleſome to him, and interfere in the government, reſolved to ſecure the diadem to himſelf alone, by their death. This cruel ſcheme was not long formed before it was put in execution, for he hired a treacherous villain, named Thurno, who, in expectation of a great reward, perpetrated the murder; and that the infamous act might be kept ſecret, their bodies were thrown into a river; but being in a few days caſt aſhore upon the bank-ſide, they were found by the inhabitants, to whom they were known, and were buried by them with great reſpect, and over their tomb they erected a ſmall chapel.* Their bones were afterwards removed, and re-buried in the abbey of Ramſey, in Hampſhire, and by the country people they were honoured as martyrs.† A. D. 664. Egbert murders his two couſins.

Had not the jealous diſpoſition of Egbert hurried him on to the commiſſion of this murder, he would have left behind him the character of a juſt and equal prince; for every other part of his conduct was prudent and honourable. The peace, which had ſo long endured, was not broke through in his ſhort reign, which was only eight years. He died in the month of July, in the year of our Lord 673.‡ Egbert a juſt prince.

Egbert had iſſue, two ſons, Edric and Wigtred, who, after the death of his brother Lothair, ſucceeded to the kingdom of Kent. His iſſue.

LOTHAIR, *the ninth* KING *of* KENT.

LOTHAIR, upon the death of his brother, obtained the government of Kent, and excluded his two nephews from any ſhare of the royal dignity; but Edric, the eldeſt of the two, being a man of an ambitious diſpoſition, ſoon aſſerted his natural right, by raiſing ſeditions, and peſtering the ſtate with continual mutinies, and civil diſcords: ſo that his uncle enjoyed but little pleaſure and ſatisfaction in the honour which he had ſeized upon.§ However, after repeated ſtruggles, he at laſt ſo far prevailed, that Edric left the kingdom quiet for a time, and took refuge amongſt the inhabitants of Suſſex. A. D. 673. Edric makes war upon his uncle.

No ſooner was the kingdom freed from one diſturbance, than another preſently enſued; for Ethelred, king of Mercia, hurried on by his un- A. D. 676. Ethelred, king of Mercia, makes war upon Kent.

* Will. Malmſ. lib. i.
† Chron. Johan. Brompton.
‡ Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 5. & Chr. Sax.
§ Will. Malmſ. lib. i.

bounded

A. D. 676. bounded ambition, entered the weſtern borders of Kent, at the head of a large army, and, like a dreadful inundation, irreſiſtible in its courſe, he waſted and deſtroyed the country wherever he came, plundering the inhabitants, burning their houſes, ruining the churches, ſpoiling them of all their ornaments, and totally overthrowing all the monaſteries and religious houſes which ſtood within the limits of his march.

A. D. 677. Enriched with ſpoils, and glorying in the deſtruction which they had made, this ſacrilegious band purſued their path to Rocheſter; that city ſoon felt the fury of their ungoverned rage, for ſparing nothing, however ſacred, with fire and ſword they drove the unhappy citizens from their houſes, robbed them of all their wealth, and then deſtroyed the whole place; leaving the ſmoaking ruins, a horrid trophy of their barbarous conqueſt, they returned back to Mercia of their own accord. So ſtrong was their power, and ſo weak the reſiſtance they had met with, that they had unmoleſtedly directed their courſe wherever their own deſires had led them; for, during the whole of this dangerous invaſion, Lothair, the ſovereign of Kent, had kept himſelf at a diſtance, not daring to take the field againſt theſe deſtructive foes.*

Rocheſter deſtroyed.

A. D. 684. After the departure of the Mercian king, Kent once again enjoyed a ſhort tranquility, yet it was but ſhort; for now the deſtined time approached apace, in which her former glory ſhould decline, and that independent power which hitherto ſhe had aſſerted, be ſuppreſſed. Edric, the nephew of Lothair, who had taken refuge amongſt the South Saxons, perſuaded them to eſpouſe his cauſe, and aſſiſt him in mounting the throne of Kent; and he ſo far prevailed upon them, that they raiſed a powerful army, at the head of which he entered Kent. When Lothair received information of his nephew's approach, and of the warlike preparations which were made againſt him, he quickly gathered his forces together, and ſet forward to meet him. Several ſharp engagements enſued between the two armies, in the laſt of which he was ſhot through the body with a dart, and died ſhortly after under the ſurgeon's hands,† the 6th of February, in the year of our Lord, 685, after he had reigned near twelve years.

The death of Lothair.

EDRIC, *the tenth* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 685. THE bar to his ambition thus removed, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, Edric aſcended the throne of Kent; but yet he could not ſo eaſily gain the love and affection of his ſubjects: for regarding him as an uſurper, they deſpiſed his rule, and were continually harraſſing him with civil diſcords; ſo that when he had with the greateſt difficulty weathered out a

The rebellion of the Kentiſh men.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12. & Chron. Saxon.

† Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 686. & Chron. Johan. Brompton.

boiſterous

boiſterous reign of two years,* the people roſe in all quarters, and in A. D. 685.
endeavouring to ſtop theſe dangerous commotions, he was ſlain.†

INTERREGNUM.

AFTER the death of Edric, the kingdom of Kent was rent and torn A. D. 687.
by parties, and civil diſſentions, ſo that it became a prey to deſigning tyrants and uſurpers; yet none of them aſſumed the title of king, but domineered ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another; being raiſed up, or put down, according to the capricious humour of the people. This univerſal diſquietude prevailing amongſt the Kentiſh men, moved the aſpiring Ceadwalla, king of the Weſt Saxons, to make war upon them, as imagining a fair opportunity was now offered of adding thoſe dominions to his own. Wherefore, aſſiſted by his brother Mollo, he entered the borders of Kent with a great army, and laid the country waſte wherever he came. This alarming danger called for a general oppoſition; ſo that forgetting their civil diſcords, the Kentiſh Saxons ran to arms, and uniting their forces together, made head againſt their common foe. After ſeveral encounters, fortune prevailed againſt Ceadwalla, ſo that he was driven back, and the Kentiſh forces purſued him to the confines of their ſtate. In this purſuit, they overtook his brother Mollo, who, with twelve of his companions, had taken refuge in a ſmall fort, to avoid their fury; and becauſe he would not ſurrender himſelf up, they ſet fire to the fort, and he, with all his companions, periſhed in the flames.‡ Ceadwalla no ſooner heard of the unfortunate end of his brother, but vowing revenge, and breathing cruel defiance, he reinforced his army, and entered Kent the ſecond time, where, with fire and ſword, he deſtroyed great part of the country. At laſt, pricked with remorſe of conſcience for the dreadful ſlaughter he had occaſioned, he returned back to Weſſex, and ſhortly after went to Rome, where he died. Kent, thus delivered from the danger of the foreign foe, was not, however, freed from her own internal enemies; for no ſooner was the apprehenſion of ruin, from the arms of the Weſt Saxons, ſubſided, but the inhabitants returned again to their former diſcords, dividing their united force, and purſuing quarrels, without ceaſing, amongſt themſelves.

Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex, makes war in Kent.

About this time there were two petty tyrants, Wycherd and Webhard, A. D. 692.
who taking the advantage of the capricious humours of the people, aſſumed the rule in Kent, where they for a time ſupported their dignity: but ſoon after, either dying, or being diſliked by their ſubjects, they were put from their authority, to make room for Wihtred, brother to Edric,

Two tyrants in Kent.

* Bede, Brompton, and others, ſay, he reigned a year and a half only. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26. Chron. Johan. Brompt. &c.

† Malmſ. lib. i.

‡ Will. Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 687.

A. D. 692. the lawful heir to the crown.* As theſe two men were not of royal blood, and only held their rule by uſurpation, they are not reckoned in the liſt of the kings.

WIHTRED, *the eleventh* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 694. Wihtred purchaſes peace of Ina.

WHEN Wihtred aſcended the throne, freſh dangers alarmed the ſtate; for Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, (who ſucceeded Ceadwalla) thinking the revenge which his predeceſſor had taken upon the Kentiſh men, for the death of Mollo, was not equal to the offence, prepared a great army, intending himſelf to enter Kent, and ſubjugate it to his rule. Wihtred terrified at theſe proceedings of Ina, and finding himſelf in no condition of reſiſtance, ſent ambaſſadors to him, to know what his demands were, and to make fair proffers of peace. Ina inſiſted upon the delivery of thoſe men who had been principally concerned in the deſtruction of Mollo, and alſo that Wihtred ſhould pay him a large ſum of money. The king of Kent was forced to comply with theſe grating demands, and therefore, thirty of the faction who had ſlain Mollo, were ſent to Ina ;† and alſo the whole of that ſum which he had demanded.‡

The death and iſſue of Wihtred.

The conditions of Ina being fairly complied with, he withdrew his army from the borders of Kent, and left Wihtred to enjoy his crown in peace and tranquility. So juſt and equal was the government of this worthy king, that at his death he left the record of a virtuous name behind him. He died, lamented by his ſubjects, in the year of our Lord, 725, after a reign of thirty-one years,§ and left behind him three ſons, Edbert, Ethelbert, and Alric, all of whom ſucceſſively ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

EDBERT, *the twelfth* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 725. Edbert, a virtuous king.

EDBERT, the eldeſt ſon of Wihtred, ſucceeded him in the government of Kent. We have no record left of the civil and military acts of

* Thus Henry of Huntingdon, Johan. Brompton, and others, expreſly affirm, "Eo tempore erant duo Reges in *Cent.* "non tam ſtirpem regiam quam ſecum- "dum invaſionem. Scilicet, Nithred & "Webhard." Theſe are the very words of Huntingdon, with which Brompton alſo exactly agrees; and both of them afterwards ſpeak of Wihtred as the right heir of the crown, ſucceeding theſe tyrants, only Brompton calls the firſt Wycherd. Bede ſeems to join Webhard with Vihtred, if he does not mean Wycherd; for he tells us, that A. D. 692, "Regnantibus in Cantia, "Victredo & Suebhardo." Matthew of Weſtminſter calls the latter Siward, and ſays, he was brother to Wihtred, and ruled with him. The Saxon Chronicle, Will. Malmſbury, and the Polychronicon, take no notice of either Wycherd, or his colleague, Webhard, but mention Wihtred, as reigning alone. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Chron. Johan. de Brompton, Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 9. Flores Hiſtoriarum, ſub anno 692. Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 694. Will. Malmſ. lib. i. Polychr. lib. v.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 694.

‡ This ſum, ſays Malmſbury, was thirty thouſand marks of gold: "Triginta "millibus auri marcis." Malmſ. de geſt. reg. Anglorum, lib i. cap. 2.

§ Chron. Sax. Malmſ. and others, make his reign to have been thirty-three years. John Brompton ſays thirty-two.

this prince; but it appears, that he was greatly beloved by his ſubjects, A. D. 725.
becauſe, like his father, he had moderated his actions by the ſtricteſt juſtice. He does not ſeem to have had any iſſue. After a quiet reign of twenty-three years, he ſurrendered up his ſoul to God, and the kingdom to his brother Ethelbert.*

ETHELBERT, *the thirteenth* KING *of* KENT.

THIS prince, following the example of his father and his brother, go- A. D. 748.
verned his ſubjects with great lenity. When he had reigned peaceably eleven years, he died without iſſue, and was buried in the monaſtery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Canterbury, leaving the government of Kent to his brother Alric.† Ethelbert, a worthy prince.

ALRIC, *the fourteenth, and laſt lawful,* KING *of* KENT.

ALRIC, upon the death of Ethelbert, his brother, mounted the throne A. D. 759.
of Kent. This prince is alſo commended for his juſtice and virtue. The peace which flouriſhed in his brother's reign, continued great part of his own; until Offa, king of the riſing Mercian ſtate, ambitious of power and conqueſt, made war upon him. Offa makes war upon Alric.

Alric, who had for ſome time foreſeen the deſigns of Offa, made A. D. 774.
all the preparation that he could to oppoſe him, and a little time ſoon confirmed the juſtneſs of his ſuſpicion; for Offa entered Kent, at the head of a powerful army, and began to lay the country waſte. When Alric heard of his approach, he marched with his forces againſt him, and both the armies met at Otford, where a long and bloody battle enſued; in which, at laſt, the Mercians prevailed, and the Kentiſh men were beaten from the field. Whether Alric, who ſurvived this battle,‡ afterwards obtained the government of Kent to himſelf, or reigned tributary to Offa, cannot ſo eaſily be determined at this diſtance of time; the latter ſeems, indeed, moſt likely, becauſe of the peace which followed in his dominions: for, if Alric had aſſerted his right, it is highly probable, that ſuch a ſtep would have drawn upon him the anger of Offa, and provoked him again to make war in Kent, which does not ſeem by any means to have been the caſe. The battle of Otford.

In this king's reign, by ſome unhappy accident, a fire broke out in A. D. 776.
the city of Canterbury, which raged with ſuch violence, that the whole Canterbury burnt.

* Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 1. &c.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ Matthew Paris, indeed, affirms, that Offa ſlew this king with his own hand; but that could not be, for Malmſbury expreſly declares, that he reigned thirty-four years, and the Saxon Chronicle places this battle in the year 774, ſo that he ſurvived nineteen years. M. Par. vit. Offæ. Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. &c.

A. D. 776. city was burnt to the ground; but in what manner this horrid conflagration began is not recorded.*

A. D. 793. After a reign of thirty-four years, Alric deceaſed, leaving behind him no heir to inherit the kingdom; ſo that with him ſunk the royal line of kings. From this time, the glory of the realm began by degrees to die away; and every day advanced the haſty ruin of the ſtate. No lawful ſucceſſor being left to take the government upon him, divers who, either by flattery or riches, had obtained the public favour, were ſeditiouſly ſtriving for the crown. Amidſt theſe various diſtractions of the ſtate, one Ethelbert Pren, a man of no exalted birth, ſet up his claim: and having gained a powerful faction on his ſide, prevailed againſt the reſt of his competitors, and aſſumed the royal dignity.†

The ſtate of the kingdom after the death of Alric.

ETHELBERT PREN, *the firſt* USURPER *after the Death of* ALRIC.

A. D. 794. HAVING mounted the throne, Ethelbert endeavoured to make his footing ſure, and ſtrove to gain the love of his ſubjects; but unfortunately for him, he could not ſucceed in his attempt: for, as he had by force uſurped the dignity, he was diſagreeable to all but thoſe of his own party. Having held his reign ſome ſhort time, amidſt the murmurs and diſlikes of the people, he was at laſt pulled down from his honour, in a manner that he ſeems but little to have expected.‡

Pren not agreeable to his ſubjects.

A. D. 796. Kenulph, king of Mercia, obſerving the diſcontent which prevailed in Kent, determined to try the fortune of war, and ſet upon that ſtate, in order to join it with his own. To accompliſh his deſire, he entered the borders of Kent, and began in a hoſtile manner to deſtroy the country. Pren alarmed at this threatening danger, marched with all the forces he could collect, to meet the Mercians. The end of this war proved fatal to Pren, for his forces were routed, and he himſelf being made priſoner, was carried into Mercia; where, after he had been detained ſome little time, he was at laſt releaſed by Kenulph, at the altar of a church which he had lately cauſed to be built. Rejoiced at having thus obtained his liberty, Pren returned into Kent, expecting to re-aſſume his crown; but in this he was moſt dreadfully miſtaken; for his ſubjects openly refuſed his rule, and would by no means admit of his re-eſtabliſhment in the ſtate: ſo that he was again returned to that obſcurity from whence he had ſo lately emerged, after a ſhort reign of three years.§

Kenulph enters Kent.

CUTHRED, *the ſecond* USURPER.

A. D. 797. PREN thus expelled from the kingdom, another uſurper, named Cuthred, ſet up a claim to the government; and what by the help of a ſtrong

Cuthred uſurps the kingdom of Kent.

* Marinus ex collect. in MS. in Cotton. Lib. marked Julius C. vi.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 1.

‡ Ibid. & alia; & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 796.

§ Malmſ. ut ſup.

party,

party, and the power of Kenulph, he ſucceeded ſo well in his attempt, A. D. 797.
that he ſoon obtained the crown: but yet he gained not the good-will of his ſubjects, who, far from ſubmitting quietly to his rule, were continually troubling him with rebellious and private diſſentions. In this uneaſy manner he paſſed through a ſhort reign of eight turbulent years, when he died, and left the kingdom to another aſpiring chief, named Baldred.*

BALDRED, *the third, and laſt* USURPER.

THIS pretender to the Kentiſh crown, however unfortunate in the end, A. D. 805.
was in the beginning far more proſperous than either of his predeceſſors, and held the government of the ſtate a conſiderable time; ſo that it is likely, by ſome prevailing means or other, he ſoftened the tempers of his ſubjects, and taught them to prefer peace and order, to the noiſe and riot of rebellion. Baldred favoured by his ſubjects.

In the eighteenth, and laſt, year of Baldred's reign, Egbert, the king of A. D. 823.
Weſſex, made war upon his dominions, and defeated all his forces in a fierce battle; he himſelf being put to flight, eſcaped the fury of the enemies, and paſſing the Thames, forſook his kingdom, and returned no more to moleſt the conqueror, or make good his own claim.† Where he died, or what became of him afterwards, is not known; perhaps, preferring the ſatisfactory enjoyments of a private life, to the noiſy tumult of his kingly ſtate, he might take up ſome lowly diſguiſe, and reſt in that, contented. Happy the man that can be ſo contented; for thus, beneath the envy of the great, the ſtorms of fortune blow over his homely cell, and wake him not: for, armed with innocence, and bleſſed with peace, his mind is eaſy, and his reſt ſecure! Baldred driven out of Kent.

Kent thus forſaken by her king, and over-run with the forces of her A. D. 824.
conqueror, ſoon ſubmitted to his deſires; and from this time, ceaſing to be a diſtinct ſtate, was joined to the kingdom of Weſſex.‡ Thus have we ſeen the riſe, the glory, and the fall of this firſt Saxon dominion! begun in the year of our Lord 457, by Hengiſt, the great general of the Saxons; and upheld for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty-ſeven years, by his valiant deſcendants; and after that again, thirty-one years, by the three ſucceeding uſurpers. The end of the kingdom of Kent.

Idleneſs and eaſe, to a people inured to war, and fond of military honours, are pernicious and deſtructive; and theſe evils purſued, have frequently been the overthrow of nations. To human knowledge, and to human grandeur, the deſtined bounds are fixed by Providence; to ſuch a point they are permitted to advance, and when they have reached the ſummit of Reflections on the fall of nations.

* Malmſ. ut ſup. & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 805.

† Ibid. Ibid. 823. & Chron. Wintonienſis.

‡ Ibid. Ibid.

their

their glory, they muſt again decline. It ſeems, perhaps, at firſt, as extraordinary as it is true, that thoſe very arts which are the adornments of a nation, ſhould prove, in the end, its ruin; for with refinement of taſte, and correctneſs of manners, luxury and effeminacy by degrees creep in unſeen, and lay a powerful hold upon the minds of men: ſo that in our very aiming at perfection, we deceive our own wiſhes; and in our moſt exalted deſigns, betray the weakneſs of human nature. Such, we have ſeen, is the tranſitory ſtate of nations, of which man himſelf is a perfect picture; as they advance in wealth and honour, ſo he increaſes in ſtrength and knowledge; and as they decline again, ſo ſinks he to the duſt, and leaves his room to others new ſprung up.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF KENT.

SUSSEX;

SUSSEX;

THE SECOND KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

THE rapid ſucceſs of Hengiſt and his party in Britain, being underſtood in Germany, tempted ſeveral other chiefs to follow his example, and ſeek for better fortune in that very land, where he, their friend and relation, had obtained ſuch valuable poſſeſſions. Big with the expectation of future advancement, Ælle, a brave and warlike Saxon, left his native home, accompanied with his three ſons and a powerful army of bold adventurous youth, and landing upon the borders of Suſſex, began the ſecond kingdom of the heptarchy. The firſt beginning of the kingdom of Suſſex.

The kingdom of the South Saxons, contained the counties of Suſſex and Surry; it was bounded on the eaſt by Kent, on the weſt by the territories of the Weſt Saxons, on the ſouth by the main ocean, and on the north by the river Thames. The extent of the kingdom of Suſſex.

ÆLLE, *the firſt* KING *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

ÆLLE, with his three ſons, Cymen, Wlenching, and Ciſſa, together with their army, came from Germany in three large ſhips, and landed in Britain at a place called Cymenes ſhore, in the year of our Lord 477; and twenty-eight years from the firſt arrival of the Saxons under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa. Their landing was vigorouſly reſiſted by the Britons, who, in a powerful party, ſtood upon the ſhore to oppoſe them: but ſuch was the valour and ſucceſs of the Saxons, that, after a bloody conflict, they gained a complete victory, and chaced the Britons from the ſeaſide;* purſuing them to a large extenſive wood, called Andredſleage,† ſituate upon the borders of Kent, where they took refuge, and hid themſelves in their ſecret retreats. Thus Ælle gained his firſt footing in the land; but the Britons ſuffered him not to enjoy in quietneſs the poſſeſſions which he had conquered: for, iſſuing from the wood, they aſſailed his army, and harraſſed him continually with ſudden attacks, and private ambuſhes. In this poſture his affairs continued for the ſpace of eight years, during all which time, he ſeems not to have gained any A. D. 477. Ælle fights with the Britons.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 477.

† Alſo ſometimes called Andredſweald. It took its name, ſays Camden, from Caer Andred, or Andredeſceſter; of which city we ſhall ſpeak in a ſucceeding note.

very

A. D. 477. very conſiderable advantage over the Britons; but was wholly employed in defending himſelf from their aſſaults. In theſe wars, it is thought that his two eldeſt ſons, Cymen and Wlenching, loſt their lives; becauſe we find no mention made of them afterwards.

A. D. 485. Aurelius Ambroſius, the valiant leader of the Britons, having joined thoſe parties which were aſſembled together againſt the South Saxons, determined to try the ſucceſs of one pitched battle:* nor was Ælle, and his ſons, leſs deſirous of purſuing their fortune in the field. Both armies met at a place, called Mercredſbourn, and fought on either ſide with ſuch courage, that, after a prodigious ſlaughter, it was hard to determine to which party the victory properly belonged.† However, the Britons, weakened by this obſtinate conflict, withdrew from the field; and the Saxons alſo made their retreat; nor one, nor other, chuſing to ſecond the blow which was already ſtruck. Immediately after this battle, Ælle diſpatched meſſengers into Germany, declaring his ſucceſs, and intreating his friends to ſend him a freſh reinforcement of troops, to purſue his conqueſts, and ſettle the kingdom which he had begun, upon a ſtrong and permanent baſis, by expelling the Britons from their ſtrongholds. However it was, this flattering invitation had not the ſudden effect which one might have expected amongſt a ſet of reſtleſs people, who were ever waiting for favourable opportunities to plunder and moleſt others; for it appears to have been upwards of four years before he had ſufficiently recruited his army, to take the field again againſt the Britons.

The battle of Mercredſbourn.

A. D. 490. Having now reinforced his army, and thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to encounter with his opponents, he marched againſt them; and becauſe he had been greatly incommoded by their frequent excurſions from the woods and ſecret receſſes, he was determined to deſtroy thoſe dangerous retreats; and, in order the more effectually to accompliſh this important deſign, he firſt marched againſt their chief city, called Andredes ceſter,‡ which was the aſylum from whence they iſſued forth to the woods, and to which they inſtantly retreated on the approach of danger. The proceedings of Ælle, juſtly alarmed the Britons, who, anxious for the ſafety of this conſequential place, had recourſe to every artifice and contrivance which they thought could ſecure its defence: within its walls they planted a ſtrong garriſon, to reſiſt the aſſaults of the Saxons, the remaining parties retired to the woods, and hid themſelves in

The ſiege of Andredes-ceſter.

* Chron. Roffenſis, MS. in the Cotton Lib. marked Nero D. ii. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 485.

† Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. Chron. Roffen. ut ſup. & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 485.

‡ Andredes ceſter, or *Caer Andred*, Camden apprehends to have ſtood upon the ſame ſpot where the town of Newendon is now built, by the ſide of the river Lymen, which ſeparates Kent from Suſſex. Camd in Kent, & vide Lambardes Peramb. o. Kent, fol. 207.

private ambuſhes, to annoy the march of Ælle, as he approached, and to diſturb him in the rear, whilſt he was making an attempt upon the city. Theſe prudent meaſures they purſued for ſome time, with great ſucceſs, continually harraſſing the army of the Saxons, and delaying the proſecution of the ſiege. Ælle, vexed to the ſoul at theſe tedious interruptions, bethought him of a new method to carry on his deſign: he divided his whole army into two parts, one of which he commanded vigorouſly to aſſault the city, whilſt the other diviſion was employed in reſiſting the Britons who were ſcouting in the field, and prevent their diſturbing thoſe who were making their attempts upon the beſieged. By this means, he ſoon took the city by ſtorm, and raſed it to the ground. Provoked at the reſiſtance which had been made againſt him, in his anger he miſerably murdered all the inhabitants, ſparing neither women nor children.* When he had effected this important conqueſt, he ſoon gained all the other paſſes, and drove the Britons from his dominions; taking full poſſeſſion of Suſſex and Surrey. A. D. 490.

When Ælle had thus extended and ſecured his kingdom, he ruled in peace the remainder of his days, and departed this life about the year of our Lord 514,† thirty-ſix years after his firſt arrival in Britain; leaving the government of Suſſex to his ſon Ciſſa: for Cymen and Wlenching, the two elder ſons, are ſuppoſed to have been ſlain in the wars between the Britons and their father, during the firſt eight years from his arrival. The death of Ælle.

CISSA, *the ſecond* KING *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

CISSA accompanied his father in all his warlike undertakings, and was alſo with him at the ſiege of Andredes ceſter; but after he aſcended the throne, either from his love of peace, or becauſe the Britons, in his father's time, were thoroughly ſubdued and driven from his territories, he did not undertake any further war during his whole reign. It is true, that he aſſiſted Cerdic, the Weſt Saxon prince, with money, to carry on his conqueſts againſt the Britons, yet he never appears to have attended in perſon to his aid; but ſeems rather to have employed his time in ſecuring his own dominions, and reſtoring quietneſs at home. He built Cicheſter, then called Ciſſa ceſter, or the city of Ciſſa, after his own name; and Chiſburg, or Ciſsbury,‡ theſe were two large and conſiderable cities. A. D. 514. Ciſſa reigns in peace.

The quiet reign of Ciſſa, is ſaid to have endured the ſpace of ſeventy-ſix years, when he died, in the year of our Lord, 590; leaving the kingdom to Edelwalch. The death of Ciſſa.

* Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 490. Chron. Roſſen. Matt. Weſt. ſub anno 492. & Ethelwerd, lib. i. &c.

† The Chron. Wintonienſis places his death, A. D. 508.

‡ Hard by Oſſington there is a fort, encompaſſed with a bank rudely caſt up, where, the inhabitants are perſuaded, that Julius Cæſar entrenched, and fortified his camp; but *Ciſsbury*, the name of the place, plainly witneſſeth it to have been the work of Ciſſa, the ſon of Ælle, king of the South Saxons. Camd. Britannia, in Suſſex.

ATHELWALD, *or* EDELWALCH, *the laſt* KING *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 590. Edelwalch becometh a Chriſtian.

THIS prince, like the former, did not acquire any great degree of fame in military affairs, eſpecially in the beginning of his reign. He is, indeed, more juſtly noted, as being the firſt perſon who received the Chriſtian faith, amongſt the South Saxons: he was baptized in Mercia, at the intreaty and advice of Vulfhere, the king of that realm. In this king's reign, there happened a dreadful famine in Suſſex, which raged ſo violently, that the unhappy people were driven to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and, in the height of deſpair, threw themſelves from the mountains, and were daſhed in pieces, or drowned in the ſea; eſteeming it far more preferable, in this deſperate manner to put a ſudden end to their wretched beings, than wait the lingering ſtroke from the hand of death, which hovered over them:* ſo true it is, that the ſhocking apprehenſions of diſtant deſtruction, are often far more dreadful than even inſtant death; nor has the comfortable doctrine of Chriſtianity itſelf been able entirely to remove theſe ideas from the minds of men; it is a lamentable truth, that even in the preſent and enlightened age, almoſt every day produces ſome ſtriking inſtance of ſelf-deſtruction. What muſt the horrid reflection of ſuch a moment be, when flying from the miſery of this ſhort and tranſitory world, men launch precipitately into the unknown regions of eternity?

A. D. 680. The death of Edelwalch.

Edelwalch, after having paſſed all his youthful days in peace, was even in his old age called forth to the field: for, a valiant young man, named Cadwalla, of noble parentage, amongſt the Weſt Saxons, being baniſhed from his country by the prevalence of ſome faction, brought with him a ſtrong band of ſoldiers, and fell upon the kingdom of Suſſex with undaunted fury. This alarming news being made known to the king, he collected his forces together, and placing himſelf at their head, conducted them againſt Cadwalla, and gave him battle. The end was unfortunate to the South Saxons, who were put to flight by Cadwalla and his party; and in this battle their aged monarch was ſlain.†

BERTHUNUS *and* ANTHUN, *two* RULERS *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 681. Berthunus and Anthun prevail againſt Cadwalla.

No ſooner was the death of Edelwalch made known amongſt his ſubjects, than Berthunus and Anthun, two noblemen, of Suſſex, took upon them the management of the war, and gathered a freſh army to oppoſe Cadwalla; who, proud of his late victory, was making haſty advances into the kingdom. Fortune favoured the attempts of the two valiant chiefs; for, in ſeveral encounters, they obtained the victory, and drove

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 13. † Ibid. cap. 15.

Cadwalla

Cadwalla and his party from the kingdom. After the flight of their inveterate foe, the South Saxons enjoyed a little ſpace of peace, under the rule and governance of the two chiefs who had delivered them from their oppreſſors.* A. D. 681.

During this tranquility in Suſſex, Cadwalla had returned into the kingdom of Weſſex, and, after the death of Centwine, obtained the crown. No ſooner had he ſeated himſelf firmly in his royal dignity, than he remembered his former enterprizes amongſt the South Saxons; and conſidering the weakneſs of their ſtate, conceived that the conqueſt would not be difficult to achieve. Theſe ambitious reflections led him into the field, and once more he turned his arms againſt Suſſex. Berthunus, and his colleague, did all which lay in their power to ſupport their bleeding country, and prevent her ruin; but all their noble ſtruggles were in vain; and the death of Berthunus (who was ſoon after ſlain in battle) finally determined her wretched fate! What became of Anthun, after the defeat and death of Berthunus, his aſſociate, is not recorded; but it is very certain, that after this he bore no further rule in the ſtate. The victorious Cadwalla continued his march through the whole kingdom, and added to his former conqueſts the iſle of Wight.† From this time Suſſex ceaſed to be a diſtinct kingdom, and was by Cadwalla united to that of Weſſex, over which he bore his rule, in the year of our Lord 686; ſo that the duration of this monarchy exceeded not two hundred and nine years, from the firſt arrival of Ælle. A. D. 685. The end of the kingdom of the South Saxons.

The kingdom of the South Saxons, notwithſtanding it was begun ſo early, and held with ſuch glory under Ælle, its firſt king, was yet by far of the ſhorteſt continuance of any one of the heptarchy. Indeed, from the death of Ælle, its glory began to die away, and its ruin was completed by the inaction of the ſucceeding kings: for, weakened and effeminated by the long duration of peace, the whole ſtate became an eaſy prey to their warlike neighbours. The little conſequence this monarchy acquired, after the death of Ælle, is, without doubt, the chief reaſon why all the ancient accounts of it, (which are handed down to the preſent time) are ſo very imperfect. The accounts of this kingdom imperfect, and why.

Before I conclude the hiſtory of this kingdom, I ſhall make one ſhort remark on the long ſpace which is taken up with only the two reigns of Ciſſa, and his ſucceſſor, Edelwalch, making together one hundred and ſixty-ſix years. With regard to Ciſſa, I have followed the Saxon chronicle; but, if we conſider that he came to Britain with his father, A. D. 477, and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe he was then old enough to bear arms, making him but ſixteen, he will be in the year 590, when he is ſaid to have deceaſed, one hundred and thirty-nine years of age. His ſucceſſor, Edelwalch, alſo (to make the date in the leaſt agree with the age, and time of Cadwalla's mounting the throne of the Weſt Saxons) Obſervations on the great ages of Ciſſa and Edelwalch.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 15. † Ibid. cap. 16, & alia.

did reign the full ſpace of ninety years, excluſive of his age before he came to the crown; and we know, at this period, youths of an age incapable of governing, were ſeldom ſuffered to aſſume the diadem; ſo that at the moſt moderate computation, his age muſt alſo have exceeded one hundred years. And it is far from impoſſible, but that theſe two monarchs might have lived to theſe extraordinary ages, eſpecially when we conſider, that the latter part of the Ciſſas, and all the reign of Edelwalch, was peaceable and quiet, which, together with ſtrong conſtitutions, and minds at eaſe, might greatly conduce to the preſervation of their health, and the lengthening of their lives.*

* Modern authors have conjectured, and not without great ſhew of reaſon, that ſome other prince might be advanced to the South Saxon throne, immediately after the death of Ciſſa, and before the ſucceſſion of Edelwalch, whoſe name is loſt in the confuſion of thoſe times, or neglected by the ancient authors, as doing nothing worthy of mention: and this is the more likely to be true, when we reflect on the declining ſtate of the kingdom, which had now loſt its former conſequence; and even Edelwalch himſelf might, perhaps, have ſhared the ſame fate, had not his, and the ſtate's, converſion to Chriſtianity, an event of great importance, recalled them from the oblivion into which they had ſunk. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. II. part i.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF SUSSEX.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WESSEX,

THE THIRD KINGDOM OF THE HEPTARCHY.

THE next monarchy which ſprang up in Britain, was that of the Weſt Saxons, *firſt* begun by Cerdic and his ſon Cenric: and was by far more glorious, and of longer continuance, than any of the reſt; all of which were by degrees overcome, and the inhabitants, by force of arms, brought under the ſubjection of the kings of Weſſex. This dominion contained the counties of Berkſhire, Southampton, Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, Devonſhire, and part of Cornwall. Its boundaries were Suſſex on the eaſt, the Thames on the north, the main ocean on the ſouth, and alſo on the weſt beyond Cornwall. The extent of the kingdom of Weſſex.

CERDIC *and* CENRIC, *the firſt* KINGS *of* WESSEX.

CERDIC, with his ſon Cenric, accompanied with a large army, on board of five great ſhips, arrived at Britain in the year of our Lord 495, and landed at a place thence called Cerdiceſhora.* The Britons were quickly alarmed, and gathering their forces together, came down to the ſea-ſhore without delay, to give them battle. The Saxons boldly withſtood their approach, and reſiſted their furious attacks with great vigour: the fight continued the whole length of the day, ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other, appearing to prevail. Yet when the night and darkneſs prevented their further combat, the conflict ſtill remained doubtful; however, the Saxons by degrees, got firm footing in the land. It is true, the Britons would not ſuffer them to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace, but were continually diſturbing them with ſudden aſſaults and repeated ſkirmiſhes. In this troubleſome ſort, the Saxons held their poſſeſſions for the firſt twelve years; yet, fearleſs of danger, and hopeful of better fortune, they ſtood the ſtorm with confirmed reſolutions, and baffled all the attacks of their inveterate foes.† A. D. 495. Cerdic lands in Britain.

Port, another German chief, with his two ſons, Biedda and Mægla, following the fortune of their fellow-countrymen, arrived in two ſhips on that part of Hampſhire, ſince called Portſmouth, and ſaid to have A. D. 501. Port and his two ſons land in Britain.

* Cepdicepfhopa, or Cerdic's ſhore, Chron. Sax.

† Ibid. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

taken

A. D. 501. taken its name from him. They brought with them a ſtrong band of hardy youths, and at their firſt landing gave battle to the inhabitants. Their undertakings proved victorious; they chaced the Britons from thoſe parts, taking poſſeſſion of all their wealth, and ſettling in their habitations; remaining there till greater occaſion of ſignalizing their valour called them forth to the aid of the Weſt Saxons, who were extending their rule under the leading of Cerdic, their warlike chief.*

A. D. 508. Natanleod, the Britiſh chief, ſlain by Cerdic.

Diſtreſſed on all ſides, the hapleſs Britons knew not which way to turn themſelves, nor whither to direct their power, to make the moſt important reſiſtance; freſh numbers daily poured upon them, freſh invaſions called aloud for their ſalutary help. But now, above all, the riſing glory of the Weſt Saxons ſeemed to threaten the greateſt danger to the land, wherefore all uniting in a powerful band, they marched againſt Cerdic, under the conduct of Aurelius Ambroſius, who, in honour of his indefatigable labours for the defence of his country, was ſirnamed Natanleod.† Of this chieftain we have ſpoken before; he is reported to have been the deſcendant of that Conſtantine, who, in the reign of Honorius, was elected emperor in Britain by the mutiny of the army.‡ Alarmed at theſe great preparations which were making againſt him, Cerdic diſpatched meſſengers into Kent and Suſſex, to beg aſſiſtance from Octa and Ciſſa, who ruled in thoſe realms. He alſo ſent preſſing invitations to Port and his two ſons, who, pleaſed with the opportunity

* Henry Hunt. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 501. Ethelwerd, lib. i. & Henry Hunt. lib. ii.

† This name ſignifies the defender or protector of his country. To avoid all interruptions in the body of the work, I have thrown into this note ſuch obſervations as I thought were neceſſary to be made, on my having expreſsly declared, that Aurelius Ambroſius and this Natanleod, are but one and the ſame perſon; and I may the more particularly be thought bound to ſay ſomething in my defence, as I have not the authority of ancient hiſtory to vouch for me. It is ſtrange, as Camden has obſerved, that ſo ſingular a perſonage, and alſo ſo famous, (as from the declaration of Huntingdon, as well as from the import of his name, we may eaſily find he was) ſhould ſo ſuddenly ſpring up amongſt the Britons, and be only known to have fought this ſingle battle: and it will alſo appear ſtill more extraordinary, if we recollect, that AureliusAmbroſius, (as we may judge from the words of Gildas, and other authentic authors) was at this time living; and to whom could this honorary ſirname ſo well belong, as to him, who had often fought the battles of the Britons, and led them to frequent conqueſt. This opinion, I acknowledge, is neither new, nor my own, but has been long ſince ſtarted by the ſearchers into the ancient records. I may obſerve, that another competitor is ſet up againſt Ambroſius, which is Uther Pendragon, ſaid to be his brother; but as his exiſtence is very doubtful, and it appears not, ſave in the fables of Geoffry Monmouth, that he ever acquired that honour which was ſo juſtly due to the former; for this cauſe, I hope I may be excuſed in ſetting him aſide, and placing in his ſtead, a man, to whom this title with greater reaſon may be ſaid to belong; and a man, who, from all the beſt authorities, we may be aſſured was in being, and that at this very time. Vide Camb. Uſſer Primord. Milton's Hiſt. Eng. Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. II. &c. &c.

‡ Radulph Dicetus de reg. Brit. & vide page 54, of this Chron.

which

which offered to ſettle them in the land, obeyed the ſummons, and joined the Weſt Saxon army; Cerdic receiving alſo reinforcements from Kent and Suſſex, found himſelf in good condition to abide the fortune of war, and reſiſt all the attempts which the Britons might make upon his poſſeſſions. In the mean time, Natanleod advanced at the head of his troops, and prepared to give battle to the Saxons, who, when they heard of his approach, advanced to meet him; and at a place, which was after called Cerdic's ford, a grievous conflict enſued. This day proved fatal to the Britons, who there loſt their king and defender, and with him five thouſand of their braveſt troops;* whilſt the Saxons, elated with their ſucceſs, retired from the field, and for a conſiderable time remained unmoleſted by the Britons. A. D. 508.

Six years after this famous battle, there arrived in Britain a freſh ſupply of troops from Germany, under the conduct of Stuf and Witgar; who were both of them nephews to Cerdic. They came in three large ſhips, and landed at Cerdic's ſhore, where their uncle had firſt diſembarked. The neighbouring Britons aſſembled together, and endeavoured by battle to ſtop their advancement into the land; but theſe young men being trained up to war, and regardleſs of the danger, ſtrove to ſignalize their names by the greatneſs of their courage, and abode the conflict with undaunted reſolution. In the end they triumphed over their opponents, and forced their paſſage through the midſt of them, making a prodigious ſlaughter, as well of their leaders, as of the private men.† When they arrived in Weſſex, they were joyfully received by their uncle, and the fame of their victory at Cerdic's ſhore was ſpread through the land, to the no ſmall terror of the diſtreſſed Britons. A. D. 514. The arrival of Stuf and Witgar.

Now ſurely had Britain been loſt at once, had not Arthur, a noble prince, who ſucceeded Natanleod in the command, by the bravery of his conduct, put freſh ſpirits into the aching hearts of the natives, and once more revived in their ſouls the glimmering light of hope. This prince is particularly unfortunate, in having all his actions wrapped up in ſuch a cloud of fable and romance, that it would be more than an Herculean labour to unravel the knotted clue, and ſeparate the truth from fiction. That there was ſuch a man, and that he was a great and valiant chief, is hardly to be doubted, ſince ſuch authentic vouchers are to be produced, to prove his exiſtence; but that he ſhould have performed all thoſe wonderful acts which are aſcribed to him, cannot be true: for, the great ſucceſs and advancement of the Saxons in Britain, and that during the time in which he is ſaid to have lived, plainly contradict thoſe groundleſs aſſertions.‡ Juſt as much are we in the dark concerning his birth, his parentage, or the exact time of his death; how- The hiſtory of Arthur full of uncertainties.

* Ethelwerd, lib. i. & Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 514. Ethelwerd, Hiſt. lib. i. & Huntingdon, lib. ii.

‡ Geoffry Monmouth Hiſt. Brit. lib. vii.

ever,

A. D. 514. ever, the moſt likely report is, that he was ſon to Pendragon, the brother of Aurelius Ambroſius.*

A. D. 519. Another battle at Cerdic's ford. Cerdic, and Cenric, his ſon, ſtrengthened by the reinforcement which they had received from Germany, and preſuming on the conſequence of their laſt important victory, were ſtill ſtriving to extend their poſſeſſions, and ſecure their footing in the land, by weakening the Britons, and driving them from their borders; nor had this wretched people for a long time dared to attack them, or reſiſt the grievous oppreſſion, until uniting together, they were led on by Arthur, and began to ravage the borders of the Weſt Saxon kingdom. This being made known to Cerdic, he and his ſon, with a potent army, marched out to defend their territories, and give battle to the Britons. Both powers met again at Cerdic's ford, and another ſharp conflict enſued;† but to which party the victory fell, is not recorded; yet, as far as we may judge from ſucceeding circumſtances, there is little doubt to be made, but that the Saxons had the upper hand: for, preſently after the engagement, Cerdic, who until this time had only acted as the chief general, graſped at new honours, aſſuming the title of king, and began his rule as ſuch over the kingdom of Weſſex, making Cenric, his ſon, his partner in the royal dignity; and it is not likely that he would have proceeded in this manner, unleſs Fortune had ſtill continued to ſmile upon his attempts.‡

A. D. 527. The battle between the Britons and Saxons at Cerdic's leah. From the time that Cerdic and Cenric took upon them the monarchical government, to the year of our Lord 527, the ſpace of eight years, they ſeem to have enjoyed their dominions in peace; or, at leaſt, during the whole of that period, they were not moleſted with any conſequential war. How they employed this leiſure, it is impoſſible to diſcover; but yet they could not ſo thoroughly ſtrengthen their frontiers, but the enemy would at times be breaking in upon them. About this time, the Britons having recovered their loſſes, and reinforced their army, were determined once more to try the fortune of war, and ſtrive by battle to ſave their ſinking country from total ruin. Under the conduct of Arthur, they reſorted to the field, and began afreſh to ſet upon the borders of Weſſex. Rouſed at the alarm, the valiant kings trained out their forces, and haſted to put a ſtop to the advancing danger. When they had reached a place, after called Cerdic's leah, they met the Britiſh army, with whom they engaged;§ but what was the ſucceſs of this encounter is not known, unleſs it could be abſolutely determined that this was the battle, which, ſeveral of the ancient hiſtorians have informed us, was fought at Mount Budon, near Bath, where the Saxons

* Ranulph Dicetus Hiſt. Brit.
† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 519. Henry Huntingdon, & Ethelwerd, ut ſupra.
‡ Ibid. Ibid. &c.
§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 527.

were

were hemmed in by the Britons, and received a grievous overthrow.* This action is said to be the last, in which the British chieftain carried the conquest over his enemies; after which time, perhaps, he either died, or was slain in the defence of his country.† A. D. 527.

Cerdic, after this encounter with the Britons, retired back with his army, and fought no further to molest them; so that a cessation of arms ensued, which was continued for several years. But though he ceased his attempts upon such of the inhabitants as lay round about him upon the main land, yet still he passed not the rest of his reign in continual idleness; for, three years after the last battle, accompanied with his son Cenric, and his nephews, Stuf and Witgar, he invaded the isle of Wight, and overcame the inhabitants in a set engagement, at a place which was after named Witgara burg, (because Witgar there built a city) and brought the whole island under his subjection.‡ A. D. 530. Cerdic invades the isle of Wight.

When Cerdic had thus begun and settled the kingdom of Wessex, he found full employment to defend its frontiers from the incursions of the Britons. Various were the skirmishes and battles which ensued, and as various the success; sometimes the Britons, sometimes the Saxons, bearing away the palm of victory: yet none of these actions were considerable enough to shake the state, or affect the general welfare of Wessex; A. D. 532. Various skirmishes between the Britons and Saxons.

* Gildas Hist. cap. 26. Bede, Ecc. Hist. lib. i. cap. 16. W. Malms. lib. i. Nennii, Hist. &c. &c.

† And it is not without great reason, that modern authors have supposed that this battle of Cerdic's leah, was the same with that of Badon Hill; for the peace which followed it, seems plainly to prove, that Cerdic was not willing any more to risk his fortune in the field, but rather chose to sit down quietly in his present possessions. The time also, and every other circumstance relative to these important actions, agree exactly; so that we may with as much certainty as can be gained from reasonable conjecture, rest assured they are both the same engagement, under different names. Milton, in his History of England, has taken great pains to prove this fact, and has succeeded, in my opinion, as well as the nature of the subject would admit of; to which book the reader is referred, where he may find that author's opinion at large. Before I conclude this note, I shall just add, that Nennius, and after him, Henry of Huntingdon, have ascribed to Arthur twelve several victories over the Saxons. The first battle was fought by the mouth of the river Glem, or Gleyne; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, were fought near another river, called Duglass, which is in the county of Lineux: the sixth upon the banks of the river Bassus. The Scala Chronica says, Arthur fought with Calgryne by the water of Duglass, now called Done. Scal. Chr. lib. i. The seventh in the wood Calidon: the Sca. Chr. adds, Arthur chased Cheldrik into a great wood, by Baclings; the eighth was beside the castle of Guinien; in this battle, he carried the image of the cross of Christ, and the Virgin Mary, upon his shoulders; the ninth at Carleon; the tenth at Rither wood; the eleventh on a mountain, named Agned Cathregonion; and the twelfth at Badon Hill. But at what particular time these battles were fought, or against what parties of the Saxons, (if it is true that they were all fought) cannot at present be determined; therefore I have put them into a note, rather than burthen the body of the work itself with uncertainties. Vide all the authors quoted in the preceding note.

‡ Chron. Sax. sub anno 530. & Will. Malms. lib. i. cap. 2.

A. D. 532. for which reaſon they are not particularly noted by the ancient hiſtorians.* In this warlike manner, Cerdic held his rule in Britain thirty-eight years, from his firſt arrival, when he died, in the year of our Lord 533, fourteen years after he had aſſumed the title of king.

CENRIC *alone, the ſecond* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 533. The peaceable beginning of Cenric's reign.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Cerdic, his ſon Cenric took the government of the whole kingdom upon him, and held it with a powerful hand. ‖ The firſt nineteen years of his reign appear to have been paſſed in perfect peace; the Britons were either afraid of oppoſing him, or elſe hindered by their want of leiſure, being employed, perhaps, in other wars; or, what is more likely, by their civil diſſentions amongſt themſelves: for, notwithſtanding the danger of their ſituation, no ſooner could they gain the leaſt proſpect of peace, but, turning their thoughts from the Saxons, their general enemies, they fell to diſcords and jarring in their own diſtricts.† Cenric, ſoon after his advancement to the throne, gave the government of the iſle of Wight, to his couſins, Stuf and Witgar, the latter of which aſſumed the title of king, and built a city, which he named Witgara's burg, (or Witgar's city) where he was buried.

A. D. 552. Battle between the Britons and Saxons.

The Britons now fearing the growing greatneſs of Cenric, were juſtly apprehenſive of the daily encroachments which that prince was conſtantly making upon their territories, laid aſide for a time their private diſcords, and united themſelves againſt the Weſt Saxons. To oppoſe this torrent, Cenric collected his army, and reſolutely took the field. Both armies met near Saliſbury, where a deſperate engagement enſued; the Britons fighting vigorouſly for the recovery of their country, and the Saxons as valiantly reſiſting, to preſerve their former conqueſts; at laſt, (after great ſlaughter on both ſides) the Saxons prevailed, and chaſed the Britons from the borders of their kingdom.‡

A. D. 556. The battle at Beran burg.

After the laſt victory obtained by Cenric and his party, the Britons ceaſed for ſome time to moleſt them, and employed the whole of that leiſure time in recruiting their forces, and ſtrengthening the army; for their late loſs had not ſo much depreſſed their ſpirits, but they reſolved again to try the fortune of the field, and ſet their hopes of liberty once more at ſtake. The news of their approach was no ſooner brought to the court of Cenric, than, calling his army together, and aided by his ſon

* Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

‖ Chron. Sax. &c. &c. Speed, Sammes, and other modern hiſtorians, gave Cerdic another ſon, named Chelwolf, from whom, they ſay, ſprang Eſcwine, King of the Weſt Saxons, who aſcended the throne, A. D. 674; but the Saxon Chronicle declares, that he was deſcended from Ceolfulf, the ſecond ſon of Cenric. Vide Chron. Sax. ſub anno 674.

† Gild. Hiſt. cap. ult.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 552. Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. & Ethelwerd, lib. i.

Ceawlin,

Ceawlin, he marched forth to defend his dominions. At Beranburg he A. D. 556.
came up with the forces of the Britons, and gave them inſtant battle; the conflict, which was ſharp and bloody, continued all the day; nor did they on either ſide give back, till the approach of night obliged them to retire; the ſlaughter, which was very great, ſeems to have been nearly equal on either ſide; for neither the one nor the other could challenge the victory. The loſs which both armies ſuſtained in this engagement, moderated the rage of their irritated minds; for, when the morrow's ſun was riſen upon the plain, they had no inclination to renew the battle; but after performing the laſt honours to their departed friends, they left the field: the Britons returning to their own confines, and the Saxons retreating to their ſeparate homes.*

This was the laſt battle of any conſequence that happened in the reign A. D. 559.
of Cenric, who was now advancing in years, and ſpent the remainder of his life in peace. This warlike chief came over with his father, and was aſſiſting in the eſtabliſhment of the Weſt Saxon kingdom, which he ſupported with great glory during the whole of his life; being nothing inferior to his father, either in courage, or conduct. When he had reigned rather better than twenty-ſix years, (after the death of his father) he departed this life, and left the kingdom to the government of Ceawlin, his eldeſt ſon.† The death of Cenric.

Cenric had three ſons; the firſt was Ceawlin, who ſucceeded him; the ſecond, Ceolfulf; and the laſt, Cuth. Ceolfulf aſſiſted his brother Ceawlin in his wars, and was often partaker with him in his victories. He died in the year 571, leaving behind him one ſon, named Ceol, or Cearlic, who is ſaid to have chaſed his uncle Ceawlin from the kingdom, and ſeated himſelf upon his throne. Cuth, the third ſon of Cenric, was famous rather for his iſſue than for any particular acts of his own; he had three ſons, the firſt was Chelwulf, who was king of the Weſt Saxons; the ſecond was Chel, who was father to Cingils, another king of the Weſt Saxons, and grandfather to Kenwal and Cenwine, alſo kings of Weſſex. Ched, the laſt ſon, was father to Kenbert. The iſſue of Cenric.

CEAWLIN, *the third* KING *of the* WEST SAXONS.

AFTER the death of Cenric, his ſon Ceawlin, mounted the throne of A. D. 560.
Weſſex. This prince had given great proofs of his valour at the battle of Beranburg, where he was preſent, and aſſiſted his father. The early part of his reign ſeems to have been ſpent without the leſt diſturbance; for the Britons, the chief enemies of the ſtate, had drank of late ſo deep of the bitter cup of misfortune, and were driven to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were glad to enjoy in quietneſs the favourable ray of peace which ſhone Ceawlin's ambitious deſigns.

* Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 556. Henry Huntingdon, Ethelwerd, &c.
† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 559, &c.

A. D. 560. upon them. Now ſecure in his poſſeſſions, this welcome tranquility gave Ceawlin leiſure to look round upon the neighbouring kingdoms: this careful ſurvey raiſed in his mind an ambitious thirſt for war, and led him to attempt the enlargement of his ſtate. Such is the effect of ambition upon the minds of men, that the greateſt injuſtice will wear the maſk of glory, and the unlawful ſpoils forced from a diſtreſſed nation, be called the honourable gifts of fortune, due to valiant deeds. Till this time the wars of the Saxons had been only carried on againſt the Britons, a firm cordiality exiſting amongſt their own different ſtates; but Ceawlin firſt made a breach upon that love and friendſhip which had hitherto prevailed: for, conſidering the youth of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the inactivity of his ſubjects, who had for a long time lived in profound peace, he thought the conqueſt of that kingdom would not be difficult to effect; therefore, he reſolved to begin the war, and accordingly made every preparation neceſſary to accompliſh his deſign.*

A. D. 568. The battle of Wibbandune. Ceawlin's intentions were not ſo ſecretly conducted, but that Ethelbert was made acquainted with them. Theſe alarming proceedings cauſed him to make the moſt ſpeedy proviſion for the defence of his kingdom. His army conducted by two valiant chiefs, called Oſlac and Cnebban, met the forces of Ceawlin, at Wibbandune, where a ſevere battle enſued, in which Ceawlin proved ſucceſsful; for the two leaders of Ethelbert's army were ſlain in the field, and all his forces routed; himſelf hardly eſcaping by a precipitate flight.† Notwithſtanding this favourable beginning of Ceawlin, he ſeems to have met with ſome further oppoſition, which cooled the ardour of his ambition, and prevented his making any greater advances into the kingdom of Kent; for we hear not of any other conſiderable action which he performed. But ſoon after this battle he ſeems to have returned to Weſſex, and dropped the further purſuit of his deſign.

A. D. 571. The battle at Bedford. About this time, the Britons began once more to make head againſt Ceawline, and were entering the borders of Weſſex. This alarming circumſtance called his forces to the field, who, under the conduct of Ceolfulf, his brother, marched againſt the advancing foe. We are not acquainted with the reaſons that with-held the king himſelf from being preſent at this war, which was entirely left to the management of Ceolfulf; who was ſo fortunate in his undertaking, that, in a deciſive battle, fought near Bedford, he routed the Britiſh army, and crowned his conqueſt with the capture of four of their chief towns, namely, Lygean burg, Egelsburg, Benſington, and Eveſham.‡ This diſtreſſing accident ſo deeply

* Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 568. Will. Malmſ. Hen. Hunt. &c. &c.

‡ Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 571. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. &c.

affected

affected the ſpirit of the Britons, that, in woeful ſilence, they made their retreat from the face of their enemies, lamenting the misfortunes which every day increaſed upon them; not that all theſe appearances of ſpeedy ruin could prevail upon them to leave their own inordinate purſuits, or follow ſuch methods as prudence and diſcretion would dictate; for, inſtead of continuing ſtrong in their confederacies, and uniting firmly together, they ſtill kept up their own civil diſputes, and laid themſelves open to the attacks of their opponents, who were not backward in ſeizing upon the leaſt occaſion of purſuing their advantage. Soon after this laſt important victory, Ceolfulf returned home to the court of his brother Ceawlin, and died the ſame year. A. D. 571.

Ceawlin now enjoyed about ſix years in tranquility, at the end of which the war was again renewed with the Britons, who had brought into the field a greater army, headed by three of their kings, named Comail, Condidan, and Farinmail; they met the forces of Ceawline (who was accompanied by Cuth, his eldeſt ſon) at a place called Deorham, where a ſevere battle was fought, which ended in favour of the Saxons; for all the three Britiſh kings were ſlain in the field, and their army put to flight. Ceawlin and his ſon purſuing their victories, took from the Britons three other large towns, as Glouceſter, Cirenceſter, and Bathanceſter. After this action, Ceawlin returned home, and peace was again eſtabliſhed for the ſpace of ſix years.* A. D. 577. The battle at Deorham.

Ceawlin, during this tranquility, made great preparations for the defence of his territories; and was now determined to ſet upon the neighbouring Britons, who, taught by woeful experience the conſequence of their fatal diſcords, had entered into a ſtronger combination than before, and were reſolutely making head in the defence of their native rights. Ceawlin himſelf (aſſiſted by his ſon Cuth) conducted the army againſt them, who had by this time completed their recruits, and were not backward in oppoſing the marches of their deteſted foes. Both armies met at a place called Fethan leag,† where the battle was preſently begun: at the firſt onſet, Cuth, the ſon of Ceawlin, was overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the field, and all the party which he commanded was put to flight; Ceawlin ſeeing this alarming accident, made a fierce charge upon the wing of the Britons with which he was engaged, and putting them to the rout, came up with thoſe who had oppreſſed the Saxons, and were taking the advantage of their victory; this unexpected aid revived the ſpirits of the flying troops, ſo that rallying their forces, and returning again, the onſet was renewed; while the Britons hemmed in on all ſides, were unable to reſiſt the ſudden and repeated A. D. 583. The battle of Fethan leag.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 577. Hunt. ut ſup. &c.

† Suppoſed to have been ſomewhere near Fekenham foreſt, in Worceſterſhire. Vide Samme's Brit. vol. I. p. 563.

ſhocks;

A. D. 583. ſhocks; their main body began to give way, and in the end a total overthrow enſued, the Saxons remaining abſolute maſters of the field. This important victory opened the way for Ceawlin, who, purſuing his fortunes, ſeized upon ſeveral towns, where obtaining great ſpoils, he and his army returned home laden with riches, and glorying in their extended conqueſts.*

A. D. 591. The unfortunate overthrow of Ceawlin at Woden's mount.

This conſiderable loſs to the Britons, though for a time it prevented their undertaking any war againſt the Weſt Saxons, was far from extinguiſhing that implacable hatred which they bore towards them: and now grown deſperate in their reſolutions, they only kept up the appearance of peace, until they had ſufficiently ſtrengthened their army, to take the field again; which was no ſooner done, than they ſet upon the borders of Weſſex. Nor was Ceawlin behind hand in making head againſt them; he came up with their army at a place called Woden's Mount,† where a ſevere engagement enſued. But here the glory which had before accompanied Ceawlin in his undertakings, left him ſuddenly; for his forces were totally overthrown, and the Britons bore away the victory, making a great ſlaughter of the flying Saxons. Ceawlin, oppreſſed with grief, returned to his court; but there alſo the change of fortune awaited him: for now his ſubjects, who had hitherto received him with applauſe, and extolled his victories to the ſkies, began by open murmurs, and continued diſcontents, to fall from their allegiance, and riſe in rebellious parties. Struck with their ingratitude, and ſeeking to avoid their miſchievous deſigns, this unfortunate monarch left the kingly dignity, and abandoned the realm, dying in poor eſtate, about the year of our Lord 593.‡ Whilſt conqueſt crowns the hero's bold attempts, his name may be idolized by the people, and his actions mentioned with repeated praiſe; but turn the ſcale, and view him in diſgrace, one fatal battle loſt may quite eclipſe his former glory, though the due reward of many years hard toil, and many victories gained! This was the unequal fortune of Ceawlin, who, after gaining ſo many important conqueſts, was thruſt from the throne for one unlucky overthrow, after he had reigned glorioufly thirty-one years.

The iſſue of Ceawlin.

Ceawlin had two ſons; the eldeſt, Cuth, who ſerved under his command, and was ſlain at the battle of Fethan leag; this Cuth was the anceſtor of Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex. The youngeſt ſon was named

* Thus the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and Henry Huntingdon, have it. Mat. Weſt. indeed mentions the death of Cuth, and the Saxons' flight, but takes no notice of the recovery of the day by Ceawlin. But beſides the foregoing authority for the truth of this laſt circumſtance, the eight years peace which followed, ſeems plainly to confirm it. Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 583. Chron. Ethelwerd, & Hiſt. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 584.

† Woddnes beorhlize, in the Saxon Chron. or Woden's Mount, in Wiltſhire. Vide Sammes, &c. Speed tranſlates it Woden's Ditch. See his Chron.

‡ W. Malmſ. lib. ii. & Chron. Saxon. Vide Holingſhed, Stow, Speed, &c.

Cuthwin: he ſurvived his father, but ſucceeded not in the kingdom, A. D. 591.
(being, perhaps, too young to take the government upon him.) Cuthwin was the anceſtor of Ina and Egbert, two famous kings of the Weſt Saxons; the latter being him, who overcame all the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and joined them with his own.

CEOLRIC, *the fourth* KING *of* WESSEX.

CEOLRIC, the ſon of Ceolfulf, the brother of Ceawlin, ſuceeded him A. D. 592.
in the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, and by ſome ſuppoſed to have had great hand in the expelling of his uncle Ceawlin from the realm, in order to make way for his own advancement to the throne: however this may be, his reign exceeded not five years; and during all that time, he does not appear to have been concerned in any buſineſs of conſequence, nor to have undertaken any war of importance enough to claim the notice of the antient hiſtorians; nor does he ſeem to have left any iſſue behind him to inherit the kingdom.

Ceolric's actions not known.

CEOLWULF, *the fifth* KING *of* WESSEX.

CEOLWULF, the next ſucceſſor in the realm, was the ſon of Cuth, the A. D. 597.
brother of Ceawlin. The riſing ſtate of Weſſex had now attracted the envy of the ſurrounding powers, ſo that the whole reign of this prince was ſpent in continual warfare. As ſoon as he had aſſumed the royal dignity, the Eaſt Angles, under the conduct of Redwald their king, ſet upon his territories; theſe with great reſolution he oppoſed, and his firſt encounters were crowned with ſucceſs, for Redwald and his party left the borders of Weſſex preſently after, and returned home. No ſooner had this enemy quitted the kingdom, than another ſprang up to diſturb its peace. The Britons, who for a time had kept themſelves quiet, broke forth again, and renewed the war; theſe alſo ſubdued, the Picts and Scots made their way from the north, and aiding the Britons, begun afreſh to ravage the borders of Weſſex. Thus was Ceolwulf continually harraſſed; new dangers breaking out, as faſt as the old ones were ſubſided. In the end, with conſtant reſolution and undaunted courage, he quelled theſe troubles: but yet it was not ordained, that he ſhould hold his reign in peace; for when he had thus long acted only on the defenſive, his ambition led him on to retaliate, in ſome meaſure, upon his neighbours, the wrongs which he himſelf had received; therefore in an evil hour, he meditated an expedition againſt the South Saxons, in the proſecution of which he loſt his life; after he had reigned fourteen years.* He does not appear to have left any children behind him to inherit his dignity.

Ceolwulf's continual warfare.

* Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 597 & 607. Huntington. lib. 2. Mat. Weſt, &c. &c. W. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chron. Winton.

CYNE-

CYNEGILS, *the ſixth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 611. CYNEGILS, the ſon of Ceol, brother to Ceolwulf, ſucceeded him in the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. This prince aſſociated with him his ſon Cwichelm, who jointly managed the affairs of the ſtate, in all matters of conſequence, either relative to peace or war.† The early part of their reigns, they ſeem to have employed in confirming the love and unity which prevailed amongſt their ſubjects, in ſtrengthening their army, and putting themſelves in the beſt poſture of defence.

Cynegils makes his ſon his partner in the throne.

A. D. 613. When theſe princes had finally ſettled the affairs of the kingdom, they turned their thoughts againſt the enemies of the ſtate; and principally the Britons, who had been ſo troubleſome to their predeceſſor, attracted their regard; and becauſe they were not yet reduced to perfect tranquility, they determined to march out againſt them with a large army. Theſe proceedings being made known to the Britons, they got their forces together with all the expedition they could, reſolving boldly to oppoſe the encroachments of their advancing foe. At Beandune ‡ the armies met, and a bloody battle enſued, which ended in the total overthrow of the Britons, who were put to flight with ſuch prodigious ſlaughter, that upwards of two thouſand of them were left dead in the field.§ By this victory the Weſt Saxons ſecured the peace of their country, and reduced the Britons to ſo low an ebb, that for a long time after they dared not enter the field again.

The Britons overthrown at Beandune.

A. D. 628. The kingdom of Weſſex now enjoyed a perfect peace for the ſpace of fifteen years, at which time the blood-thirſty and reſtleſs Penda, king of Mercia, envying its happineſs, invaded its borders, and rouſed the inhabitants from their pleaſing tranquility. To oppoſe his march, Cynegils and his ſon, at the head of their army, advanced as far as Cirenceſter, where they met the foe and gave them battle; the fight was obſtinately continued all the day, with prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide; the night at laſt put an end to the conflict, but yet it was impoſſible to determine which party had the upper-hand: however, in the morning, on both ſides they found their loſs ſo great, that neither the one nor the other were willing to renew the engagement; but after ſome conſultation between Penda and his party, and Cynegils, his ſon, and their army, propoſals were agreed to, and a fair peace was concluded upon and confirmed. This done, Penda returned to Mercia, and Cynegils, with his ſon Cwichelm, to their own court.*

Penda invades Weſſex.

A. D. 635. After this battle, the reign of Cynegils was paſſed in peace; this circumſtance gave him leiſure to attend to the ſalutary doctrine of Chriſ-

Cynegils receives the Chriſtian faith.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ Beambune in the Sax. Chron. now *Bindon*, in Dorſetſhire. Camden Brit.

§ The Saxon Chron. ſays two thouſand and forty-ſix, but Henry Hunt. makes them to be two thouſand and ſixty-two.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 628. W. Malmſ. Hen. Hunt, &c. ſup.

tianity

tianity, which now began to be preached in his dominions by Berinus: A. D. 635.
and what by the impreſſion that his diſcourſes made upon the heart of Cynegils, and the perſuaſion of Oſwald the Pious, king of Northumberland, (who afterwards married his daughter) he was convinced of the divine truths, and was baptized at York. The example of the king was preſently followed by his ſubjects, who joyfully received the Chriſtian faith, and forſook their former errors.†

The next year after Cynegils had been baptized, Cwichelm, his ſon, A. D. 636.
was alſo lead to the font, at the city of York, and died in that very year, leaving his father in ſole poſſeſſion of the kingdom. In the mean time the Chriſtian religion flouriſhed exceedingly in every part of Weſſex.‡ Cwichelm is baptized and dieth.

Cynegils outlived his ſon and colleague only ſix years, and died in the year of our Lord 642, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, after he had glorioufly reigned thirty-one years, and was buried in the monaſtery of Winton, which he had newly founded.* Cynegils had three ſons and one daughter, the eldeſt was Cwichelm, who had reigned with and died before his father; the ſecond was Cenwalh, who ſucceeded his father; and the third was Centwine, who was alſo king of the Weſt Saxons. The daughter of Cynegils was named Kineburga; ſhe was, in her father's life-time, married to Oſwald, king of Northumberland. The death and iſſue of Cynegils.

Beſides the actions which are already attributed to the proweſs of Cynegils, and his warlike ſon, Cwichelm, they made war upon the three ſons of Sebba, (who, after the death of their father, ruled in the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons) and ſlew them in the field, and brought the power of that dominion to a very low ebb.‖ Eaſtſex ſubdued by Cynegils and his ſon.

CENWALH, *the ſeventh* KING *of* WESSEX.

AFTER the deceaſe of Cynegils, his ſecond ſon, Cenwalh, aſcended A. D. 643.
the throne of Weſſex. In the early part of his reign, this prince gave himſelf up to vice, and ſtill continued in the idolatry of his anceſtors, utterly refuſing to receive the Chriſtian faith, after the example of his father, and the greater part of his ſubjects. Amongſt other unlawful actions, he put away his wife Sexburga, who was the ſiſter of Penda, king of Mercia.§ This laſt imprudent ſtep had nearly ended in his total deſtruction; for the diſgrace which was thrown upon Sexburga, drew down upon him the anger of Penda her brother, whoſe fierce and ferocious temper needed but little offence to ſtimulate his revenge. Cenwalh puts away his wife.

Cenwalh ſoon found, by woeful experience, that the ſtorm which he A. D. 645.
had raiſed was too great for him to withſtand, for Penda, invading the Penda drives Cenwalh from his kingdom.

† Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 7. Hiſt. Ethelwerd. Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 635. Malmſ. Hunt. &c. ut ſupra.
‡ Ib. ib. &c.
* Chron. Wint. J. Redbourne, &c.
‖ Matt. of Weſt. places this tranſaction in the year 616, about which time perhaps it may have happened.
§ Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 7. W. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

A. D. 645. borders of Weſſex, at the head of a powerful army, paved his way with ruin and deſtruction. Alarmed at the approaching danger, Cenwalh abandoned his kingdom, and fled for refuge to the court of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles, where he was received in a friendly and hoſpitable manner. By the advice and perſuaſion of that virtuous prince, he was converted to the Chriſtian faith, and the year following his flight from Weſſex, received baptiſm at the hands of Birinus.* After he had taken upon him the true religion, he entirely changed his former courſe of life, and again received Sexburga, as the conſort of his bed.

A. D. 648. When Cenwalh had reſided three years at the court of Anna, he was, by the aſſiſtance of that prince, reſtored to the throne of Weſſex;† and his haughty brother, Penda, appeaſed by his ſubmiſſion, and the reſtoration of Sexburga to her former honours, turned his arms another way, and ceaſed to moleſt his kingdom. Cenwalh thus unexpectedly re-eſtabliſhed in his kingly dignity, held the government with an equal hand; his actions he moderated by juſtice and mercy, ſeeking by virtue and diſcretion to gain the love of his ſubjects, and to promote their peace.

Cenwalh re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom.

A. D. 652. Notwithſtanding the great lenity with which this excellent prince did bear his rule, there yet were murmurs and diſcontents prevailing amongſt many of his ſubjects; agitated, perhaps, by evil-deſigning men, From private diſcords they proceeded to open rebellion, and took the field againſt him. To ſuppreſs this dangerous revolt, he gathered all the forces together that he could, and aſſiſted by his faſt friends, gave battle to the rebels, at a place called Bradenford, by Afene;‡ but which party prevailed, as well as the general cauſe of the rebellion, is not known: however, by Cenwalh's enjoying his dignity with great honour for a conſiderable time after this event, it is highly probable, that he gained the victory, and entirely ſubdued the rebellious faction.§

The Weſt Saxons revolt.

A. D. 658. Peace thus reſtored in Weſſex, for the ſpace of ſix years Cenwalh received no further diſturbance; but at the expiration of that term, the neighbouring Britons, who had long lain quiet in their own ſtates, began again to lift up their heads, and meditate a renewal of the war. Theſe commotions being made known to Cenwalh, he inſtantly cauſed preparations to be made, in order to reſiſt their attempts, and with his army met them at a place called Peonnum,‖ where a ſharp engagement enſued,

The Britons overcome at Pennum.

* Bede & Malmſ. ut loc. cit. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 646, & Hiſt. Ethelwerd.

† Ibid. Ibid. &c. &c.

‡ This place, Camden tells us, is Bradford, in Wiltſhire, near the river Avon. Vide Camd. in Wiltſhire.

§ Ethelwerd, Hiſt. lib. ii.

‖ Penor, or Pennum, in Somerſetſhire. Vide Camden. Here I may take notice, that Will. Malmſbury mentions two battles fought by Cenwalh, againſt the Britons; the firſt at Witgornes burg, of which he relates nothing of the particulars, nor which army was victorious; the ſecond at Peonnum, as above; but the Sax. Chron. Ethelwerd, Henry Huntingdon, Matt. Weſt. Higden, &c. &c. make mention of but one battle.

in which the Britons were totally routed, and purſued by the Weſt Saxons as far as Pendridan; a ſmall remnant eſcaping with great difficulty. The prodigious ſlaughter which was made of the Britons during the courſe of this battle, and the purſuit which followed, was ſo great, that they were glad to make peace, and retire from the borders of Weſſex. A. D. 658.

After three years reſt, freſh diſturbances called Cenwalh to the field again; for Wulfere, king of the Mercians, ſon of Penda, moved by his irreſiſtible ambition, and thirſt for glory, and nothing regarding the tie of relationſhip which was exiſting between himſelf and Cenwalh, invaded his dominions, and deſtroyed the country wherever he came. The Weſt Saxons, under the conduct of their king, had recourſe to arms, and at a place called Poſſentes burg, fought with the Mercians, but without ſucceſs; for Fortune favouring the attempts of Wulfere, his army prevailed, and Cenwalh with his party were put to flight.* The Mercians having thus gained a paſſage in the kingdom, purſued their victories to Pendridan, and invaded the iſle of Wight, which they took; and Wulfere afterwards gave it to Edelwalch, the king of the South Saxons. A. D. 661. Wulfere invades Weſſex.

When Wulfere, king of Mercia, departed from Weſſex, Cenwalh enjoyed his kingdom in peace till the day of his death, which happened in the year 672. He reigned thirty years, including the three years that he was abſent from the kingdom. His body was buried in the cathedral church at Wincheſter.† He had but one wife, Sexburga, the ſiſter of Penda, who outlived him; and by whom he does not ſeem to have had any iſſue to ſucceed him in the kingdom. The death of Cenwalh.

SEXBURGA, GOVERNESS *of the* WEST SAXONS.

AFTER the deceaſe of her huſband, Sexburga, his queen, (a woman of great abilities) took the government of Weſſex upon her. She was well acquainted with the affairs of ſtate, and ſupported her charge with uncommon ſpirit. When ſhe had ruled the ſpace of one year,‡ ſhe was either depoſed by her ſubjects, or prevented by death, from making a greater figure in the realm: the former, indeed, is moſt likely; for we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the minds of this fierce people, and the warlike ideas which they imbibed from their anceſtors, could not in theſe early times be ſo refined, as to permit them to ſit down contented under the government of a woman, even though ſhe might have been a perfect A. D. 673. Sexburga aſſumes the government.

* Ethelwerd relates the ſucceſs of this battle in a manner totally different from all other authors; for he declares, that the victory was gained by Cenwalh, and that he took Wulfere priſoner: but this is not likely to have been the caſe, from the circumſtances which follow. The account of this battle, as it ſtands in the text above, is confirmed by the Saxon Chron. Malmſ. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. and all the authors quoted before.

† Chron. Winton. per T. Redbourne.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 673. Chron. J. Brompton & Vet. MS. in Bib. Cotton. marked Julius D. vi. Huntingdon, &c.

A. D. 673. politician; they rather choſe the bold and hardy warrior for their chief, who would lead them on to acquire their honour in blood and ſlaughter, than the poliſhed ſtateſman, by whoſe direction they might enjoy full peace and affluence, whilſt their ſwords were ruſting in their ſcabbards.*

ESCWINE, *the eighth* KING *of* WESSEX.†

A. D. 674. WHEN this extraordinary woman had ceaſed to rule in Weſſex, Eſcwine, the deſcendant of Ceolfulf, the ſon of Cenric, was advanced to the throne. Centwine, the brother of Cenwalh, was indeed the next lawful heir, but it ſeems that Eſcwine made him partaker of his dignity.‡

Eſcwine joins Centwine with him in the kingdom.

A. D. 675. In the ſecond year of his reign, Eſcwine fought a bloody battle againſt Wulfere, the king of Mercia, who had entered the borders of Weſſex, and was ſpoling the country. The place where the armies met, was called Bidanheafod, and, after a prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide, the victory remained doubtful.

Eſcwine fights with Wulfere.

Eſcwine leaves no iſſue.

After Eſcwine had reigned two years, he deceaſed, leaving neither wife nor children behind him to ſucceed him in his dignity; therefore, Centwine, his colleague, after his death, took upon him the government of the whole kingdom.

CENTWINE, *the ninth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 676. BY the death of his colleague, Centwine remained unrivalled in the kingdom of Weſſex. Few of the actions of this prince are recorded; but yet his wars with the Britons prove him to have been a brave and valiant commander; againſt whom he ſo prevailed, that he drove them from their poſſeſſions in the weſt, and chaſed them even to the ſea-ſhore.§ Overcome with this perpetual ſtream of misfortunes, the ſpirit of reſiſtance amongſt theſe wretched people (who inhabited the weſtern angle of Britain) was quite broke down; ſo that deſpairing of ſucceſs, they forſook their arms, and in extreme indigence fled to mountains and ſecret places, mournfully reflecting on the miſeries of their preſent ſtate. What immediately followed amongſt them is not known; but, perhaps at laſt inured to their woes, and familiar with diſtreſs, their misfortunes might by degrees be leſs felt; and becauſe they found they could not better their ſituation, they might uſe the utmoſt of their endeavours to render it as comfortable as poſſible.

Centwine overcomes the Britons.

Centwine dies without iſſue.

Centwine reigned nine years, in great repute, after the death of his colleague, and died in the year of our Lord 685. He left no iſſue behind

* Will. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

† This king and his aſſociate, who outlived him, are by Bede, for what reaſon I know not, called "*Subreguli*," or petty kings. Ecc. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12.

‡ Thus much we may gather from the words of Bede, and the more expreſs declaration of Malmſbury; though Huntingdon, Mat. Weſt. and others, have ſet them down as reigning ſeparately.

§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 681.

him to inherit the kingdom, ſo that it fell to Ceadwalla, an aſpiring young man, of noble birth.* He ſprang from Cutha, the eldeſt ſon of Ceawlin. A. D. 676.

CEADWALLA, *the tenth* KING *of* WESSEX.

CEADWALLA ſeems in the early part of his life to have diſcovered the ſeeds of an ambitious temper. By the prevalence of ſome particular faction, he was, during the reign of Centwine, baniſhed from his country; yet ſuch was his intereſt in the realm, that a ſtrong party of valiant men attended upon his ſteps, and made themſelves partakers of his fortune. After he left Weſſex with his little army, he invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Suſſex, where he ſlew Edelwalch, who ruled in thoſe dominions, and routed all his forces; purſuing his conqueſt, he ravaged the country wherever he came, and his followers loaded themſelves with the ſpoils. When he had for ſome time continued his marches in Suſſex, two valiant chiefs, named Berthunus and Anthun, aroſe in the defence of their ſuffering country, and with a ſtrong army which they had collected together, gave him battle. Fortune ſo far favoured their couragious attempts, that they drove the invading Ceadwalla and his party from the borders of Suſſex, and took the government of the kingdom upon themſelves.† A. D. 680. Some account of Ceadwalla before he ſucceeded to the crown.

After Ceadwalla had left Suſſex, he returned into his own country; about which time the death of Centwine opened the way before him to the throne of Weſſex: nor was he backward in ſeizing upon the favourable opportunity, but quickly ſet up his claim to the crown, and ſucceeded in his deſigns. When he had ſettled himſelf ſecurely in the government, he turned his ambitious eyes again upon Suſſex. In his former wars he had diſcovered the weakneſs of that kingdom; and though he had been expelled by force from thence, yet he readily conceived, that with a ſtronger army he might in a ſecond expedition eaſily ſubdue the whole realm, and add it to his own dominions. Elated with theſe aſpiring thoughts, he collected a large army together, and marching to the borders of Suſſex, began his invaſion, deſtroying with fire and ſword as he paſſed through the land. Theſe alarming dangers called for the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of the two valiant dukes, who had before reſtored peace to their bleeding country: at the head of all their forces they marched forward, to oppoſe the paſſage of Ceadwalla. But the engagement proved unfortunate to the South Saxons; for Berthunus was ſlain in the field, and Anthun with the army put to flight. This misfortune reduced the power of Suſſex to ſo low an ebb, that the miſerable inhabitants were no longer in condition to reſiſt their conquering foes: ſo that the whole country was ſeized upon by Ceadwalla, and became ſubject to his dominion.‡ A. D. 685. The South Saxons overcome.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 15.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.

Suſſex

A. D. 686. Suſſex thus overcome, Ceadwalla marched to its ſouthern borders, near the ſea, and determined upon the conqueſt of the iſle of Wight; wherefore, with his army he invaded that little kingdom, and obtained a ſignal victory over the unfortunate inhabitants, who ſubmitted themſelves to their conqueror. The two ſons of Arvald, the king of that iſland, had (on the firſt notice of Ceadwalla's deſign) withdrawn themſelves from thence, and lay hid not far off: but ſoon after, being betrayed, they were taken from their retreat, and delivered up to Ceadwalla, at whoſe command they were firſt baptized, and after put to death.*

The iſle of Wight conquered.

A. D. 687. The ſucceſs which had crowned the attempts of Ceadwalla upon Suſſex and the iſle of Wight, was far from ſatisfying his aſpiring wiſhes; on the contrary, it proved a ſpur to his ambition, and hurried him on to greater undertakings. By the conqueſt of the South Saxon kingdom, he opened a free paſſage into Kent. Conſidering the peace and tranquility which had ſo long prevailed in that diſtrict, and that having at this time no lawful heir to inherit the crown, the kingdom was divided into various factions, and diſturbed by civil diſſentions, he looked upon the opportunity which now offered for his invading it, as too favourable to be neglectfully paſſed by; wherefore, aſſiſted by his brother Mollo, he led his army, animated by their victories already gained, and big with the hopes of future ſpoils, into the borders of Kent. The alarm of this approaching ruin, contrary to the thoughts or deſires of Ceadwalla, put an end for a time to the civil diſcord which had prevailed amongſt the people, and they all unanimouſly united together in one body againſt their general foe; therefore, the firſt attempts of Ceadwalla were far from being ſo fortunate as he had expected: yet he continued his march, and did great damage. In one of theſe encounters, his brother Mollo was ſlain as he was making his retreat, with twelve brave warriors who accompanied him; for, being encompaſſed by the Kentiſh men, they had taken refuge in a ſmall fort, which was at hand, where they defended themſelves for ſome time, refuſing to yield themſelves to the beſiegers. The Kentiſh men enraged at the oppoſition which they made, ſet fire to the fort, and Mollo, with his followers, periſhed in the flames. This unfortunate accident ſo highly exaſperated Ceadwalla, that with his army he returned again to Kent, and began in moſt bloody ſort to revenge his brother's miſerable death. Wherever he came he laid the country waſte; the cities and towns he burnt with fire, and ſlew the inhabitants with the ſword: nor were the wretched inhabitants, with all their combined forces, able to beat him back, or ſtop the progreſs of his rage.†

Ceadwalla makes war in Kent, and his ſucceſs.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 16. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 686, &c.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 687. & alia. The author of the Scala Chronica ſays, that "Ceadwalla killed Edric and Elwalki, who began to rebel in Weſſex; this ſo much diſpleaſed the Kentiſh men, that they roſe againſt him. To quell this diſturbance, he ſent his brother Mollo into Kent." Thus, he reports, the war began, (but on what authority I know not.) The reſt of his account agrees with that in the text. Scala Chron. lib. ii.

In

In all theſe engagements Ceadwalla had ſpilt ſuch a profuſion of guiltleſs blood, that when he came ſeriouſly, and in a religious light, to reflect upon the dreadful conſequences of his cruel conqueſts, he was ſtruck with remorſe; and in order to expiate in ſome meaſure the offence, he quitted his kingly dignity, after a reign of little more than three years, and went in an humble manner to Rome, where he received baptiſm at the hand of Sergius, (who was then pope) and was called Peter. In the ſame year, being about thirty years of age, he died in that city, and was there buried in St. Peter's church, having a long Latin epitaph engraven upon his tomb.* He does not appear to have been married, ſo that he left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the kingdom. A. D. 688. Ceadwalla goes to Rome.

INA, *the eleventh* KING *of* WESSEX.

AFTER the departure of Ceadwalla from Weſſex, Ina, a noble young man, deſcended from Cuthwine, the ſon of Ceawline, took upon him the government of the kingdom. His character, as drawn in the early hiſtories, is truly amiable; he was a powerful and wiſe prince, bearing himſelf with conſtant valour in war, and ruling with equal prudence in time of peace. He alſo greatly forwarded the Chriſtian religion, which at this time began to flouriſh in much purity. At laſt, attending, perhaps, rather more than was neceſſary to the doctrine of the prieſts, he gave way to an enthuſiaſtic zeal, which led him to forſake his worldly honour, and undertake a fooliſh, though faſhionable, pilgrimage to Rome. A. D. 689. The character of Ina.

In what particular actions the firſt five years of his reign were employed we know not; for the peace which endured till then, and ſome time after, gave him no occaſion of ſignalizing his valour. Aſhamed of this inactive life, he pretended (about this time) to call to mind the deſtruction of Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla; and declaring to his people, that he thought the revenge, which his predeceſſor had taken, was not equal to the cruelty of the fact, he therefore held himſelf juſtified to invade the kingdom of Kent again, and quite complete the ruin of that ſtate: thus were his ambitious deſigns maſked under the ſplendid appearance of juſtice! The alarming news of Ina's preparations to invade Kent was ſoon made known to Wihtred, who then reigned in that diſtrict; and his apprehenſions of the conſequences were ſtill more dreadful, becauſe he found himſelf in no condition to oppoſe his adverſary by force of arms. In this extremity, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to Ina, who made large demands to pacify his wrath: wherefore, a prodi- A. D. 694. Ina prepares to invade Kent.

* The original of this epitaph, as given in Bede, is as follows: "Hic depoſitus eſt "Cedval, qui & Petrus, Rex Saxonum, "ſub die duodecimo kalendarum Maja- "rum, indictione ſecundâ; qui vixit an- "nos plùs minùs triginta, imperante Do- "mino Juſtiniano piiſſimo Auguſto; anno "ejus conſolatûs quarto pontificante apo- "ſtolico viro domino Sergio Papâ, anno "ſecundo" And this is preceded by a long Latin poem. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 7.

gious

A. D. 694. gious ſum of money was delivered to him, and thirty of the chief actors in the murder of Mollo and his companions.*

A. D. 710. Six years after the confirmation of this peace, the Britons once more began to make head againſt Weſſex; and under the command of a chief; named Gerent, a large army of them entered the borders of the realm. Ina, watchful for the ſafety of his ſubjects, gathered all his forces together, and being joined by his couſin Nun, haſted to ſtop their progreſs. A deſperate engagement enſued, which in the beginning ſeemed to promiſe conqueſt to the Britons, for a valiant leader, on the Saxon's ſide, (named Higebald) being ſlain, the army was for ſome time in confuſion; but being rallied again, by the prudence and conduct of Ina and Nun, the onſet was again begun, and the Britons found ſuch ſharp reſiſtance, that they ſhrunk back, and were cloſely preſſed by the Saxons; at length, being unable to withſtand their force any longer, they fled from the field, and left Ina in full poſſeſſion of his glorious conqueſt.† But yet he oppreſſed them not as his predeceſſors had done, for about this time the noblemen of the Britons began to intermarry with the noble virgins of the Saxons, and the Saxons again with thoſe of the Britons.‡

Ina fights with the Britons.

A. D. 715. His next important wars were thoſe which he ſupported againſt Celred, king of Mercia, with whom he fought a ſharp and bloody battle at Wodens burh, where, after prodigious ſlaughter on both ſides, the victory yet remained doubtful. The true occaſion of theſe wars is not ſet down by the hiſtorians; but it is moſt likely, that ambition on one ſide or the other, might be the firſt and original cauſe.§

Ina wars with Celred, king of Mercia.

A. D. 722. Seven years after the battle of Wodens burh, the South Saxons, who had long groaned under the bondage of thoſe of Weſſex, began to revolt, and with repeated ſtruggles ſought to regain their native liberty. Under the conduct of a chief whom they ſet up, named Ealdbright, they took the field. This rebellion brought Ina with his army into Suſſex, where he fought with the South Saxons; but the immediate ſucceſs of this battle is not recorded.‖

The South Saxons rebel.

A. D. 725. After three years, the war being continued, (and, as we may ſuppoſe, with different ſucceſs) Ina again fought a great battle with the South Saxons, which proved a deciſive one; for Ina and his army prevailed againſt their opponents, and ſlew their leader, Ealdbright, in the field. The loſs which the South Saxons ſuſtained in this encounter was ſo conſiderable, that they were no longer able to make head againſt the

The South Saxons overcome.

* W. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chr. Sax. ſub anno 694.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 710. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Ethelwerd, &c. &c.

‡ Chron. Winton. T. Redbourne.

§ Chron. Sax. Hunt. lib. iv. Ethelwerd. Brompton, &c.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 722.

Weſt

West Saxons, but submitted themselves to the will of the conqueror, A. D. 725. who once more united the whole of their dominions to his own.*

When Ina had reigned in glory the space of thirty-nine years,† by the continual persuasion of Ethelburh, his queen, he relinquished his crown and state, and journeyed to Rome, where he passed the rest of his life in obscurity, divested of all worldly pomp,‡ and died in poverty. This king has left behind him an excellent code of laws, which were made in his time, and are preserved to this day. Ina had one brother, named Ingild, who died before him; and two sisters, Cwenburh and Cuthburh; the last was married to Ealdferth, the king of Northumberland, but soon after she was parted from him, preferring a monastic life to the married state.§ Ina left no children behind him to inherit the crown of Wessex. A. D. 728. Ina leaves his kingdom, and goes to Rome.

ETHELHEARD, *the twelfth* KING *of* WESSEX.

AFTER Ina had abdicated the throne of the West Saxons, Ethelheard, a near relation of his, was advanced to the dignity; not indeed by the common consent of the whole kingdom, but rather by the prevalence of some strong parties. For Oswald, a noble young man, descended from Cuthwin, the son of Ceawlin, appears to have had a better claim to the crown than Ethelheard himself.‖ Moved by the justice of his cause, there were not wanting many in the realm, who began by murmurings and discontent, to shew themselves disaffected to the rule of Ethelheard, and took part with Oswald, persuading him to enter the field against his usurping relation. This flattering advice was presently pursued by the ambitious youth, who, placing himself at the head of his party, broke out in open rebellion. After some short continuance of this civil war, Ethelheard and his army gained such ground upon Oswald, that, despairing of success, he gave up the struggle, leaving the realm in peace to his opponent, and soon after he deceased, which put a sudden end to all the late disturbance.** A. D. 728. Oswald rebels in Wessex.

When Oswald had fled the kingdom, Ethelheard remained secure, and unrivalled in his dignity; the remaining part of his reign was spent in perfect peace and tranquility, so that we find nothing more recorded of him, than that he reigned fourteen years, and died without issue, in the year of our Lord 742.†† The death of Ethelheard,

* Chron. Sax. sub anno 725. & alia ut sup.

† Bede says, only thirty-seven years and some odd months. Redbourne and others say, thirty-eight.

‡ Malms. lib. i. cap. 2.

§ Chron. Sax. sub anno 728.

‖ Brompton erroneously declares, that this Oswald was son to Ethelbald, king of Mercia. In the Saxon Chronicle, his pedigree is more justly derived from Cerdic, thus: Oswald the son of Ethelbald, the son of Cynebald, the son of Cuthwin, the son of Ceawlin, the son of Cenric, the son of Cerdic. Chron. Sax. sub anno 728.

** Chron. Sax. Malmsbury, Huntingdon, &c.

†† Chron. Saxon. &c. &c.

CUTHRED, *the thirteenth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 742. AFTER the death of Ethelheard, his brother Cuthred laid claim to the throne of Weſſex, and ſucceeded eaſily in his deſign. The beginning of his reign was uſhered in by dangerous troubles; for Ethelbald, the aſpiring Mercian king, aſſaulted his realm, as well by open war, as private practices. Cuthred, the mean while, reſiſted the attempts of his enemy with unſhaken reſolution; ſo that after ſome ſhort continuance of this diſturbance, there enſued a ſharp engagement between the two kings, where prodigious ſlaughter was made on either ſide. This calmed the fury of their minds, and led them to accept of conditions; for, as neither one nor the other choſe to renew the battle, a fair agreement was preſently made between them, and a firm-eſtabliſhed peace was the reſult.*

Ethelbald makes war upon Cuthred.

A. D. 744. When ſome time had elapſed from the firſt concluſion of this peace, Cuthred joined his forces with thoſe of Ethelbald, and both theſe kings marched againſt the Britons, with whom they fought a great and bloody battle. The Britons, unable to reſiſt the united power of the Saxons, fled from the field, and were purſued by their enemies, who made a prodigious ſlaughter. After this victory, the ſucceſsful kings returned again to their own dominions, and remained peaceable for a conſiderable length of time.†

The Britons overcome.

A. D. 748. Four years of perfect tranquility followed in the kingdom of Weſſex, when the domeſtic peace of Cuthred was diſturbed by a very unhappy accident: Cynric, his eldeſt ſon, a youth of great ſpirit, bearing, as it ſeems, ſome high command in the army, behaved with ſuch haughtineſs, and carried his pride to ſo great a length, that a large party of the ſoldiers roſe ſeditiouſly againſt him, complaining grievouſly of their oppreſſion. In endeavouring to ſuppreſs this dangerous inſurrection, Cynric himſelf was ſlain, to the great grief of his father.‡

Cynric, the ſon of Cuthred, ſlain.

A. D. 750. This trouble was ſoon after followed by another, of ſtill more alarming a nature; for Æthelhun, a nobleman of great repute in the kingdom, taking offence at ſome proceedings of his ſovereign, roſe againſt him in open rebellion, and perſuaded a large party of the people to eſpouſe his cauſe. Cuthred, with his friends who continued faithful to him, marched againſt the ſeditious earl, and gave him battle; after a bloody engagement, the rebels were put to flight, and the king obtained a perfect victory. The earl now driven to the laſt diſtreſs, was forced to ſubmit to his evil fortune; but the king, remembering mercy in the midſt of ju-

The rebellion of Æthelhun.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 741. Henry Huntingdon, lib. iv. &c.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 743. & Hunt. ut ſup.

‡ Ibid. Ibid. Et Chron. Vrivallenſis, &c. &c.

ſtice,

ſtice, generouſly forgave him the offence, and reſtored him again to all his former honours. So great was the impreſſion which this unexpected clemency made in the heart of Æthelhun, that, by his future actions, he gratefully ſtrove to convince his maſter that his mercy was not beſtowed in vain.* A. D. 750.

Shortly after Cuthred had compoſed all theſe domeſtic troubles, the war broke out again afreſh between him and Ethelbald, king of Mercia, his old enemy. Unbounded pride and ambition had blown up into a flame the latent ſparks of reſentment in the breaſt of the Mercian, ſo that without the leaſt juſt cauſe he invaded Weſſex, and diſtreſſed the borders with his cruel conqueſts; but it was not long before Cuthred met him with his army, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms. At Beorgford he fought with the Mercians, and gained a complete victory. The ſucceſs of Cuthred in this important battle, is ſaid to have been chiefly owing to the great valour and conduct of Æthelhun, the nobleman who had rebelled againſt his ſovereign, and was pardoned as we have ſeen above. Yet the conqueſt was not gained without conſiderable ſlaughter on either ſide.† A. D. 754. Ethelbald renews the war with the Saxons.

This defeat, far from preventing the deſigns of Ethelbald, ſerved rather to ſtimulate his ambition, and ſwell his pride beyond the bounds of reaſon and diſcretion. In about two years he had again recruited his army, and poured his forces upon the borders of Weſſex. Cuthred marched againſt him, and proved ſucceſsful in the war, cauſing his enemy to retreat as far as Sceandune,‡ where he gave him battle. A long and bloody conflict enſued, in which Cuthred and his party prevailed, and the Mercians were put to flight with the loſs of their king, who is ſaid to have been murdered by the treachery of one of his captains.§ A. D. 757. The battle of Sceandune.

The laſt war of Cuthred was againſt the Britons, whom he overcame without much difficulty; for the wars which they ſuſtained againſt the Weſt Saxons and the Mercians, in the beginning of Cuthred's reign, and the misfortunes which had preceded that time, had ſo weakened their power, that they were not in any tolerable ſtate of reſiſtance. The death of Cuthred.

When this prince had reigned glorioufly near ſixteen years, he departed from this life, in the year of our Lord 758, and left the kingdom without an heir.‖

SIGEBRYHT, *the fourteenth* KING *of* WESSEX. A. D. 758.

UPON the death of Cuthred, a man of obſcure birth, named Sigebryth, made his way to the throne of Weſſex. The ſucceſs which Sigebryht's evil government.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 750, &c. &c. ut ſup.

† Chron, Sax. ſub anno 753.

‡ This place is ſuppoſed to be about three miles from Tamworth, in Warwickſhire.

§ Hunt. lib iv. Brompton, &c.

‖ Ibid. Ibid. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 756.

A. D. 758. crowned his attempt is the rather ſurpriſing, becauſe his character is drawn in hiſtory as a cruel and tyrannical oppreſſor of the ſtate. The ancient laws and conſtitution of the realm he endeavoured to pervert, and make ſubſervient to his own deteſted ends. Theſe unjuſt proceedings alarmed the nobles, and provoked his ſubjects in general; at laſt, an earl, named Cumbra, (a man of great ſpirit, and much reſpected by the people) reproved him freely for his evil conduct, and ſet before him the conſequences of perſiſting in his errors, entreating him to hold the government with leſs rigour, becauſe the whole nation was univerſally diſcontented, and daily murmurs from all ſides filled the ſtate. This ſpirited admonition, inſtead of meeting with a favourable reply, ſo highly exaſperated Sygebryht againſt the unfortunate Cumbra, that he cauſed him to be put to a cruel death. This laſt imprudent ſtep inflamed the minds of the people to ſuch a degree, that throwing off all allegiance, they roſe againſt the tyrant, and threatening vengeance, deprived him of all his regal honours, and drove him from the throne, before he had enjoyed the crown the ſpace of one year.

The death of Sigebryht.

Sigebryht appears to have been as baſe and grovelling in adverſity, as he was proud and imperious in proſperity: for, fearing the anger of his juſtly-exaſperated ſubjects, he fled alone from Weſſex in a mean diſguiſe, fearfully avoiding the ſight of man, and hiding himſelf in holes and caverns. At laſt, he took refuge in a large wood, on the borders of Kent, called Andredeſweald, where, wandering obſcurely about, he was met by a poor ruſtic, who had formerly been a ſervant of the murdered Cumbra, and the perſon of Sigebryht being known to him, out of zeal to revenge the wrongs of his late lord, he ſlew him upon the ſpot.*

CYNEWULF, *the fifteenth* KING *of the* WEST SAXONS.

A. D. 758. CYNEWULF, a noble young man of the line of Cerdic, who was the chief leader of the ſedition againſt Sigebryht, after his expulſion from the realm, laid claim ſucceſsfully to the royal dignities, and with great prudence calmed the ſtorm which was raiſed in the minds of the people by the late revolt, reſtoring peace and good order to the ſtate. All the former part of his reign is paſſed over by the ancient hiſtorians, who have contented themſelves with informing us, that he gained ſeveral great and important victories over the Britons, the particulars of which are no where ſpecified; but by their fame, he extended his own conſequence; and by his prudent government at home, ſecured the love of his ſubjects.†

Cynewulf's prudent government.

A. D. 775. The battle of Benſington.

In the ſeventeenth year of Cynewulf's reign, a war broke out between him and Offa, the ambitious king of Mercia, and a great battle was

* Chron. Saxon. Ethelwerd, lib. ii. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chron. John Brompton. J. Redbourne. Chron. Winton. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. &c. † Ib. ib. &c.

fought

fought by them near Benſington, in which Offa prevailed, and Cyne- A. D. 775.
wulf was driven from the field: Offa purſuing his victory, took the town of Benſington, and held it as his own.*

From this time to the end of his reign, Cynewulf enjoyed his dominions A. D. 787.
in perfect tranquility. To which, perhaps, might be owing his unfortunate end; for, if in the former part of his government he is praiſed for his juſtice and prudence, in the latter he is accuſed of giving way to his pleaſures, and relying with too much ſecurity on his proſperous ſtate. The conſtant ſmiles of fortune ſo ſenſibly affected his mind, that, forgetful of the ſlippery foundation of worldly grandeur, he overlooked thoſe cauſes, which, though trifling in their beginning, ended at laſt in his final deſtruction. For ſome offence which he took againſt Cyneheard, (the brother of Sigebryht, the late king) he baniſhed him from the kingdom. Cyneheard diſſembling the matter, ſeemed willing to retire from Weſſex: but meditating revenge, he prevailed upon a party of deſperate ruffians to aſſiſt him in his undertaking; and accompanied with theſe, he returned privately to the court of Cynewulf, watching a proper opportunity to murder him. He had not been long concealed before he ſucceeded in his deſign; for the king one evening viſiting a noble woman at Merton, (who was his concubine) in a private manner, with only a few attendants, he was narrowly watched by the conſpirators, and when he had entered the houſe, they encloſed it round, and endeavoured to force the door. The king perceiving his danger, cauſed the entrance to be cloſely barred, and endeavoured by promiſes and fair words to prevail upon them to diſperſe; but when he ſaw that he could not ſucceed, and that the more kindly he ſpoke to them, the more vociferous were they in their vows and declarations of revenge, he ceaſed to argue, and determined with the few faithful ſervants who accompanied him, to ſally out upon them, and ſet the hazard of his life upon the chance of war. This deſperate reſolution he executed, and ruſhing furiouſly from the houſe, encountered with Cyneheard himſelf, whom he nearly killed; but being preſently ſurrounded by the rebellious crew, he was beaten down to the earth, and ſlain, all his followers ſharing the ſame unfortunate fate. Yet ſome report of this dreadful accident was ſoon noiſed abroad, and coming to the ears of two chief nobles of the realm, Oſric and Wiverth, they called the guards together, and haſted to revenge the death of their ſovereign. When Cyneheard ſaw them approach, he ſought by fair means to mitigate the matter, and in a long ſpeech attempted to gloſs over the heinouſneſs of the crime, alledging, in excuſe, the injuries he had received. But ſo thoroughly had the two loyal chieftains inflamed the minds of the ſoldiers with the ſpirit of reſentment, that Cyneheard ſaw there was no hope left him of eſcaping, but what depended alone upon his ſword; wherefore, encou-

The cauſe of Cynewulf's death.

* The Saxon Chron. places this battle here. Brompton, Redbourne, and others, ſet it down in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

raging

A. D. 787. raging his companions to fight valiantly, the conflict was begun: and ſo deſperately did the rebels ſupport the charge, that the ſcales of victory hung a long time doubtful, till at laſt the cauſe of juſtice prevailed, and they were totally overcome; Cyneheard himſelf, and eighty-eight of his companions, being ſlain upon the ſpot.*

Cynewulf leaves no heir to the realm.

Cynewulf was murdered after he had reigned upwards of thirty years, in the year of our Lord 788. His body was taken up, and carefully conveyed to Wincheſter, where it was honourably buried. This prince was never married, ſo that at his death the kingdom was again deſtitute of a legal heir to the crown.†

BEORHTRIC, *the ſixteenth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 788. THE death of Cynewulf being known, Beorhtric, a nobleman deſcended from Cerdic, was by the favour of the people advanced to the government. This prince was a man of mild and affable temper; the meekneſs of his diſpoſition led him to prefer a life of peace and tranquility, to that of war and diſturbance: for this reaſon, he avoided all occaſions of offence amongſt the neighbouring ſtates; his equitable behaviour ſecured their reſpect to his character, and ſettled the happineſs of his kingdom upon a ſolid baſis.‡

The character of Beorhtric.

A. D. 791. By theſe proceedings Beorhtric eſtabliſhed himſelf in the throne; and that he might advance the welfare of his ſubjects, as alſo the better to put himſelf in a poſture of defence, if any ſurrounding ſtates might moleſt him, he made firm alliance with Offa, the great and powerful king of Mercia, eſpouſing his daughter Eadburge, a woman of unbounded pride and haughtineſs of ſoul. Yet it is the will of Heaven that human wiſdom ſhall be often baffled, and thoſe very purſuits which promiſe the moſt ſolid ſatisfactions, prove too frequently the fatal ſteps to ruin and deſtruction. Such was the fate of this unfortunate prince: that flattering alliance which appeared of ſo much importance to the ſtate, far from producing the happineſs he hoped for, ended at laſt in his own death.§

Beorhtric marries the daughter of Offa.

A. D. 792. Egbert, a noble young man, of an aſpiring genius, who ruled at this time under Beorhtric, in a province of the Weſt Saxons, by ſome means became offenſive to Eadburge, and ſhe neglected not to fill the king's mind with jealous fears concerning him. Egbert finding the danger he was in, left the kingdom, (adviſed to do ſo perhaps by Beorhtric himſelf) and went to the court of Offa; but not meeting with the reception there which he thought ſuitable to him, he departed thence, and

Egbert baniſhed.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 755. Ethelwerd, lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Brompton, Redbourne, &c.

† Ibid. Ibid.

‡ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

§ Rog. Hoveden, pars prior. M. Weſt. Sax. Chron. Malmſ. &c.

went

went into France, where he remained till, at the death of Beorhtric, he was recalled into Weſſex, to take the government of that kingdom upon him.* A. D. 792.

Soon after the marriage of Beorhtric, the piratical Danes (who ſo grievouſly infeſted the kingdom in the ſucceding times) firſt invaded South Britain, and landing upon the coaſt of Weſſex, from three large ſhips, began to ſpoil the country. The governor who preſided in thoſe parts collected the chief of his forces together, and marched down to ſtop their progreſs; but engaging with them too raſhly, he loſt his own life, and his attendants were routed. This news being reported to Beorhtric, he, with the aſſiſtance of Offa, his father-in-law, came ſuddenly upon them, and drove them back to their ſhips with great loſs: their flight was ſo precipitate, that all the ſpoils which they had taken from the inhabitants were left behind.† A. D. 793. The Danes, for the firſt time, land in Britain.

The imperious ſpirit of Eadburge was a conſtant vexation to the ſoul of Beorhtric; his love of peace, and the ſoftneſs of his temper, being ſo diametrically oppoſite to the impatience and uncontroulable diſpoſition of his queen, who, amongſt other of her faults, was alſo a looſe and wanton woman. The general report is, that jealouſy in her amours was the cauſe of her huſband's death; for, though the ſtory is differently related by the ancient authors, yet in the chief circumſtances it agrees. A noble youth in the king's court, who, as ſome affirm, had formerly been her favourite, gave her ſome great cauſe of diſpleaſure; big with revenge, ſhe continually worried the king with complaints againſt him; but finding that they made not the impreſſion upon him which ſhe deſired, ſhe reſolved herſelf to deſtroy the unfortunate culprit; and the better to effect her wicked deſign, ſhe poiſoned a cup of liquor, which ſhe intended to preſent him with: but, in the mean time, the king coming into the room, and being thirſty, took up the cup, and drank the poiſoned draught. It was too late now to remedy the dreadful miſtake; for the king preſently after died, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, who, highly exaſperated at the unhappy end of their monarch, enacted a law, that, from that time the king's wife ſhould be deprived of all her privileges and honours, and ſhould alſo ceaſe to bear the name of queen.‡ This worthy prince reigned near ſixteen years, and died without any iſſue. The death of Beorhtric.

To avoid the fury of the incenſed people, Eadburge fled into France, carrying with her a large quantity of treaſure, and ſought protection of Charles, who was then king of that country. But there following her vicious inclinations, Charles placed her in a monaſtery, where ſhe ſhamefully committed adultery with a layman, and was, for that heinous crime, Eadburge flies into France; her miſerable death.

* Rog. Hoveden, pars prior. M. Weſt. Sax. Chron. Malmſ. &c.
† Ibid. Ibid.
‡ Aſſer. Annal. Hoveden. Mat. Weſt. S. Dunclim, &c.

A. D. 793. expelled from thence, and after from the kingdom; when wandering into Italy, ſhe died at Pavia, in extreme poverty and want.*

A. D. 804. The hiſtory of Weſſex thus far continued, our next ſtep will be to commence the reign of Egbert, who ſucceeded Beorhtric in the kingdom, and by whoſe proweſs the other ſix dominions of the heptarchy were overcome, and joined with this. But before we proceed in the hiſtory of this glorious prince, it will not be amiſs to go regularly on with the accounts of thoſe kingdoms which we have not ſpoken of as yet, and bring their annals down to the preſent important period.

The hiſtory of Weſſex broke off, to purſue the other annals.

* Aſſerius, who relates theſe matters as things himſelf had heard for truth, from thoſe who were witneſſes of the facts, alſo adds another circumſtance: While (ſays he) ſhe was in the court of France, Charles aſked her whether ſhe would wed him, or his ſon; to which ſhe replied, Your ſon, of certainty, becauſe he is younger.---Ah, then! cries Charles, ſee how imprudent your peremptory choice hath been; had you choſen me, I would have given you my ſon; but now you have choſen him, you ſhall have neither. Having ſaid this, he ſent her to the monaſtery, from whence ſhe was, for her adultery, expelled.

EASTSEX;

EAST SEX;

THE FOURTH KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

THE civil and military hiſtory of this kingdom, makes an appearance of ſuch little conſequence in the annals of the heptarchy, that ſcarcely more than a bare catalogue of the names of the ſeveral monarchs, can be collected from the imperfect accounts which are left us by the ancient authors. In its beginning it was held by Erchenwine, (its firſt founder) as feodary from Octa, king of Kent; for we may recollect, that the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex (which form the greater part of this dominion) were given to Hengiſt, in ranſom of Vortigern, detained by him after the maſſacre of the Britons upon the plains of Saliſbury.* But how long this dependance on Kent continued, or whether they ever aſſerted a ſtate of ſeparate freedom, cannot ſo eaſily be determined; but that they did, may appear moſt plauſible, becauſe when they were oppreſſed by the ſurrounding ſtates, the kings of Kent ſeem quietly to have left them to their fate, and neither complained of the injury, nor ſtirred to revenge it; which it is moſt likely they would have done, had Eaſtſex yet been conſidered as a part of their own feodary ſtate.

The little conſequence of the kingdom of Eaſtſex.

I am thoroughly convinced that this dry narrative cannot be entertaining to the readers in general, and becauſe it is impoſſible to ſupply theſe lamentable defects of ancient hiſtory, I ſhall paſs over the whole account as quickly as poſſible, in order the ſooner to arrive at the more important and intereſting parts of the Chronicle.

The kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons contained the counties of Eſſex, Middleſex, and Herefordſhire: on the eaſt it is bounded by the German ocean, on the ſouth by the Thames, on the weſt by Buckinghamſhire, and on the north by Suffolk, the borders of the Eaſt Angles.

The extent of Eaſtſex.

ERCHENWIN, or ERCHWINE, (a noble Saxon, deſcended from Woden) arrived in Britain about the year 527, with a ſtrong party of German troops; and coming into theſe parts, ſettled here, holding the ſame of Octa, the grandſon of Hengiſt, who firſt led the Saxons into Britain.† He reigned peaceably ſixty years, and left behind him a ſon, named Sledda. A. D. 527.

* Vide page 70, of this volume.

† Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 587.

A. D. 587. SLEDDA, the ſecond king of the Eaſt Saxons, ſucceeded his father, Erchenwine. This prince married Ricula, the daughter of Hermenric, the fourth of Kent. His reign was ten years.*

A. D. 597. SEBERT, the third king of Eaſtſex. This prince was the ſon of Sledda and Ricula; and immediately upon the death of his father, ſucceeded to the kingdom. By the perſuaſion of Ethelbert, king of Kent, (his uncle) joined with the doctrine of Miletus, he was converted to Chriſtianity; being juſtly famous, as the firſt king of this diſtrict who embraced the true faith.† By his queen (whom ſome call Ethelgoda‡) he had three ſons, who all-together ſucceeded him in the kingdom. Sebert reigned about eighteen years, and was buried, together with his queen, in the new church of St. Peter, at Weſtminſter, which himſelf had built.§

A. D. 615. The three ſons of Sebert, namely SERRED, SEWARD, and SIGEBERT, after his death, took upon them the government of Eaſtſex. But far from following the pious example of their father, theſe wicked princes apoſtated from the Chriſtian faith, and, amongſt other enormities, drove Miletus from his ſee at London, becauſe he reſolutely refuſed to prophane the ſacred rites of the communion. But they were not ſuffered long to triumph in their abominations; for, in a fatal war begun againſt the Weſt Saxons, their forces were totally overcome, and they themſelves ſlain in the field,‖ about the year of our Lord 616,** after a ſhort reign of two years. Seward left two ſons, one named Sigebert, who reigned after the death of his father and uncles; and the other, Sebba, who alſo ſucceeded after to the kingdom.

A. D. 617. SIGEBERT, the ſeventh king of the Eaſt Saxons. Ths prince was ſirnamed the Little; but whether this title was beſtowed upon him becauſe he might be ſmall in ſtature, or from his want of importance in the ſtate, is a matter which muſt ſtill remain doubtful. He appears to have reigned about eight and twenty years, and dying, left behind him a brother and a ſon, yet was not immediately ſucceeded by either in the kingdom.

A. D. 645. SIGEBERT the Second, the eighth king of Eaſtſex, was the ſon of Sigebald, brother of Sebert. By the advice and perſuaſion of Oſwy, king

* Malmſbury indeed makes Sledda the firſt king of Eaſtſex, without mentioning his father; but other authors have attributed the firſt beginning of this kingdom to Erchenwin; the latter, and more general, account, I have rather choſe to follow. Vide Mat. Weſt. Hunt. &c.

† Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Huntingdon, Mat. Weſt. &c.

‡ Stow, Speed, and others.

§ Bede, &c. ut ſup.

‖ Bede, lib. ii. cap. 5, Malmſbury indeed makes no mention of the third ſon: but the authority of Bede is ſufficient. Vide Hen. Hunt. &c.

** Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 616.

of

of Northumberland, he abandoned his ſuperſtitious idolatry, and became a Chriſtian. Beſides his own piety, and love for the true faith, he took all occaſions to promulgate the goſpel amongſt his ſubjects. Theſe juſt and upright proceedings of Sigebert, however they might gain him the public love, failed not, on the other hand, to create him private foes: at the head of theſe were two of his kinſmen, who put him to death while he was viſiting at one of their houſes,* after he had reigned about ſixteen years. He left a young ſon, named Selred, who ſome time after ſucceeded to the crown. A. D. 645.

SWITHELM, the ſon of Sexbald, the ninth king of the Eaſt Saxons, was, after the murder of Sigebert, advanced to the throne. He received baptiſm at the hands of Ced, Ethelwald, king of the Eaſt Angles, being his godfather at the font. His reign was only three years, or thereabouts, and he died without iſſue.† A. D. 661.

SIGHER and SEBBA ſucceeded Swithelm, and ruled jointly in Eaſtſex. Sigher was the ſon of Sigebert the Little, and Sebba the brother of of the ſame Sigebert. Sebba remained ſtedfaſt in the Chriſtian faith, but his nephew following his vicious inclinations, continued in the idolatry of his forefathers, and repaired the ruined temples which were dedicated to their gods. However, at laſt, by the means of Wulfere, king of Mercia, who ſent Janimanus, a learned biſhop, to preach to Sigher and his people, they were again converted to the true faith, and the king continued conſtant in the ſame to the day of his death,‡ which happened in the year of our Lord 683,§ after he had reigned twenty-two years. He is ſaid to have been married to Oſwith, the daughter of Ethelfrith, king of Northumberland, a devout woman, by whom he had one ſon, named Offa, who ruled in Eaſtſex ſome time after. A. D. 664.

By the death of his colleague, Sebba was left alone in the kingdom, which, when he had governed thirty years in the whole, and eight from the deceaſe of Sigher, he relinquiſhed and exchanged his crown for a monkiſh cowl.‖ However, ſoon after dying, his body was honourably interred in the church of St. Paul, where his monument remained, till it was loſt in the ruin of that venerable pile.** He left behind him two ſons, Sigehard and Senfred, who reigned after him.

SIGEHARD and SENFRED, after the abdication of their father, took the government of the kingdom upon them; but the former tak- A. D. 691.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22. Malmſbury, lib. i. cap. 6. Hen. Huntingdon, lib. ii. Brompton, &c.

† Malmſ. ut ſup. & Chron. J. Brompton.

‡ Malmſ. ut ſup. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 30. H. Hunt. lib. ii. &c.

§ Mat. Weſt.

‖ Bede, ut ſup.

** Vide Speed's Chron.

A. D. 691. ing up the cowl in the ſame monaſtery with his father, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, his brother ruled alone the ſpace of ten years, from his firſt entry.*

A. D. 701. OFFA, the ſon of Sigher, the fourteenth monarch of the Eaſt Saxons, ſucceeded Senfred: he was a fine perſonable man, and of noble preſence. After he had reigned ſeven years, he followed the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of the times, and left his queen, his kingdom, and his native land, to accompany Cenred, king of Mercia, and the biſhop of Worceſter, to Rome, where he became a monk.† Some ſay, that his wife, Kinſwith, the daughter of Penda, perſuaded him to undertake this ſoul-ſaving pilgrimage; and immediately upon his departure, ſhe herſelf, not in the leaſt behind hand with her huſband in ſuperſtition, took the veil upon her in the abbey of Kineburg, where her ſiſter was abbeſs.‡

A. D. 708. SELRED, the fifteenth king of Eaſtſex, mounted the throne at the abdication of Offa; he was the ſon of Sigebert the Second, and proved a pious and juſt prince. After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he was ſlain by the treaſon of his ſubjects, who, by a long ſucceſſion of peaceful days, were grown unruly, and headſtrong in their diſobedience, ſo that the virtues of their monarch became offenſive; and even his clemency, which had prevailed upon him to forgive their former faults, was made the wicked plea by which his rebellious murderers ſought to excuſe the heinouſneſs of their crime. He left neither wife nor iſſue behind him.§

A. D. 746. SWITHED, the ſixteenth, and laſt, king of the Eaſt Saxons, was a nobleman of that realm, who, after the murder of Selred, took upon him the government. His reign was long, and undiſturbed with war, until Egbert, the potent king of Weſſex, (after having conquered Kent) made his way into Eaſtſex, and drove the aged monarch from his throne: the kingdom being left in ſuch an unfavourable condition, was in no caſe able to reſiſt the powerful arms of its invader.‖ From this time (namely, in the year of our Lord 823) Eaſtſex may be juſtly ſaid to have ceaſed to be a diſtinct kingdom; for after its conqueror had ſubdued all its forces, he impoſed his yoke upon the inhabitants, and joined the ſtate to his own extenſive dominions. And though ſome time after Sigeric and Sigehard, two noblemen of that diſtrict, revolted from Egbert, and began a rebellion in the realm, yet their power was preſently cruſhed, and no effectual freedom reſulted from their attempts; ſo that we can by no means review them as in a ſtate of independence, or ſeparation.

* Vide Bede, H. Hunt. lib. ii. Chron. J. Brompton.

† Bede, lib. v. cap. 20. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

‡ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6.

§ Malmſ. ut ſup. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 746, &c.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 823. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6.

Thus

Thus ended the kingdom of the East Saxons, after it had endured the space of two hundred and ninety-six years; though in the whole of this time, it never reached that exalted pitch of glory, which at some certain period so effectually distinguished the rest. A. D. 746.

THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF THE EAST SAXONS.

NORTHUM-

NORTHUMBERLAND;

THE FIFTH KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

The extent of Northumberland.

THE kingdom of Northumberland contained the counties of Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Northumberland. On the weſt it was bounded by the Iriſh ſea, and on the eaſt by the German ocean; on the ſouth by the rivers Merſy and Humber, and on the north by Lindiſdale Cheviot hills, and the river Tweed. At the beginning it was divided into two ſeparate governments, Bernicia and Deira: the former ſtretching out from the Tweed to the Tyne; and the latter again from the Tyne to the Humber. But in the end both theſe diſtricts were united into one.

From A. D. 494. to A. D. 547.

The account of affairs in Northumberland before the acceſſion of Ida.

We muſt now remember, that Hengiſt propoſed to Vortigern, the king of the Britons, the entire ſubjugation of the northern inſurgents, (who had ſo long diſtreſſed the ſouthern parts of Britain) and made ſuch fair promiſes of ſucceſs, that Vortigern ſoon permitted him to ſend for additional ſupplies from Germany, that they might ſettle in Northumberland, in order the better to perform this important buſineſs. The king's conſent being gained, Hengiſt invited his brother Octa into Britain, who preſently obeyed the ſummons, and with his ſon Ebuſſa, accompanied with a ſtrong troop of valiant Saxon youth, ſailed from Germany, and landing in the northern parts of Britain, and (according to the directions of Hengiſt) ſettled there. Soon after their arrival, they received intelligence of the wars breaking out in the ſouth, between the Britons and their countrymen, who had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe parts, under the conduct of Hengiſt: this they conſidered as a ſignal made to them, to ſhake off all the appearance of friendſhip which had hitherto ſubſiſted between themſelves and the Britons, who inhabited near them. 'Tis true, this friendſhip was rather a formal name, than an alliance founded on a permanent baſis, even in its beſt ſtate; for the Saxons had from their firſt arrival carried ſo high a hand, and been ſo tyrannical in their proceedings, that the diſguſted Britons were thoroughly convinced of the inſincerity of their profeſſions of amity, and ſaw but too plainly the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and freedom to the country was the leaſt of the Saxons' intentions. It was but too ſoon that this laſt event entirely confirmed the ſuſpicions of the Britons; for, throwing off all diſguiſe, the treacherous Saxons took the field, commencing open hoſtilities, and declaring their reſolutions to gain by the conqueſt of their ſwords, a large

and ample provision for themselves and their families. This plain explanation of their designs gave a just alarm to the Britons, who, desirous of preserving their possessions from the destructive hands of their enemies, rose in arms, as hopeful to subdue them by war. But vain that hope! for the too provident invaders had made a secret league with their old and inveterate foes, the Scots and Picts, and both their powers joined, poured upon the wretched Britons. Unable to resist this combined force, they fled before them, and sought retreat in the lonesome woods, or solitary caverns, whilst the victorious enemy destroyed the country, pillaged the cities and towns, and murdered, without mercy, such of the miserable inhabitants as had spirit enough to resist their designs, or remonstrate on the injustice of them.

The wars between the Britons and Saxons.

Driven to the greatest distress, the Britons saw (though now too late) the horrid effects of their mistaken policy; they saw they had invited, to a fruitful land, a set of men, who, regardless of their promises, were guided only by their own wants and ferocious ideas, and would not easily relinquish the advantages they had gained. They were now, as it were, hemmed in; on the south by Hengist and his army, whilst in the north their new-declared foes were preying upon them without mercy, These extremities caused the distressed Britons to take up arms, and enter into strong combinations against their enemies, which proceedings made, for a time, an alteration in the face of affairs; for, by the bravery of the British chiefs, some present advantage was gained. In this manner the war was continually kept up, sometimes the Britons, sometimes the Saxons, prevailing, for the space of fifty-three years; during which time, the former could not be overcome, nor the latter driven from the land.*

IDA, *the first* KING *of* BERNITIA. A. D. 547.

Ida arrives in Britain with a fresh party of Saxons.

THIS long and troublesome war between the Britons and Saxons, kept up for such a succession of years, without any manifest advantage that might bring it to a final conclusion on either side, most likely in-

* During all this time there was none of the Saxon chiefs that presumed to take upon them the title of king, but were contented with that of Dejetozen, or general. In some histories they are stiled *Subreguli*, or petty kings. In the Scala Chronica is this remarkable passage: "Hengist having conquered Kent, sent "his brother Octa, and his son Jebus, "into Northumberland, and there they "and their successors were dukes under "the kings of Kent, unto such time as "the pride of the Northanhumbers chose "themselves a king, (by this word, I "suppose, we must understand one of the "*Subreguli*, before-mentioned) who was "*Hiring*, that begat *Wodnam*, that begat "*Witeglis*, of whom came *Hors*, the king, "that begat *Uppa*, that begat *Heppa*, that "begat *Herniger*, that begat *Bernak*; all "which were before the noble king Ida, "and the gestes of them before Ida be "little known by Chroniques." Scala Chron. lib. ii. Here are eight kings before Ida enumerated, but it is a great pity that we have not any other authority to prove it; at least, the author of the present account must have mistaken the title of king, for all the best accounts declare Ida to have been the first.

duced

A. D. 547. duced the latter to ſend preſſing invitations to their friends in Germany, that they might come over into Britain, and aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of that country, for which they had ſo long been ſtruggling without compleat ſucceſs. Either moved by ſuch invitations, or actuated by his own ambition, Ida, a valiant Saxon, (deſcended from Woden) ſailed from Germany, with a powerful reinforcement, and landed at Flamborough, where he joined his countrymen, by whom he was received with the greateſt joy.* The arrival of Ida, who was alſo accompanied with his twelve ſons, cauſed a ſpeedy alteration in the affairs of the Saxons; for the hapleſs Britons, weakened daily by their continual wars, and depreſſed with the melancholy proſpect of their falling ſtate, were no longer able to reſiſt their increaſing foes; who, on the other hand, inſpired with freſh courage, by the aſſiſtance of their new come friends, renewed the war with uncommon chearfulneſs and alacrity.

Ida aſſumes the title of king.

Thus quickly did the additional forces of the Saxons compleat their conqueſt and ſecure their ſucceſs, for the Britons were driven finally from their poſſeſſions, and the conquerors preſently over-run Northumberland, and the adjacent counties, ſettling themſelves in the abandoned eſtates, and erecting a powerful kingdom of their own. Ida, to whom they chiefly owed their rapid ſucceſs, was the firſt who aſſumed the title of a king, and bore his rule over all Bernitia. The better to ſecure the borders of his kingdom, he repaired the caſtle of Beddanborough, which heretofore was only fenced round with wooden pales, and ſet up a ſtrong wall of ſtone about the ſame.† The reign of this prince was not idly ſpent, for continual wars and tumults kept him in the field. The Britons, though they were oppreſſed, and driven from their poſſeſſions, were not totally overcome; they yet continued to annoy the Saxons, and iſſuing from their retreats in large parties, diſturbed their peace with conſtant alarms. It is true, by the vigilance and conduct of Ida, they were prevented from making any important conqueſts; yet thoſe repeated attacks upon the borders of his kingdom, rendered the ſtate of his ſubjects, not only uncomfortable, but even unſafe.

A. D. 559. Ida deceaſed after he had reigned twelve years. His iſſue was twelve ſons, ſix of them by his queen, whoſe name is not mentioned; as Adda, who ſucceeded him in Bernitia; Ethelric and Theodoric, who alſo both ſucceeded ſome time after; Etheric, Omerno, and Theofredum: his other ſix ſons were illegitimate, and their names were Oga, Alric, Eccha, Oſbald, Segora and Segothæ; all theſe came with their father in twelve ſhips from Germany, and aſſiſted him firſt in his early conqueſts, and after in the ſupport of his kingdom.‡

The death and iſſue of Ida.

* Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd, Malmſ. &c. ‡ Mat. Weſt.
† Ib. Ib. Huntingdon, lib. ii. &c.

ADDA, *the second* KING *of* BERNITIA, *and* ÆLLE, *the first* KING *of* DEIRA.

PRESENTLY after the death of Ida, Adda, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in his dignity; and in the firſt year of his reign, Ælle, a noble chieftain, and relation of Ida (who had accompanied him into Britain, and been greatly aſſiſting in his conqueſts) made war upon the Britons that poſſeſſed the province of Deira, and drove them out with a powerful hand. He and his followers immediately ſettled in that deſerted country, which they had gained with their ſwords; and Ælle took upon himſelf the title of king, advancing the glory of his new realm by various important conqueſts.* During the reign of Ælle, Adda, king of Bernitia, died, after a reign of ſeven years, and was ſucceeded by four other princes, of whom we find nothing more recorded than their names, and the number of years which they ruled, as follows: A. D. 560.

Ælle conquers Deira, and aſſumes the title of king.

GLAPPA, the couſin of Adda, the third king of Bernitia, ſucceeded Adda, and reigned five years. A. D. 567.

THEODWALD, brother to Glappa, the fourth king of Bernitia, reigned one year. A. D. 572.

FRETHULF, the ſecond brother of Glappa, the fifth king of Bernitia, reigned ſeven years. A. D. 573.

THEODRIC, the third ſon of Ida, was the ſixth king of Bernitia, he reigned ſeven years.† A. D. 580.

ÆLLE, *the firſt* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

AFTER the death of theſe five princes, Ælle reigned ſole king of Northumberland, bearing rule over Bernitia and Deira: but whether he obtained this additional dignity by force, or the conſent of the people, cannot be determined; yet the latter appears moſt probable, from the perfect tranquility in which he enjoyed his ſtate to the end of his life. He died after a reign of near thirty years, twenty-ſeven of which he ruled only in Deira, and the reſt in both the kingdoms united together. He had iſſue, Edwine, the glorious king of Northumberland, and a daughter, named Acca, who was after married to Ethelfrith, king of Northumberland.‡ A. D. 587.

Ælle takes upon him the government of Bernitia.

ETHELRIC, *the ſecond* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

ETHELRIC, the ſecond ſon of Ida, who had ſpent the whole of his youth in retirement and obſcurity, after the deceaſe of Ælle, was, in his old age, called forth to take upon him the kingly dignities. He ſucceeded in the government of both the kingdoms, and reigned near A. D. 589.

Ethelric, his ſhort reign, death, and iſſue.

* Chron. Sax. Malmſbury, Hen. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. &c.
† Matthew of Weſtminſter, &c.
‡ Ibid. &c.

A. D. 589. five years in profound peace:* at the end of which time, worn out with old age, he departed this life, leaving two ſons behind him; the eldeſt, Ethelfrith, who ruled after his death; and Tedbald, a valiant youth, ſlain by the Scots, in the reign of his brother, at the battle of Dægſtane.

ETHELFRITH, *the third* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 593. ETHELFRITH, the ſon of Ethelric, ſucceeded his father in both the kingdoms. The better to ſecure his throne, (and to prevent all diſturbance from young Edwine, the ſon of Ælle, and lawful heir to the crown of Deira) he married Acca, the daughter of Ælle, beginning his reign with great glory. This prince, becauſe of his ambition and inſatiate love of war, was ſirnamed Fierce;† how well this appellation became him, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Ethelfrith marries Acca, the ſiſter of Edwine.

His firſt wars were ſupported ten years againſt the Britons, whom he overcame, and ſo dreadfully diſtreſſed, that, flying from their poſſeſſions, and abandoning the places of their births, the greater part of them wandered in poverty from place to place in ſearch of ſecret, though miſerable, retreats; whilſt others, unwilling to leave their native homes, ſubmitted to the yoke of the conqueror, chuſing rather to endure the cruelties of his oppreſſive hands, than ſeek a life of freedom, accompanied with miſery and pinching want. Ethelfrith purſued his fortune with uncommon ardour, and ſubdued more of the Britiſh countries than any ſingle Saxon king had done before him.‡

He wars ſucceſsfully againſt the Britons.

A. D. 603. His conqueſts were ſo rapid, and of ſuch importance, that they drew upon him the jealouſy of the Scots and their neighbours; who, that they might, if poſſible, ſuppreſs his riſing glory in the bud, collected their forces together, and took the field againſt him. With their whole army (headed by Ægthan, king of the Scots) they advanced to give him battle. Nor was Ethelfrith unprepared to receive them, for, with all his powers, he met them at a place called Dægſtane, where a long and bloody conflict enſued; great was the proweſs, and deſperate the reſolution on either ſide; but in the end, after prodigious ſlaughter, the fortune of Ethelfrith ſtill ſmiled upon him, and victory crowned his labours: on the other hand, the Scots, unable to reſiſt, were chaſed from the field, with ſuch conſiderable loſs, that for a long time after they found themſelves in no condition to renew the war. Yet this victory was not obtained without great loſs of blood on the Saxons' ſide; for, in the beginning of the battle, Tedbald, the brother of Ethelfrith, was ſlain, and all that part of the army which he commanded, were put to the rout.§

He overcomes the king of the Scots.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 588. Malmſ. Hunt. &c.

† Qui vocatus *Ferus*. H. Hunt. lib. ii.

‡ Bede, lib. i. cap. 34. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. & alia.

§ Bede, ut ſup. Chr. Sax. an. 603. &c.

The

The former victory, though ſo dearly purchaſed, was far from checking the ardourous purſuits of fame which engaged the mind of Ethelfrith. When four years were elapſed, he marched again towards the Britons, and at Cairlegion overthrew their army with great ſlaughter. Before the beginning of this deciſive battle, the monks of Bangor monaſtery, which was not far from thence, were aſſembled together, and with humble prayer beſought Almighty God to aſſiſt their Chriſtian brethren, the Britons, and repel the fierce invader, who, big with the fame of his former conqueſts, was proudly advancing to deſtroy them from the land. Their actions and geſtures exciting the attention of Ethelfrith, he demanded of his chiefs what thoſe men were, and what their employment? When he received for anſwer, that they were prieſts, who with prayers and ſupplications, were invoking the aſſiſtance of their God, and encouraging their friends by their conſtant devotions. "If that is the "caſe, (ſays Ethelfrith) they are alſo dangerous enemies; for though "they are not armed with ſwords or ſpears, yet do they fight againſt us "with prayers and imprecations; therefore, deſtroy them firſt, and pro-"ceed we after to encounter with their armed forces." The king's command was preſently obeyed; for a ſtrong party of the Saxon ſoldiers fell upon them, and at the firſt onſet, Brocmail, the captain of the guard, (who was ſet to prevent the enemies from diſturbing the pious duties of the monks) deſerted his poſt, and the whole of the guard following the example of their chief, fled away, and left their charge to the relentleſs fury of the enemy, who immediately put twelve hundred of them to the ſword; fifty only ſaved themſelves by flight.* A. D. 607. The Britons again overcome, and the ſlaughter of the monks of Bangor.

All theſe important victories, which crowned the labours of Ethelfrith, increaſed the conſequence of his government, and raiſed his glory to ſuch a height amongſt the ſurrounding powers, that none of them choſe to moleſt him. This pacific diſpoſition of his neighbours gave him leiſure more cloſely to examine his affairs at home: with a jealous eye he regarded young Edwine, the ſon of Ælle, and brother to his queen; he well knew the right which he had to Deira, the kingdom which his father had gained by the conqueſt of his ſword. This bar to his happineſs he reſolved to remove; for he conſidered the changeableneſs of his ſubjects' tempers, and found his rival daily advancing in popular favour. Such reflections led him naturally to conclude, that the ſparks of ambition, which he plainly ſaw lay ſmothered in the breaſt of Edwine, would, when advantage ſerved, burſt out into a flame, and cauſe him to aſſert his natural right, by raiſing a civil commotion in the ſtate, which might endanger both his crown and life. Aſpiring men will readily ſacrifice all juſtice to ambition, and if the leaſt fear ſhould reign in their jealous minds, which might ſeem likely to affect the glory of their A. D. 616. Young Edwine flies from Northumberland.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 2. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 607.

A. D. 616. ſtate, there is nothing but the final removal of the object that can give them eaſe, or make them think themſelves ſecure. Such ſuſpicions cauſed Ethelfrith to reſolve upon the death of Edwine; but he, by ſome means being made acquainted with the danger of his ſituation, fled from Northumberland, accompanied with his wife, wandering from place to place, taking refuge at laſt in the court of Redwald, king of the Eaſt Angles. Redwald, perſuaded by his queen, refuſed to deliver up the fugitive prince to the meſſengers of Ethelfrith, who were ſent to demand him at his hands, or denounce war againſt him and his realm, in caſe he gave him protection.

A. D. 617. Redwald, provoked at the inſolent carriage of Ethelfrith, not only preſerved Edwine from the malice of his enemy, but finally aſſiſted him in the recovery of his native right: for, gathering his army together as haſtily as poſſible, he followed the meſſengers of Ethelfrith with ſuch expedition, that they had ſcarely time to relate the ill ſucceſs of their embaſſy, before the alarm was given of his approach. Aſtoniſhed at the ſudden danger which threatened his ſtate, the Northumber collected ſpeedily what forces he could, and advanced to ſtop the progreſs of his enemies. Both armies met upon the banks of the river Idle,* where they fought a cruel battle, in which Regenhere, the ſon of Redwald, loſt his life. Yet the end proved fortunate to Redwald and his party, for Ethelfrith himſelf was ſlain in the field, and after his death his forces made but little reſiſtance. This victory, joined with the death of Ethelfrith, entirely cleared the paſſage of Edwine to the throne of Northumberland; for the ſons of the unfortunate king, hearing of their father's death, were apprehenſive for their own ſafety, and left the kingdom, ſeeking in other parts a place of refuge.

Ethelfrith ſlain in battle.

The iſſue of Ethelfrith.

Ethelfrith had reigned four and twenty years when he was ſlain. By Acca, his wife, the ſiſter of Edwine, he had ſeven ſons; Eanfred, afterwards king of Bernitia; Oſwald, after king of Northumberland; Oſwine, Oſlae, Oſwid, Oſſa, and Offa;† alſo two daughters, canonized for ſaints, Oſwitha and Ebba. Beſides theſe, by his concubine he had another ſon, named Oſwy, who alſo ruled in Northumberland.‡

EDWINE, *the fourth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 617. ETHELFRITH being dead, and his ſons departed from Northumberland, there remained no further obſtacle to ſtop the progreſs of Edwine, who, through the aſſiſtance of Redwald, his friend, was preſently advanced to the throne. Deira he took as his own lawful right, the province of Bernitia he uſurped, and held with a powerful hand. Edwine was now in the twenty-third year of his age, a man of vaſt ambition, and

Edwine advanced to the throne of Northumberland.

* Near Nottingham.

† Matt. Weſt. ſub anno 588.

‡ Vide Speed, &c.

as valiant to execute his great deſigns, as he was forward in conceiving them. He ſubdued all the neighbouring coaſts, whether they were inhabited by the Britons, the Saxons, the Scots, or the Picts, and extended his conqueſts farther than any Engliſh king had ever done before him. Amongſt other of his important actions, he ſubjugated the Orchades and Mevanian iſlands,* adding them to his own dominions. A. D. 617.

Cwenburhga, the firſt wife of Edwine, died whilſt he was with Redwald, in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, ſo that now he began to think of a ſecond marriage: and hearing great praiſes beſtowed upon Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, as well for her ſingular beauty, as for her virtue and piety: he ſought her for the conſort of his bed, and obtained the conſent of her brother, on condition that ſhe ſhould be permitted to retain her own religion (ſhe being a Chriſtian) without interruption, and have Chriſtian attendants, as well as prieſts, about her in his court. All theſe particulars being agreed upon, the lady was ſent into Northumberland, and married to Edwine in the year of our Lord 625, by whoſe pious example his heart was the more readily opened to the conviction of the ſacred truths contained in the goſpel.† A. D. 625. Edwine marries a ſecond wife.

The year after, Edwine very narrowly eſcaped being murdered by a deſperate fellow, named Eumer, ſaid to have been ſent to his court for that purpoſe, by Cwichelm, who ruled jointly with his father Cynegils, in the kingdom of Weſſex. This prince envying the increaſing ſucceſs and glory of Edwine, and fearing the lengths to which his ambition might lead him, reſolved in a treacherous manner to deprive him of his life, and put a ſudden end to all his conqueſts. The wicked Eumer, (to whom the performance of this murder was committed) entered the palace of Edwine, near the banks of the river Derwent, in Yorkſhire, where he kept his court, it being Eaſter day, the traitor came in before the king as an ambaſſador, who had matters of great importance to deliver from his maſter: whilſt the king was liſtening attentively to his converſation, he ſuddenly drew out a poiſoned dagger,‡ and ſtruck at him; but Lilla, one of the king's ſervants, who was ſtanding by, and ſeeing the danger of his ſovereign, thruſt himſelf ſuddenly between him and the weapon. But with ſuch force had the murderer made his blow, that the faithful Lilla was thruſt upon his lord, and the dagger paſſing through his body, wounded Edwine alſo. The alarm was preſently given, and the traitor was ſurrounded by the king's guards; but yet, before he was beat down to the earth, he ſlew another of Edwine's ſervants, named Fordhere, who had haſted to the aſſiſtance of his maſter. The wound which the king received was A. D. 626. Edwine in great danger of aſſaſſination.

* Now called the Hebrides. Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap 9. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.

† Bede, ut ſup.

‡ "Habebat ſicam bicipitem toxicatem," are the very words of Bede. Vide lib. i. cap. 9.

not

A. D. 626. not dangerous; and Paulinus, the biſhop, who attended on Ethelburga, the queen, omitted no opportunity of perſuading him to renounce his errors, and embrace Chriſtianity; therefore, he took the preſent occaſion of repeating his importunities: to which Edwine gravely replied, "If the God whom you and the Chriſtians ſerve will grant me the victory againſt that king, who hath ſent his murderer to kill me, I will adore and worſhip him alone." In pledge thereof, he delivered to Paulinus, his infant daughter, (who was born the very night after this alarming accident had happened) that ſhe might be baptized.*

A. D. 627. Edwine receives baptiſm.

As ſoon as Edwine was recovered from the wound which he had received, he called his army together, and went againſt the Weſt Saxons, with whom he fought a battle, and either ſlew, or took, all thoſe who had intended his murder, returning victoriouſly home: but yet he did not embrace Chriſtianity till the year following, when he was baptized together with all his houſhold, by Paulinus, the biſhop, on Eaſter, in the year of Chriſt 627.†

The happy effects of Edwine's prudent government.

Whilſt the glory of Edwine's important conqueſts kept the ſurrounding nations in a ſtate of profound tranquility, by his prudent government at home he maintained the moſt perfect peace and good order. He cauſed juſtice to be ſo duly adminiſtered, that thefts and oppreſſions were not heard of in the kingdom: a woman unguarded might have travelled from one end of the land to the other, without the leaſt fear or danger. Amongſt other things for the public good, he cauſed ladles of iron and braſs to be faſtened by the ſide of ſuch ſprings and fountains as were near the main roads, that the travellers might drink and refreſh themſelves, and no man dared to touch them but for his preſent uſe. Not only in time of war, but even in peace, he cauſed a triumphal banner to be borne before him as he rode from town to town, and from province to province, in order to ſee that no injuſtice prevailed amongſt the ſeveral magiſtrates of each diſtrict.‡

A. D. 633. The death of Edwine.

After ſeveral years ſpent in peace, Penda, the reſtleſs monarch of the Mercians, envying the glory of Edwine's reign, perſuaded a Britiſh king, named Cadwallo, who ruled in thoſe provinces conquered by Edwine, to rebel againſt him, promiſing himſelf to be aſſiſtant in the wars. The hopes of regaining his liberty, and ſhaking the yoke of Edwine from his ſubjects' ſhoulders, was an affair of ſuch conſequence, that Cadwallo preſently agreed; and calling together all ſuch as were animated with the ſound of freedom, he took the field, and began with fire and ſword to diſturb the borders of Edwine's dominion. Incenſed to the higheſt degree at this alarming revolt, Edwine placed himſelf at the head of his army, and marched againſt the rebels, in order to chaſtiſe their vio-

* Bede, ut ſup. &c.
† Bede & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 627.
‡ Bede, lib. ii. cap. 16.

lence,

lence, and reduce them again to bondage. In the mean time, Penda, A. D. 633.
agreeable to his promiſe, had joined his forces with the Britons: thus united, they fearleſsly abode the approach of Edwine and his army. At a place called Hethfiled, Edwine came up with the revolters, and in a deſperate battle there fought againſt them, loſt his life; with him alſo Osfrid, his eldeſt ſon, was ſlain: after the death of the king and his ſon, the whole army was put to flight. Cadwallo and Penda having obtained the victory, purſued their fortunes with the utmoſt cruelty. Egfrid, another of Edwine's ſons, was unfortnnately taken in the field, and with great inhumanity put to death by the command of Penda.*

The cruelty of the conquerors.

Theſe mercileſs conquerors entered the kingdom of Northumberland, and with fire and ſword deſtroyed the country, ſparing none, however innocent; in the fatal ruin, both women and children periſhed, equally with thoſe who were capable of bearing arms. Whilſt Northumberland was thus miſerably ravaged, Paulinus, the biſhop, with queen Ethelburga, under the conduct of Baſſus, a valiant chief, fled from the kingdom, and returned again by water into Kent, where they were well received by Edbald, her brother, who was yet living there.†

The wives and iſſue of Edwine.

Edwine was ſlain in October, A. D. 633, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after he had reigned upwards of ſixteen years with the greateſt ſplendour and renown. He was twice married; his firſt wife was Cwenburhga, the daughter of Ceorl, king of Mercia,‡ who became his conſort whilſt he was yet a youth, and died before he was king: by this lady he had iſſue, two ſons; Osfrid, the eldeſt, was ſlain in the ſame battle wherein his father fell; and Egfrid, who was cruelly put to death by Penda, contrary to all humanity, or the law of arms. The ſecond wife of Edwine was Ethelburga, (ſirnamed Tace) the only daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent: ſhe was married to him in the year 625, and outlived him ſeveral years. After his death ſhe returned to Kent, and at a place called Lymming, (not far from the ſea-ſide) built a monaſtery of nuns, amongſt whom ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life in pious duties, ſecluded from the world. By this excellent lady, Edwine had two ſons and two daughters; Ethelm, the eldeſt ſon, died in his youth; Uſkfrea, the other ſon, after the death of Edwine, (being then but a child) was carried by his mother into Kent, from whence he was ſent to the court of Dogobert, king of France, where he died: Enfleda, the eldeſt daughter, and firſt child which Ethelburga bore to Edwine, was born on that very night in which her father was wounded by Eumerus; ſhe was afterwards married to Oſwy, the ſixth king of Northumberland: Ethelrida, the youngeſt daughter, died in her infancy.§

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 20.
† Ibid.
‡ Thus ſays Bede, with whom the Chr. Urivalenſis agrees; though Malmſbury, Hen. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. and others, declare ſhe was not the daughter of Ceorl, but of Crida, his grandfather.
§ Bede, ut ſup.

EANFRID,

EANFRID, *the ſixth* KING *of* BERNITIA, *and* OSRIC, *the ſecond* KING *of* DEIRA.

A. D. 633.

The kingdom of Northumberland again divided

AFTER that Edwine was ſlain, and the inhuman conquerors were ſatiated with the effuſion of blood which they had cauſed, they retired from Northumberland, which unhappy province began once more to recover from her late calamities. Eanfrid, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelfrith, and Oſric, the ſon of Elfric, uncle to Edwine, returned from the north, where they (with the other ſons of Ethelfrith) had taken refuge, when Edwine aſcended the throne of Northumberland, and divided the kingdom between them; Eanfrid began his rule in Bernitia, whilſt Oſric aſſumed the government of Deira.*

The apoſtacy and death of the two kings.

Theſe two princes, during their ſtay in Scotland, had been converted to the Chriſtian faith; but no ſooner had they received the kingly dignities, than they apoſtated from their former profeſſion and belief, returning again to the idolatry of their anceſtors. But their triumph over the ſpoils of religion was not of long continuance; for Cadwallo, the Britiſh king, grown haughty and imperious by his former conqueſt, reſolved again to enter the borders of Northumberland, and pull down the faithleſs monarchs from their throne. Like a ſudden ſtorm he came upon them, renewing his former cruelties; firſt, Oſric, who was unprepared to oppoſe him, was ſlain in his own city; and paſſing thence, the victorious tyrant over-run Deira: not like a generous warrior, who amidſt his conqueſts would remember mercy, but like a ruthleſs ſavage, whoſe ſole delight was blood and carnage! This impending danger affrighted Eanfrid, who finding himſelf entirely unable to reſiſt the marches of his foe, was determined to try if by his gentle deportment and ſubmiſſion he could ſoften the ferocious temper of Cadwallo; wherefore, attended only by twelve ſoldiers, he went to the Britiſh camp, but Cadwallo, when he had got the unfortunate king in his power, cauſed him (contrary to all faith and juſtice) to be put to death. The dire misfortunes of this fatal year rendered it ſo odious to the Northumbers, that their hiſtorians have either not mentioned, or haſtily paſſed over, all theſe tranſactions, as too cruel and ſhocking to be more particularly ſet down.† Neither of theſe kings ſeem to have left any iſſue behind them.

OSWALD, *the fifth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 634.

Oſwald determines to defend Northumberland.

OSRIC and Eanfrid being thus miſerably put to death, the inhuman Cadwallo continued to ravage the kingdom of Northumberland without oppoſition. Hopeleſs and deſerted, the unhappy people were not able to oppoſe him. Without a king! without a leader! in divided parties they fled away, ſeeking only to avoid the approach of the Britiſh army. Now had the kingdom ſunk, but Oſwald, the ſon of Ethelfrith, and brother of the ſlaughtered Eanfred, roſe its champion, and reſcued

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 1.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 30.

it

it from diſtreſs. Pierced to the ſoul by the cries of his afflicted country, A. D. 634.
he determined, with the aſſiſtance of ſome valiant ſoldiers, glorioufly to redeem his native land from her ſavage oppreſſor, or die with the honour of an attempt ſo truly laudable. His early years were ſpent in Scotland, where he had taken refuge from the anger of Edwine, and there he not only gained great experience in the arts of war, but alſo learnt the ſacred doctrines of religious truth. This excellent nobleman was as juſtly famous for his ſingular zeal and piety, as for his bravery and conduct in the field of battle.*

Cadwallo thinking himſelf ſecure in his conqueſts, and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that any ſhould be found hardy enough to oppoſe him, ſet no bounds to his oppreſſion; but ere he was aware, and even in the very midſt of his exalted boaſtings, Oſwald with his little army approached his camp. Pious ſupplications, and humble prayers to God for ſucceſs, were the firſt weapons which Oſwald and his followers uſed againſt their foes; and after theſe duties were finiſhed, they joyfully began the engagement, with ſuch undaunted courage, as ſeemed to preſage the victory. For their country, their friends, their lives, and their glory, fought the valiant Saxons; and on the chance of this deciſive battle depended all their future welfare. Concerns ſo important, muſt warm the hero's breaſt, and drive the ſenſe of danger from his ſoul. Such was the effect they had upon the minds of Oſwald and his hoſt; for, with uncommon reſolution, they ſupported the encounter, and though oppreſſed by numbers, thought not of flight. The battle being long continued, ended at laſt in favour of Oſwald; for Cadwallo, with the chief of his officers, were ſlain in the field, and the reſt of his enormous army routed. This glorious action was performed at a place (no great diſtance from the wall of Severus) called Deniſburn, becauſe it was near the banks of a little river, named Denis, which ran into the Tyne. The ſalutary effects which accrued to the Northumbers from this victory cauſed the inhabitants in after times to name the place Heaven Field, as ſuppoſing Oſwald was aſſiſted by ſupernatural aids.†

Oſwald overcomes Cadwallo and his forces.

Oſwald having thus reſcued Northumberland from its ruined plight, A. D. 635.
and brought with him the bleſſings of peace, to which they had ſome time been ſtrangers, with joyful gratitude they ſaluted him king; and he was received with equal love, both by the inhabitants of Bernitia and Deira: yet theſe provinces hated each other, as jealous, perhaps, of the fame which either might ſeparately acquire; but Oſwald prudently healed the breach, and united them both by the permanent bond of love and friendſhip; ſo that he began his reign with the greateſt ſplendour. When he had ſeated himſelf in the throne, he thoroughly reformed the manners of his ſubjects, and ſent for a learned Scot, named Aidan, to teach his ſubjects the goſpel diſpenſations in their utmoſt purity; and his pious deſigns were crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs.‡

Oſwald made king of Northumberland.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 1 & 2. † Ib. ib. ‡ Ibid. cap. 6.

A. D. 635. The ſudden conqueſt of the Britiſh army, with the death of Cadwallo, gained Oſwald the reſpect, or fear, of his neighbours; which was ſtill more confirmed by his prudent government after he had aſcended the throne. The Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, ſubmitted to his rule; and over the Engliſh he aſſumed the title of monarch: yet amidſt all theſe glorious advancements he ſtill retained his former affability, and moderated his actions by the ſtricteſt juſtice. He was gracious to all who were in want of aſſiſtance, and particularly bountiful to ſtrangers and travellers; ſo that his fame was ſpread throughout the land, whilſt at home he was honoured and revered by all his ſubjects.*

The glory of Oſwald's reign.

A. D. 641. Penda, the ferocious king of Mercia, provoked at the death of his colleague, Cadwallo, and ſtill more incenſed at the proſperity of Oſwald, whom he had conſtantly beheld with an envious eye, was now determined to make war upon him. The purpoſes of Penda being known, and hoſtile preparations made on both ſides, the armies met at a place called Maſerfield, in Shropſhire, where a long and bloody battle was fought: Penda proved victorious, and the unfortunate Oſwald being ſlain in the field, all the Northumbrian forces were routed. Not content with the conqueſt he had gained, and the death of Oſwald, Penda cauſed his breathleſs body to be mangled and cut to pieces, and hung upon poles near the place where he was ſlain; which loſing its former name of Maſerfield, was after called Oſwalds-tree.† Such was the death of this pious prince, (whoſe loſs was greatly lamented by his ſubjects and allies) after he had reigned nine years. This fatal accident happened the 5th day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 642, and in the thirty-eighth year of Oſwald's age.‡

The unfortunate death of Oſwald.

After the departure of Penda, the mangled limbs of Oſwald were carefully gathered up, and at the command of Osfrida, (queen of Mercia, and daughter to Oſwine, his half-brother) buried with great ſolemnity in the monaſtery of Bradney, in Lincolnſhire; but afterwards they were removed to Glouceſter, and there interred, in the north ſide of the choir of the cathedral church.§

The burial of Oſwald.

The wife of Oſwald was named Kineburg, a virtuous lady, daughter to Cynegils, the firſt Chriſtian king of the Weſt Saxons: ſhe was married to him in the year 636, the third of his reign. By this lady he had one ſon, named Ethelwald, who was born in the fourth year of his father's reign, and was yet an infant at his death; he afterwards ſeized upon the kingdom of Deira, and held it to himſelf.‖

The wife and iſſue of Oſwald.

* Bede, ut ſup.

† This place is now a fair market town in that county. Vide Camden in Shropſhire.

‡ Bede, lib, iii. cap. 9.

§ Ibid. cap 11.

‖ The Chron. Urivalenſis mentions another ſon of Oſwald, named Dunwald, without any further circumſtance.

OSWEO,

OSWEO, KING *of* BERNITIA, *and* OSWIN, KING *of* DEIRA.

OSWEO, the illegitimate ſon of Ethelfrith, ſirnamed the Fierce, ſucceeded his half-brother, Oſwald, in the kingdom of Bernitia; whilſt in Deira, Oſwine, the ſon of Oſric, aſſumed the government. Theſe two princes were of oppoſite diſpoſitions, for Oſweo was of a fierce and turbulent ſpirit, ambitious of power, and envious of others: whilſt on the other hand, Oſwine was meek and amiable; by his civil deportment he ſecured the eſteem of his ſubjects, and he was particularly beloved by all thoſe who were intimately acquainted with him. Theſe virtues cauſed Oſweo to look upon him with a ſuſpicious eye; and when ſeven years were elapſed, in which time Oſwine had governed Deira in peace with the greateſt prudence, the other, envious of his glory, and finding that he daily gained ground in the good-will of the Northumbers, began, by various outrages, to trouble his reign.* A. D. 642.

Oſweo grows jealous of Oſwine.

It was long before the deſigns of Oſweo could take effect, for the meek diſpoſition of Oſwine cauſed him to put up with many inſults before he could be wrought upon to commence hoſtilities againſt his unlawful oppreſſor. But at laſt, being beyond meaſure provoked, he was obliged to break through his peaceable determinations, and prepare for war: but here Oſweo had greatly the advantage over him, for as it had long been his intention to provoke him to battle, he had of courſe provided a ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt his army; ſo that when Oſwine took the field, he was ſoon made acquainted with the ſuperiority of Oſweo's power, therefore, deſirous of ſparing Chriſtian blood, he declined engaging with him; and becauſe his people would have perſuaded him to abide the fortune of the war, he withdrew privately from the camp, accompanied only by one ſingle ſervant, named Condhere, and took up his abode in the houſe of an earl, named Humwald, for whom he had a great eſteem, and thought himſelf perfectly ſecure in his friendſhip.† A. D. 650.

Oſweo provokes Oſwine to declare war.

After their king had forſaken them, the Deirian army diſbanded themſelves, and returned home, reſolving to wait patiently the end of all theſe proceedings. Therefore, Oſweo advanced with his forces, and eaſily took poſſeſſion of great part of the country; but in the mean time, Humwald, with whom Oſwine had taken refuge, reſolved to deliver him up to his enemy; for, like a mercenary traitor, he ſaw from the riſing fortune of Oſweo, great expectations might be formed, whilſt from Deira's forſaken prince he had nothing to hope for: therefore, intereſt ſoon prevailed over his duty, and the deſire of future reward over every ſenſe of gratitude and humanity. Oſweo being informed by this deteſtable traitor where the unfortunate Oſwine was to be found, cauſed him pre- A. D. 651.

Oſwine betrayed into the hands of Oſweo, by whom he is put to death.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 14. Chron. J. Bromton.

† Bede, ut ſup. & Vita Oſwini, MS. in Bib. Cotton. inſig. Julius A. x.

A. D. 651. ſently to be put to death, at a place called Ingithling, on the third of September, in the year 651, and the ninth of his reign.*

A. D. 653. When Oſweo had thus removed the chief bar to his ambitious deſigns, he took upon himſelf the government of Deira; yet after he had held it the ſpace of two years, with ſome difficulty, a new enemy, and that a formidable one, roſe up againſt him, which was Ethelwald, the ſon of Oſwald, who at the death of his father was left an infant, and by Oſweo (his uncle) ſecluded from the government. But now arrived at the age of ſixteen, and being a youth of uncommon abilities, as well as great courage, he took the advantage of the diſcontents which prevailed in Deira, and coming thither, ſet up his claim to the kingdom againſt his uncle. The people were all glad of a pretext which wore the face of juſtice, to ſhake off the yoke which Oſweo had impoſed upon them, and therefore preſently acknowledged him for their king; for they deteſted Oſweo, as the murderer of their lawful ſovereign, and the cauſe of all their preſent diſquiets. Ethelwald thus elected to the regal dignity, held the realm with a powerful hand, ſo that Oſweo, with all his combined forces, was not able to diſpoſſeſs him of his ſtate; but after repeated ſtruggles, in which no great advantages were gained, he was obliged to deſiſt from further moleſtation.†

Ethelwald ſeizes upon the kingdom of Deira.

A. D. 654. No ſooner was this trouble ſubſided, than freſh alarms called Oſweo to the field again; for Penda, the mortal enemy of Northumberland, renewed his former wars; and after ſeveral ruinating invaſions, reduced Oſweo to ſuch dreadful extremities, that, fearful of taking the field againſt him, he ſought all the means that he could to pacify his fury, and bring him to accept conditions of peace; but all his rich gifts were refuſed, and his fair promiſes made in vain; for the ſavage Mercian would liſten to no propoſals, as diſdaining to treat with one who was already in his power. To add to the diſtreſs which now fell heavy on Oſweo, his profeſſed enemy, Ethelwald, king of the Deirians, with his army joined Penda, and with him took part againſt his uncle and his country. Affairs grown deſperate, no hope was left to Oſweo, but what depended on the fortune of war; death was before him if he yielded to the enemy, and deſtruction to the kingdom. By flight, indeed, he might, perhaps, have ſaved his own life; but this was a thought ſo diſgraceful, that he could not harbour it: therefore, with a few valiant men, aided by his ſon Alcfrid, he determined to truſt the whole of his fortune on one deciſive battle, when offering up humble prayers and hearty vows to God, he led his little army to the field.

Penda renews the war againſt Northumberland.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 14. Vita Oſwini. † Bede, ut ſup. Malmſ. Hunt. &c. Bromton, &c.

The

The important battle, on which depended the fate of Oſweo and Ber- A. D. 655.
nitia, was fought in the month of December, at Loidis,* near a river called Winwed, which, at the time of the conflict, ſuddenly overflowed its banks, and did conſiderable damage to the hoſt of Penda; ſo that, what with the deſperate and irreſiſtible bravery of the Bernitians, and the fortunate overflow of the waters, the huge hoſt of Penda, which by report was thirty times larger than the Northumbers, was overcome, and himſelf, who ſo long had triumphed in his cruelties, ſlain in the field; with Penda alſo fell Ethelheard, the brother of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles; Ethelwald, the Deirian, eſcaped the fury of the fatal field, and returned with the remains of his army to Deira, in the greateſt diſgrace.†

Penda ſlain, and his army overcome by Oſweo.

This wonderful victory raiſed the glory of Oſweo to ſo high a pitch, that- A. D. 658.
now elated with his ambition, he purſued his fortunes, and carried the war into Mercia, which, by the ſudden and unexpected death of Penda, was deſtitute of a chief capable of taking the rule upon him; ſo that by degrees he ſubjugated the kingdom, and extended his conqueſts both to the northern and ſouthern parts of the whole iſland. He had received Peada, the ſon of Penda, very kindly, and beſtowed his daughter upon him in marriage, on the condition of his becoming a Chriſtian; and, by way of dower, he gave him all the ſouthern part of Mercia: but after the murder of Peada, the chieftains of Mercia rebelled againſt Oſweo, and advanced Wulfhere, the brother of Peada, to the throne, by whoſe proweſs Mercia was again recovered from foreign ſubjection.‡

Oſweo conquers Mercia.

When Oſweo had reigned with great renown the ſpace of twenty- A. D. 659.
eight years, he fell ſick, and being ſtruck with remorſe for the murder of Oſwine, and the blood which he had ſpilt in his wars, he vowed a pilgrimage to Rome, where he purpoſed to have been buried, but death prevented his deſigns. He departed this life the fifteenth of February, in the year 670, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, at Streanſhalch.§

The death of Oſweo.

The wife of Oſweo was Eanfled, the daughter of Edwine, who was the firſt Chriſtian baptized in Northumberland; from her father's death, ſhe had lived with her mother, in Kent, until the time of her marriage. After the deceaſe of Oſweo, (whom ſhe ſurvived ſeveral years) ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life in the monaſtery of Streanſhalch, (her daughter Elfleda being abbeſs there) where ſhe died, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, cloſe by her huſband. By this lady Oſweo had iſſue, two ſons and one daughter; Egfrid, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the third year of his father's reign, A. D. 645: this prince ſucceeded his father in the government of Northumberland. Elfwin, the ſecond ſon, was born in

The wife and iſſue of Oſweo.

* Now Leeds, in Yorkſhire. Vide Camden, in Yorkſhire.

† Bede, lib. iii. cap. 24.

‡ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 21 & 24.

§ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 5

the

A. D. 669. the year 661, the ninth of his father's reign; he was ſlain in the eighteenth year of his age, in a battle fought by his brother againſt the Mercians, A. D. 679. Elfleda, the daughter, was born in September, A.D. 654, the twelfth year of her father's reign. Oſweo, before the battle which he fought with Penda, vowed to God, that if he would grant him the victory, his infant daughter ſhould be conſecrated to the divine duties, and kept in perpetual virginity. After the conqueſt, according to his promiſe, Elfleda was committed to the care of the renowned Hilda, abbeſs of Streanſhalch, where ſhe lived a nun, and ſucceeded Hilda as the abbeſs. She died in the year 714, the ſixtieth of her own age, and was buried in the church within the ſaid monaſtery.

The natural iſſue of Oſweo.

Oſweo had alſo two natural children; Alcfrid, a ſon, who after the death of his brother Egfrid, ſucceeded in the government of all Northumberland;* and Alkfleda, a daughter, who was born before her father was king, in the year of our Lord 653. She was after married to Peada, the ſon of Penda, the famous monarch of the Mercians.

EGFRID, *the ſixth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 670. IN the early part of his life, and at the time which Oſweo, his father, fought with Penda the laſt deciſive battle, Egfrid was in Mercia, held as an hoſtage by Kinſwith, the queen of that dominion; but being releaſed by the conquering arms of his father, he returned to Northumberland, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age aſcended the throne, holding under his dominion both Bernitia and Deira. He was a man ambitious of power, and of an unquiet diſpoſition, which ſometimes hurried him on to raſh undertakings, and ended at laſt in the loſs of his life.

The character of Egfrid.

A. D. 679. His firſt wars of conſequence were againſt Ethelred, the king of the Mercians, which broke out in the ninth year of his reign; and upon the borders of the Trent was fought a great battle between them, in which was ſlain, Elfwin, the brother of Egfrid, a young man of an amiable diſpoſition; his loſs was equally lamented by both the kings, for he was much eſteemed by Ethelred, and had married Oſtrida, his ſiſter. It is

Egfrid makes war with Ethelred, king of Mercia.

* Bede ſays, that the reign of Oſweo was troubled by the rebellion of his ſon Alcfred: yet the particulars of this rebellion, or the time when it happened, are not ſet forth; perhaps, indeed, he might have taken part with Ethelwald, and been aſſiſtant in placing him on the throne of Deira: and ſome have poſitively affirmed, that on the death of Ethelwald, Alcfred ſucceeded him in Deira, and that by the laſt will of Ethelwald. But ſo much are we in the dark relative to this affair, that it would be folly to pretend to aſſert all theſe matters as facts. At the battle againſt the Mercians, in which was Ethelwald, Alcfred aſſiſted his father; and Bede expreſsly declares, that at the death of Egfrid, he had been ſome time in Ireland, where he had made great progreſs in religious learning. Why, or when, had he relinquiſhed the crown of Deira, if he had ever been in poſſeſſion of it, before his brother's death?

hard

hard to ſay which party had the victory in this battle; but ſome time af- A. D. 679.
terwards, we find a reconciliation took place between Ethelred and Egfrid, at the earneſt perſuaſion of Theodore, the biſhop.*

A conſiderable time was now ſpent in peace, which proved at laſt ſo diſ- A. D. 684.
taſteful to the diſpoſition of Egfrid, that he was determined by ſome means or other to keep his ſubjects in action: wherefore, he ſent a chieftain, named Berte, againſt the Iriſh, who had always been friends with the Engliſh, and were a very harmleſs, inoffenſive people. When he arrived there, he fought againſt them, and they were eaſily overcome; yet did he cruelly make a prodigious ſlaughter amongſt them, whilſt they, unable to reſiſt the fury of his arms, were driven to diſtreſs and wretchedneſs; from all ſides they fled before him, praying fervently to Heaven for vengeance.†

Berte deſtroys the Iriſh.

The year after the invaſion of Ireland, Egfrid, contrary to the advice A. D. 685.
of his chieftains, and the earneſt perſuaſion of Cuthbert, biſhop of Landisfarne, commenced a war againſt the Picts, who bordered upon Northumberland, and over raſhly purſuing them when they made a feint retreat, he was by degrees led into a narrow place amongſt the mountains, where a ſtrong ambuſh was appointed, ſo that he was hemmed in by the forces of his enemies, and ſlain on the ſpot. This accident happened in the month of June, 685, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His body was afterwards buried in St. Columb's iſland.‡

Egfrid is ſlain by the Picts.

Egfrid left no iſſue behind him; for his wife, who was named Ethel- The extraordinary character of Etheldreda.
dreda, the daughter of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles, refuſed to accompany with her huſband, or partake of his bed: and it is yet more extraordinary, that Egfrid was her ſecond huſband, for ſhe had been before married to a nobleman, named Tonberct, governor of the fenny countries of Norfolk, Huntingdonſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Cambridgeſhire, during all whoſe life ſhe remained a pure virgin; nor could any perſuaſion or intreaty, either with one huſband or the other, prevail upon her to alter her mind. She was married to Egfrid twelve years; but after a time, when the king found that ſhe would not yield to his allurements, he permitted her to leave him, and retire to the abbey of Coddingham, where ſhe was a veiled nun, under Ebba, the abbeſs; and afterwards, departing from thence, ſhe went to Ely, and built St. Peter's church, and herſelf became abbeſs there, where ſhe died, and was buried. This extraordinary and enthuſiaſtic notion of virtue in Etheldreda, cauſed her afterwards to be canonized as a ſaint, and her memory was held in the greateſt reverence.§

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 21.
† Ibid.
‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26.
§ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 19.

EALDFERTH,

EALDFERTH, *or* ALCFRID, *the ſeventh* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 686. EALDFERTH, the natural ſon of Oſweo, ſucceeded his half-brother, Egfrid, in all his dignities. This prince, during the whole reign of his brother, (either through conſtraint or inclination) took up his reſidence in Ireland; but was ſpeedily recalled from thence at his deceaſe, to take the government of the kingdom upon him. He was a learned man, and particularly well verſed in the ſcriptures; and though the bounds of his dominions were not ſo large as thoſe which ſome of his progenitors had poſſeſſed, yet he ruled all which he held, with ſuch wiſdom and diſcretion, that he juſtly acquired the eſteem of his ſubjects.*

Ealdferth, a learned man.

His fortunate wars.

The unfortunate undertaking of Egfrid, his predeceſſor, had opened a paſſage to the Scots, Picts, and Britons into Northumberland, and gave them occaſion to recover great part of their country, which had been ſubdued by the Northumbrian kings. Theſe people Ealdferth kept under; and though he could not reconquer all thoſe provinces which had been loſt, yet a conſiderable part of them were through his proweſs and activity redeemed again. In theſe wars he loſt a valiant chieftain, named Berctred, who was ſlain by the Picts in the year of our Lord 698.†

His wife and iſſue, &c.

Ealdferth reigned upwards of nineteen years, and died in the year 705, leaving behind him one ſon, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom. The wife of Ealdferth was Kenburg, the daughter of Penda, king of Mercia, who was married to him ſome time before he was king, but we do not find that he had any other children than Oſred, the ſon juſt mentioned.‡

OSRED, *the eighth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 705. OSRED, the only ſon of Ealdferth, ſucceeded him in the realm, although he was then a child of only eight years of age. But inſtead of walking prudently in the ſteps of his father, and endeavouring by moderation and juſtice to ſecure the love of his ſubjects, as ſoon as he was able to judge for himſelf, he neglected all the eſſential duties of a good king, following the impulſe of his own wicked inclinations; and for the gratification of his luſt, ſpared not to violate the chaſtity of the veiled nuns, and moſt zealous votaries of religion.§ It is true, he is ſaid to have married Cuthburga, the ſiſter of Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons; but with ſuch pollutions did he abuſe her bed, that ſhe, in abhorrence of his continual adulteries, obtained a divorce, and departed from him, retiring to a nunnery which ſhe had previouſly built at Winburne, in Dorſetſhire.‖ His wars were chiefly againſt the Scots and

Oſred, a wicked prince.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.
† Bede, in epitome, &c.
‡ Chron. Sax. &c.
§ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.
‖ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 718.

Picts. In the ſeventh year of his reign, one of his captains, named Berthfrid, fought with the Picts betwixt two places called Heve and Cere, where he obtained a conſiderable victory, and put a great number of the enemies to the ſword.* A. D. 705.

After this prince had reigned eleven years, he was ſlain by two of his kinſmen, whoſe names were Cenred and Oſric: theſe men taking the advantage of the diſcontent which prevailed amongſt the Northumbers, and knowing that the king had no lawful iſſue to ſucceed him in the government, perpetrated this murder to advance themſelves in power.† The death of Oſred.

CENRED, *the ninth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

AFTER the death of his prince, Cenred, one of the conſpirators, (a man of noble lineage, ſprung from Ida) mounted the throne of Northumberland, but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his treaſon; for after a reign of only two years he deceaſed, leaving nothing behind him that was worthy of record.‡ A. D. 716. The actions of Cenred not known.

OSRIC, *the tenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

WHEN Cenred was departed this life, his colleague and fellow-traitor, Oſric, the ſon of Alfrid, ſucceeded in the government. All the actions of his reign, which was thirteen years, like thoſe of his predeceſſor, are buried in oblivion: only it appears, that at the end of this term, he was ſlain; but for what particular cauſe, or by whom, cannot at preſent be determined. We do not read of any wife or children left by this king, or his predeceſſor, ſo that after the death of Oſric, the crown was given to Ceolwulf.§ A. D. 718. Oſric ſlain.

CEOLWULF, *the eleventh* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

CEOLWULF, the next prince that ſwayed the ſcepter of Northumberland, was deſcended from Oga, ſon of Ida, firſt king of Bernitia. This man was remarkable for his piety and ſingular zeal for religion; and his example was ſo prevalent, that the greater part of his ſubjects followed the virtuous example of their king, ſo that thoſe days are ſet down as the moſt happy which the Northumbers enjoyed; when men laid aſide their armour, and applied themſelves to holy contemplation, ſeeming rather deſirous of becoming profeſſors of religious houſes, than heroes in the field of battle.‖ A. D. 731. Ceolwulf a very religious prince.

But as true goodneſs, and a proper warmth for the promotion of religion, are juſtly eſtimable, and ought, for the benefit and peace of a na-

* Vide Hollinſhed, vol. I. &c.

† Chron. Winton. Bromton ſays, "juxta mare pugnans belli infortunis eſt occiſus."

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 716.

§ Ibid. ſub anno 718. & Chron. Winton. &c.

‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 24. & Simon Dunelm, lib. i. cap. 13. & lib. ii. cap. 1, &c.

A. D. 731. tion, to prevail in the minds of men; ſo ought a furious and inflated zeal to be avoided with equal care: the one is to the full as deſtructive as the other is beneficial; a ſtriking inſtance of this truth we have now before us. The miſtaken notion, which was of ſuch diſadvantage to the Northumbers, was this: that a man, to be truly religious, ſhould quit all his mundane concerns, and ſeek the ſolitary cell; whereas, no doctrine can be more oppoſite to the purpoſes for which we are placed in the world, or the general benefit of mankind, which it is the duty of every individual to forward, as much as lies in his power, and not like an idle drone to live upon the labours of others, or ſecluded from thoſe he ought to aſſiſt! But this abſurd idea of religion cauſed many of the noble Northumbers to retire from their lands and poſſeſſions, and quit their offices in the ſtate, in order to purſue a life of idleneſs and inactivity; by this means the kingdom was left without a proper defence, and lay open to the invaſion of the enemy. This inviting opportunity was obſerved by Ethelbald, the proud Mercian king, and during the reign of Ceolwulf he entered the borders of Northumberland, where finding no parties conſiderable enough to oppoſe his march, he proceeded unmoleſted, and obtained great ſpoils, returning with his army triumphant back to Mercia.* All theſe misfortunes could not open the eyes of this infatuated people; and the king himſelf, by far more blind than the reſt, after he had reigned nearly eight years, gave up at once all pretenſions to worldly honour, forſook his crown, and bid adieu to his kingly ſtate; when retiring to the iſle of Lindisfarn, he took up the cowl, as a more worthy ornament, and there ended his life.† He left neither wife nor children behind him, but bequeathed his crown to his couſin-german.

The zeal for religion which prevailed in Northumberland.

EGBERT, *the twelfth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 738. EGBERT, the ſon of Eata, and couſin-german to Ceolwulf, after his departure, mounted the throne of Northumberland. When he firſt entered the kingdom, he found the boiſterous neighbours, who bordered upon his realm, beginning to raiſe commotions amongſt themſelves, and ſeveral of them aſſerting a ſtate of independance. Theſe alarms obliged him to take the field, and the earlier part of his reign was ſpent in a continual ſucceſſion of wars and diſturbance; particularly the Picts and Britons were the moſt troubleſome and dangerous.

Commotions in the ſtate of Northumberland.

A. D. 740. Whilſt he was buſied in ſubduing the Picts and Britons, Ethelbald, the Mercian, (who had in the preceding reign obtained great ſpoils in Northumberland) taking the advantage of the abſence of Egbert, came again to this kingdom, and renewed his former outrages. The people

Ethelbald again invades Northumberland.

* Vide Chron. J. Bromton.

† Bede, lib. v. cap. 24. Malmſ. lib i. cap. 3. &c.

not able to reſiſt his powerful arms, were forced to ſubmit themſelves to his will, and ſuffer their poſſeſſions to be plundered and deſtroyed, according to the pleaſure of the conquerors, who, regardleſs of all faith or honour, uſed their advantage with great cruelty.* A. D. 740.

When Egbert had in great meaſure quieted the diſturbances that alarmed the beginning of his government, like his predeceſſor, infected with the enthuſiaſm of the times, he gave up by degrees the management of worldly matters, and after a reign of twenty-one years, quitted his throne and ſtate, retiring with great contentment to the more quiet ſcenes of a monaſtic life, where aſſuming the cowl, he alſo became a monk. He left behind him one only ſon, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom.† Egbert quits his crown, and becomes a monk.

OSWULF, *the thirteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 759.

AFTER the abdication of Egbert, Oſwulf, his ſon, was advanced to the throne. Of this unfortunate prince we find but little recorded. It appears, that before he had quite completed one year of his reign, he was ſlain in a treacherous manner by his own ſervants, at Mikilwoughton; but for what cauſe is uncertain.‡ Oſwulf ſlain by treaſon.

EDILWALD, *or* MOLLO, *the fourteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 759.

AFTER the unfortunate murder of Oſwulf, Edilwald, a nobleman, obtained the government of the kingdom. The beginning of his reign was troubled by a dangerous rebellion; for one Oſwin, a nobleman of Northumberland, took up arms againſt him. This inſurrection called him to the field, and at a place named Edwine's clive, a pitched battle was fought, which proved favourable to Mollo; for the rebellious earl was ſlain in the field, and all his army routed. After this ſucceſs, the king enjoyed his dominions in peace. When he had reigned ten years, he was ſlain by the treaſon of Alured, who, impatient to gain the kingdom to himſelf, perpetrated this villainous murder.§ This prince left behind him one ſon, named Ethelred, who was kept from the throne by the traitor Alured; but after his expulſion, Ethelred was advanced to the kingdom by the voice of the people. Edilwald; his reign and death.

ALURED, *the fifteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 770.

ALURED, the chief conſpirator againſt Edilwald Mollo, was deſcended from Alric, the natural ſon of Ida, firſt king amongſt the Northumbers; Alured ſucceeds in the kingdom.

* Bede, in epitome.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3. S. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. lib. ii. cap. 3. Redbourne ſays, only nineteen years.

‡ Simon Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. & J. Redbourne.

§ Malmſ. ut ſup. J. Redbourne. Hunt. &c. Simon Dunelm ſeems to ſay, that he was not ſlain, but reſigned the government; but whether by force, or his own free-will, does not appear.

A. D. 770. and after the death of Mollo he assumed the royal dignity. The actions of this prince are not known; but however, it may seem likely, that they were by no means worthy of record, or, at least, not pleasing to his subjects; by whom he was driven from the throne, after he had possessed it near ten years.*

ETHELRED, *the sixteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 779. Ethelred set up in the kingdom.

WHEN Alured was expelled from the government by the people, Ethelred, the son of Edilwald Mollo, was chosen to succeed him; but this his advancement, either because it was not by the full consent of the community in general, which might make him odious to those who had other views than his welfare; or else because his behaviour as a king was harsh and displeasing to some of his electors: for, early in his reign, we find rebellions breaking out, which soon became more general, and productive of evil consequences.

Ethelred by rebellion driven from the kingdom.

After he had reigned near four years, two noblemen, named Edelbald and Herebert, headed a prodigious number of the mal-contents, and broke out into open rebellion: against these, the general of Ethelred's forces, named Aldulfe, marched out. A bloody conflict ensued between him and the insurgents; but ill fortune pursuing the general, his troops were overthrown, and he himself slain in the field: this battle was fought at Kingsclif. The hopes of the rebels being elevated by this fortunate beginning, they pursued their march with great alacrity, and at a place called Holythorn, fought a second battle with the forces of Ethelred, under the conduct of two valiant chiefs, named Kinwulf and Egga, which, after great slaughter, ended, like the former, in the total overthrow of the king's troops, and the death of the two leaders. These fatal blows coming so suddenly on the back of each other, depressed the courage of Ethelred, and extinguished all his hopes of success; on the other hand, the minds of the people were greatly agitated; different factions and parties disturbing the state. Whilst things were in this confusion, Ethelred left his crown, and got him privately out of Northumberland, where he plainly saw he could not abide any longer in safety.†

ALFWOLD, *the seventeenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 782. The virtuous government of Alfwold.

THE flight of Ethelred completed the conquests of the two rebellious dukes, who presently after set up Alfwold, the brother of Alured: and so much was the kingdom weakened by the foregoing civil discords, that none were able or willing to oppose these riotous measures; therefore, Alfwold mounted the throne, and held the reins of government with an equal hand. Yet neither the mild disposition of their prince, nor his

* Malms. lib. i. cap. 3.

† Ibid. Chron. Simon Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. Hoveden, &c.

virtue

virtue and juſtice, could prevail on the turbulent Northumbers quietly to ſit down, and enjoy the bleſſings of peace under a juſt and equitable adminiſtration: parties were prevailing in every diſtrict, and alarming diſturbances ariſing from every quarter. When this worthy prince had weathered through a troubleſome reign of near ten yeats, the civil diſſentions broke out afreſh, and in a violent commotion of the ſtate, he was treacherouſly ſlain by the conſpiracy of a chief of the mal-contents, named Siga, in the month of October, the year of our Lord, 791, at a place called Scythle ceſtre, and his body was buried at Hauguſtald. He left behind him two ſons, Celf and Celfwin, who were both of them ſlain by Ethelred.* A. D. 782.

OSRED, *the eighteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

AFTER the murder of Alfwold, the prevailing party ſet up Oſred, his nephew, the ſon of abdicated Alured. He enjoyed his royal dignities but a very little time; for by the ſame capricious multitude, through whoſe power he had been advanced to the throne, in leſs than a year he was again pulled down: ſo that quitting all his honours, together with his country, he fled away, and ſought for ſafety in a foreign realm.† A. D. 791. The ſhort reign of Oſred.

ETHELRED *again reſtored to the* KINGDOM.

AFTER the expulſion of Oſred, Ethelred, who had been abſent from Northumberland ten years, returned again, and by the favour of ſome parties, who were yet his friends, he once more mounted the throne. When he had re-aſſumed the reins of government, he remembered the injuries which were formerly done him by many of the nobles, theſe he now revenged, and the chief of thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his expulſion he put to death. To render his crown ſtill more ſecure, by intreaties and fallacious promiſes he drew the ſons of Alfwold from their aſylum, the cathedral church of York, and cauſed them to be ſlain at a place called Wanwaldremere. Not yet content, his next ſtep was to enſnare the unfortunate Oſred, who had been ſo lately driven from the throne of Northumberland. Deceived by the ſplendid offers of Ethelred, in an evil hour, Oſred left his retreat, and truſted himſelf to the faithleſs promiſe of a faithleſs man, who had no ſooner enticed him to enter the kingdom, than he cauſed him to be inſtantly put to death, at a place called Cunburge. Now thinking himſelf ſeated firmly on the throne, he put away his wife without the leaſt offence on her ſide, merely to ſtrengthen his party by a powerful alliance; and he married Elfled, the ſecond daughter of Offa, the glorious Mercian king. But how vain this his boaſted policy and craft! for, in the midſt of all his power and ſecurity, he was tumbled from his throne, ending his life in a miſerable manner. All A. D. 792. Ethelred made king a ſecond time.

* Chron. Simon Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. † Ibid. & Chron. J. Redbourne. Hoveden, &c.

theſe

A. D. 792. theſe cruel and unjuſt actions which he had committed were ſo highly diſpleaſing to his ſubjects in general, that continual murmurings filled the ſtate; but regardleſs of this, he continued his tyrannies, till even his friends and partizans were diſguſted: ſo that in one univerſal clamour, his own ſervants roſe againſt him, and at Corbre he was ſlain, the 18th of April 795, when he had reigned near four years after his return to the kingdom.*

The DECLINE *of the* KINGDOM *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

The decline of Northumberland.

BUT now began the glory of the kingdom of Northumberland to fade away, and all thoſe who from this time aſſumed the title of kings, were chiefly tyrants and uſurpers, whoſe rule was upheld by the prevalence of parties; for, rent and torn into various factions, new opinions were daily broached, and conſtant diſturbances harraſſed the ſtate.

A. D. 796. Soon after the murder of Ethelred, the inconſtant multitude ſet up one Oſwald in the kingdom; but ſcarcely had he graſped the reins of government, when changing their minds, he was driven from the throne, after he had ruled only eight and twenty days.†

Oſwald's ſhort reign.

Eardulf, his troubleſome reign.

When Oſwald departed the kingdom, a nobleman, named Eardulf, aſſumed the royal dignity, and held it ſome time amidſt the conſtant troubles and commotions which prevailed in the realm. Early in his reign, a nobleman, named Wadda, who was one of the principal conſpirators againſt Ethelred, (wanting, perhaps, to advance his own power) made war upon Eardulf, and fought a battle with him at Billingaheth, near Walalege, where great ſlaughter was made on either ſide; but in the end the conqueſt remained with Eardulf, and Wadda, with his army, was driven from the field. Various battles and commotions followed this, with ſucceſs as various; all of which are ſet down in ſuch confuſion by the ancient authors, that it will be impoſſible to make out a clear and diſtinct hiſtory. Eardulf, however, having made himſelf odious by the murder of Alchmund, the ſon of Alured, and brother of Oſred, joined with other unpopular actions, was driven from his throne, not long after he had fought a fierce battle with Cenulph, king of Mercia.‡

A. D. 826. For ſome time after the expulſion of Eardulf, we have no certain account of Northumberland; but it is moſt likely, that, different parties prevailing, different rulers were ſuddenly ſet up in the kingdom, and as ſuddenly pulled down again, either through the changeableneſs of their electors' diſpoſitions, or the decline of their ſtrength. In this truly lamentable ſtate, the whole kingdom ſeems to have been involved when Egbert, the powerful king of the Weſt Saxons, having conquered Mercia, brought his army into Northumberland, where he found the peo-

Egbert overcomes the Northumbers.

* Ibid. ibid. ut ſup.
† Simon Dunelm. Geſt. reg. Ang.
‡ Ibid. Chron. J. Redbourne.

ple

ple divided amongſt themſelves, and the whole nation* in a ruined condition; ſo that, without much difficulty, he preſently ſubdued their forces, and brought them under ſubjection. A. D. 826,

From this time the kingdom of Northumberland owed obedience to the Weſt Saxon kings, and was held as tributary to that ſtate, until, by the conqueſt of the Danes, it was over-run, and the way opened to thoſe cruel invaders, which they purſued to the ruin of all England. What yet remains of the hiſtory of this kingdom, as well as its total ſubverſion by the Danes, will follow hereafter in the ſucceeding part. The hiſtory of Northumberland ended for the preſent.

* S. Dunelm, &c. &c.

THE

THE EAST ANGLES;

THE SIXTH KINGDOM OF THE HEPTARCHY.

The extent of the kingdom of the East Angles.

THE next kingdom of the Saxons eſtabliſhed in Britain, was that of the Eaſt Angles; which contained the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, and the iſle of Ely. On the north and the eaſt it was bounded by the ſea; on the weſt by St. Edmund's Dyke, and part of Hertfordſhire; and on the ſouth by Eſſex.

UFFA, *the firſt* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 575.

Uffa conquers Norfolk, and aſſumes the title of king.

UFFA, a noble German, deſcended from Woden, about the year 575, arrived in Britain with a ſtrong party of Saxon troops, and landed upon the borders of Norfolk. By degrees he drove the Britons from their poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, and with his followers ſettled there in their ſtead; at which time he aſſumed the title of king. His military acts, as well as his civil ordinances, are not handed down to poſterity; yet we may ſuppoſe he was ſucceſsful in both, for ſo much was he honoured by his ſubjects, that long after his death the ſucceeding kings of the Eaſt Angles were ſirnamed Uffings,* as a token of reſpect due to the memory of their deceaſed chief. His reign is ſaid to have been ſeven years, when he died, and left the kingdom to his only ſon.

TITULUS, *the ſecond* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 582.

Reaſon why the reigns of theſe two kings are paſſed over ſo haſtily.

WE have no traces left of the government and military actions of this prince: for ſo much have the hiſtorians been taken up with the reign of Redwald, who ſucceeded in the kingdom, that Titulus and his father could obtain no ſhare in the records. The reign of Titulus appears to have been eleven years, or thereabouts, and he was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Redwald, his ſon.†

REDWALD, *the third* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 593.

Redwald, the greateſt monarch of the Eaſt Angles.

REDWALD, the moſt potent king of the Eaſt Angles, mounted the throne upon the death of his father: he had been ſubſtituted chief under

* Vuffa a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum, Vuffingus appellant. Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 15.

† Huntingdon, lib. ii. Bromton. Mat. Weſt. &c.

Ethel-

Ethelbert, king of Kent, and ruled as viceroy in all his territories. In this capacity he acquired the higheſt pitch of honour and renown. To this prince did Edwine, the great king of Northumberland, owe his advancement; for he not only protected him from the purſuits of Ethelfrith, his brother-in-law, but with his own army overthrew the Northumbrian powers, and placed Edwine upon the throne, Ethelfrith, the late king, being ſlain in the conflict: but in this battle, which was fought cloſe upon the banks of the river Idle, Redwald, to his great grief, loſt his eldeſt ſon, named Regenhere. When Redwald had thus advanced the glory of his friend, he returned back to his own kingdom. Edwine was no ſooner converted to Chriſtianity, than he perſuaded Redwald alſo to be baptized, though to but little purpoſe; for, not being ſtedfaſt in his new faith, the intreaties of his wife prevailed upon him to forſake the ſame, and return again to the worſhip of his idol deities.* Redwald enjoyed his kingdom but a ſhort time after his apoſtacy; for when he had reigned about thirty-ſix years, he deceaſed, leaving the kingdom to his younger ſon. A. D. 593.

The name of his wife is not recorded; but ſhe is ſaid to have been the wife of a nobleman, deſcended of the royal blood of the Saxons. She was an enemy to the Chriſtian religion, and the chief cauſe which prevented its earlier propagation in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles; excepting this, ſhe was poſſeſſed of many virtuous qualities: for it was entirely through her perſuaſion that Redwald refuſed to deliver the fugitive Edwine to the ambaſſadors of Ethelfrith, which he himſelf at firſt had reſolved to do. This lady had a ſon, named Sigebert, by her firſt huſband; and by Redwald, two ſons, Regenhere and Eorpwald; the former was ſlain in the battle againſt Ethelfrith, and the latter ſucceeded his father in the realm.† The wife and iſſue of Redwald.

EORPWALD, *the fourth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES,

THIS prince appears to have been of a meek and gentle diſpoſition; and though it is true he bore the title of a king, yet it was the title only; for, after the death of Redwald, the influence of aſpiring Edwine was ſuch, that he may much more juſtly be ſtiled the ruler of the kingdom. At the earneſt perſuaſion of the Northumbrian monarch, Eorpwald was baptized, in the year of our Lord 632, and was the firſt king of this province that openly profeſſed the Chriſtian faith.; but his ſubjects, diſpleaſed with him before, becauſe of his meek deportment, were now enraged to the greateſt degree; for he had not only profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, but cauſed the ſame doctrine to be preached, and received by the chief of his people. The ſudden change in their religion was highly offenſive, inſomuch that they conſpired againſt him, and determined by his death to put a ſtop to theſe diſtaſteful proceed- A. D. 629. Eorpwald, a virtuous prince.

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 15. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5, &c.

† Ibid. ibid.

ings;

A. D. 629. ings; and not long after, this worthy prince was ſlain by a traiterous Pagan, named Richbart, when he had reigned ſix years, or thereabouts. He left no wife or iſſue behind him, therefore he was ſucceeded in the kingdom by his half-brother, Sigebert.*

SIGEBERT, *the fifth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 635. SIGEBERT was the ſon of Redwald's wife by a former huſband, whoſe name is unknown. Redwald, after his marriage, looked upon Sigebert with a jealous eye, and ſuſpected that he was ſecretly aſpiring to the crown; the chief motive of this ſuſpicion, was the great love which the people in general bore towards him. Vain were the endeavours of Sigebert, (who aſſerted his innocence with great conſtancy) to drive theſe painful thoughts from the mind of Redwald; all his arguments appeared but as ſpecious coverings to his unlawful deſigns, and ſerved rather to inflame, than extinguiſh the king's miſtruſt. When the unfortunate Sigebert ſaw that it was impoſſible for him to convince his father-in-law of the purity of his intentions, he prudently left the court, and retiring from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, went over into France, and remained there during the whole reign of Redwald, and his ſon, Eorpwald.†

Sigebert wrongfully ſuſpected by Redwald.

Sigebert choſen to be king by the people.

After the death of his half-brother, he returned again to his native country, and was preſently choſen by the people, by whom he was dearly beloved, to ſucceed the murdered ſon of Redwald in the throne. As ſoon as he had begun his reign, he declared his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, and earneſtly exhorted his ſubjects to embrace the ſame: ſuch was the effects of his arguments, and the preaching of the religious men, that the people, who had before been ſo inveterate againſt the doctrine of the goſpel, liſtened with great humility to their teachers, and with one conſent received the true faith.‡

A. D. 640. Thus far Sigebert acted like a worthy king, and the true father of his people. The better to ſecure their minds in the love of Chriſtianity, he cauſed proper places of inſtruction to be erected, and the new-taught religion began greatly to flouriſh in the kingdom. Now was the time for Sigebert to have completed his duty, by keeping the kingdom in a poſture of defence, leſt any deſigning power ſhould come ſuddenly upon them, and not only interrupt their religious ſtudies, but even ſubvert the whole government. Yet, led from this noble purſuit, he followed the impulſe of enthuſiaſtic fury, and left his people, to their great grief, like ſheep without a ſhepherd, whilſt he himſelf retired to a monaſtery, and ſought an inglorious ſolitude. Soon after, he appointed Egric, his

Sigebert leaves his crown, and retires to a monaſtery.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3 & 5. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 642, &c.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5.

‡ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18, &c.

couſin,

couſin, to hold the government in his ſtead. Sigebert left his crown when he had ruled about five years.* A. D. 640.

EGRIC, *the ſixth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

EGRIC ruled near three years in peace, when Penda, the Mercian king, made war upon the Eaſt Angles; and Egric not being able to oppoſe his furious march, the people ran to the monaſtery where Sigebert had retired, and brought him from thence, cauſing him (againſt his will) to take the command of the army upon him; but he would not by any means be prevailed upon to put on his armour, or take any offenſive weapon in his hand, but holding a ſlender rod, he gave the command. The Eaſt Angles loſt the day, as may reaſonably be expected; what chance had they for victory, when their chief himſelf refuſed to lead them to the battle with that bravery and courage neceſſary to confound the enemy, and ſecure the conqueſt? The inactivity of a chief is doubly miſchievous; for whilſt on the one hand it damps the ſpirits of his ſoldiers, on the other it gives the nimble foe frequent occaſions of diſtreſſing them. Sigebert himſelf was ſlain in the field, and with him fell Egric, his couſin, who held the government for him.† This unfortunate action happened about the year 643. Sigebert, as well as his ſubſtitute, Egric, died without iſſue, ſo that the kingdom fell to Anna, the next in blood to Eorpwald. A. D. 641. Sigebert and Egric ſlain in battle.

ANNA, *the ſeventh* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

ANNA, the ſon of Eric, the brother of Redwald, was the next who mounted the throne of the Eaſt Angles. Like his predeceſſor, Sigebert, he was a juſt and devout man, and like him unfortunate; not, indeed, becauſe he neglected the government of his people, for he ſeems to have held his rule with the greateſt care and prudence. He gave reception to Cenwalh, king of Weſſex, who was driven from his kingdom by the cruel Mercian, Penda, in revenge of his ſiſter, that Cenwalh had put away. Nor did Anna ceaſe, till, by his conſtant perſuaſion, Cenwalh received the Chriſtian faith, and was baptized; after which, by Anna's aſſiſtance, he was again reſtored to the throne of Weſſex. Some time after this, Penda again made war upon the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles: the cauſe, indeed, is unknown, (if there really was any other motive than Penda's irreſiſtible ambition); however, he came againſt Anna with a mighty power, in the eleventh year of his reign, and in deſtructive marches aſſaulted the borders of the realm; when finding none there able to oppoſe him, he marched into the heart of the kingdom, and being joined by Æthelhere, the brother of Anna, in a fierce battle he over- A. D. 643. Anna a juſt and pious prince.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18, &c.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 18. Malmſ. lib i. cap. 5, &c.

A. D. 643. came the forces of Anna, and ſlew that unfortunate prince himſelf in the field. This battle was fought in the year 654.*

The wife and iſſue of Anna.

Anna married Heriſwida, the daughter of Herericus, the nephew of Edwine, king of Northumberland, by whom he had iſſue, two ſons; Firmius, who was ſlain in the ſame battle with himſelf; and Erkenwald, abbot of Chertſide, and biſhop of London: alſo three daughters; Etheldreda, the eldeſt, was firſt married to Tonberct, governor of the fenny countries of Norfolk, Huntingdonſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Cambridgeſhire; after his deceaſe, ſhe was married to Egfrid, king of Northumberland; notwithſtanding her marriages, ſhe remained a pure virgin to the day of her death; ſhe died at Ely, where ſhe had been abbeſs, and was buried in St. Peter's church, the which herſelf had built.† Anna's ſecond daughter, named Sexburga, was married to Ercombert, king of Kent, after whoſe death ſhe took upon her the habit of a nun, and ſucceeded her ſiſter as abbeſs of Ely, where ſhe died, and was buried.‡ The third daughter was Ethilburga, made abbeſs of Barking, near London, by her brother Erkenwald, where ſhe lived and died. Beſides theſe, Anna had a natural daughter, whoſe name was Withburge, a profeſſed nun, in the monaſtery of St. Brigges, in France.§

ÆTHELHERE *the eighth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 654. AFTER the death of Anna, his brother Æthelhere laid claim to the crown of the Eaſt Angles, and by the aſſiſtance of Penda (whoſe forces had over-run the kingdom) he mounted the throne. This deſigning prince, ambitious of power, had in his brother's life-time manifeſted his aſpiring genius; and the ſooner to attain the heighth of his wiſhes, joined with Penda in the ſlaughter of his king and brother, and the deſtruction of his country. But Heaven would not long permit him to triumph in his wickedneſs; for, ſoon after, he became the principal inſtrument of his own ruin.

The aſpiring genius of Æthelhere.

A. D. 655. He conceived, but for what cauſe is unknown, a mortal hatred againſt Oſweo, the king of Northumberland; and, by his ſubtle inſinuations, prevailed upon Penda, the Mercian, to make war upon him, whilſt he himſelf would be aſſiſtant with all his power. Penda, big with the glory of his many important conqueſts, approved the ſcheme, and accordingly joining both their armies together, they entered Northumberland, and purſued the war with unrelenting rigour. Oſweo driven to the greateſt diſtreſs, and finding that by fair means he could in no wiſe appeaſe the fury of his enemies, gave them battle. In this engagement all the forces of Penda and Æthelhere were routed, and they themſelves ſlain in the field. This happened in the year 655, ſo that Æthelhere enjoyed his ill-got crown but one year, and barely that.‖

Æthelhere ſlain in battle.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18.
† Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 19. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 8.
‖ Ibid. cap. 24.

The

The wife of Æthelhere was Hereſwitha; ſhe was ſiſter to the famous Hilda, abbeſs of Streanſhalch, and grandchild to Edwine, king of Northumberland. By this lady he had iſſue, three ſons, Adulf, Elſwulf, and Beorn, who all of them ſucceeded his brother Ethelwald in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

The wife and iſſue of Æthelhere.

ETHELWALD, *the ninth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

AFTER the ſlaughter of Æthelhere, his brother Ethelwald ſeized upon the government, and held it from the children of the late king the ſpace of nine years; during all which time he ſeems not to have performed any action worthy of note.* He is ſuppoſed to have left behind him one ſon, named Ethelred, who afterwards ſucceeded to the crown, and was the father of the unfortunate Æthelbyrhte.

A. D. 656.

The reign of Ethelwald not known.

ADULF, ELSWULF, *and* BEORN, *the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth* KINGS *of the* EAST ANGLES.

WHEN Ethelwald, their uncle, departed this life, the three ſons of Æthelhere took the government upon them, bearing rule jointly in the kingdom. Of theſe princes we have no records left, nor can we with certainty trace out the exact time of their particular deaths; however, it appears from ſucceeding circumſtances, that they held the dominion amongſt them the full ſpace of fifty years. Some modern authors, indeed, have made them rule ſeparately, and ſet down the particular time that each prince reigned; but as all this parade is mere matter of uncertainty, and eſpecially as Malmſbury makes them all reign together, there is no ſubſtantial reaſon appears why they ſhould be ſeparated.†

A. D. 665.

The three ſons of Æthelhere ſucceed in the realm.

ETHELRED, *the thirteenth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

THIS prince is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of Ethelwald, which is, indeed, very uncertain. Though Ethelred appears to have reigned the full term of fifty-two years, all that we can collect concerning him is, in general, that he was a juſt man, and much beloved by his ſubjects.‡ His wife is called Laonorin; by her he had one ſon, (more famous than himſelf) named Ethelbyrhte, who reigned after him.

A. D. 715.

Uncertainties relative to Ethelred.

* Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5.

† Thus Speed, with other moderns, have formally ſet down the extent of their reigns as follows: Adulf ſucceeeds his uncle A. D. 664, and rules nineteen years; Elſwulf ſucceeds his brother, and reigns ſeven (Hollingſhed, indeed, ſays twelve) years; and Beorn again ſucceeds Elſwulf, and reigns twenty-ſix years, making together the term of fifty-two years; or, if you add the five years more, according to Hollingſhed, given to Elſwulf, fifty-ſeven. But I have given my reaſons above for making them reign together. Vide Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5.

‡ Ibid.

ETHEL-

ETHELBYRHTE, *the fourteenth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 767. The character of Ethelbyrhte.

IN the ſame oblivion which envelopes the actions of the father, is buried thoſe of the early part of the ſon's life, who ſucceeded him. We read, indeed, that he was a fine perſonable man, well learned for the times in which he lived, of an amiable temper, and inclined to no particular vice; on the contrary, his actions were all guided by the ſtricteſt juſtice and piety. Even this excellent character we owe, perhaps, to his unfortunate end, which made him lamentably conſpicuous to the world in general.

A. D. 792. The unfortunate murder of Ethelbyrhte.

To make amends for what is wanting in the former part of Ethelbyrhte's reign, the monks and legend-writers have ſwelled their account of his death with fables and miracles, in order to honour his memory; which, together with his being ſainted, has given him room enough in the monkiſh annals. But ſetting aſide all the miraculous tales which are interwoven with the murder of Ethelbyrhte, we will (as briefly as poſſible) run over what appears as truth, and is well authenticated. Long had this excellent prince been importuned by his ſubjects to marry; but becauſe, perhaps, he had not yet experienced the effects of love, he ſtill delayed to comply with their wiſhes, as waiting till he ſhould find a partner worthy of his affections: but overcome at laſt by the intreaties of his people, and the deluding offers which were made him by Offa, king of Mercia, of his daughter Elfrida, he accepted the propoſal; and complying with the repeated invitations of Offa, went to the Mercian court, in order to conſummate the marriage. But ſoon after his arrival, the ambitious Mercian (intending nothing leſs than the performance of his promiſe) cauſed him to be put to death, contrary to all humanity, the law of nature, and common hoſpitality. This being privately performed, the crafty king marched with his army into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, whilſt the people, deprived of their ſovereign, and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the treachery of Offa, were unable to reſiſt his forces; and in a little time the Mercians conquered the whole realm.*

The burial of Ethelbyrhte.

The body of Ethelbyrhte was firſt privately buried, on the bank of the river Lugg, in Herefordſhire, near the palace of Offa, at Sutton Wallis, where he was ſlain; but not long after, was taken up at the command of Offa, (who pretended to be ſtruck with remorſe for his crime) and honourably entombed at Hereford, where, over his remains, a ſpacious church was ſome time after built. Ethelbyrhte reigned twenty-five years over the Eaſt Angles, and was ſlain in the year of Chriſt 792.

The DECLINE *of the* KINGDOM *of the* EAST ANGLES.

Egbert conquers the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

AFTER the death of Ethelbyrhte, the kingdom fell to decay: for not only the Mercians, but the Weſt Saxons, and thoſe of Kent, oppreſſed

* Malmſ. ibid. Chron. J. Bromton. Simon Dunelm, &c. &c.

the

the people; through this complication of misfortunes, it was deſtitute of proper rulers between fifty and ſixty years. In this ſcene of confuſion lay the affairs of this province, when Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons, entered the borders, and made the people tributary to him.

Some time after theſe troubles in the ſtate, a pious man, named Offa, was advanced to the throne of the Eaſt Angles; and he was ſucceeded by Edmund, ſlaughtered by the Danes. From which period it continued under the government of the Daniſh powers, till Edward, the elder, drove them out, and annexed this dominion finally with his own. But as all theſe circumſtances muſt naturally follow in the third part of the Chronicle, we ſhall here take our leave of this kingdom, which, from the death of Ethelbyrhte, was not conſidered as a ſeparate or independent ſtate. A. D. 855.

The hiſtory of this kingdom broke off, and why.

MERCIA;

MERCIA;

THE SEVENTH KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

The extent of the kingdom of Mercia.

THE ſeventh, and laſt, kingdom which the Saxons eſtabliſhed in Britain, was Mercia; which was larger in circuit, and contained more counties, than any of the reſt; as Glouceſterſhire, Hereford ſhire, Cheſhire, Staffordſhire, Worceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, Derbyſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Northamptonſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Lincolnſhire, Bedfordſhire, Rutlandſhire, Huntingdonſhire, and part of Hertfordſhire. This extenſive dominion was bounded on the weſt by the river Dee, and the Severn; on the eaſt by the ſea, the Eaſt Angles, and the Eaſt Saxons; on the ſouth by the Thames; and on the north by the Humber, and the Merſy. Mercia was at firſt divided into three parts, as Eaſt Mercia, Middle Mercia, and Weſt Mercia.

CRIDA, *the firſt* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 585. Crida firſt aſſumes the title of king, in Mercia.

IN the year of Chriſt 585, a noble Saxon chieftain, named Crida, (who, like the former kings of his country eſtabliſhed in Britain, derived his pedigree from Woden) arrived in Britain, and, with his followers, over-run the middle part of the iſland without much difficulty; for the Britiſh power was conſiderably cruſhed and kept under by the powerful arms of thoſe Saxon princes, who, long before this time, were ſettled in the ſurrounding provinces. Crida aſſumed the title of king, and from the time of his arrival held his dominions in peace. His reign was about eight years.* He left one ſon, named Wibba, behind him, who ſucceeded to the throne of Mercia.

WIBBA, *the ſecond* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 593. The actions of Crida not known.

CRIDA being dead, Wibba took the government upon him; and after many ſucceſsful engagements with the Britons, drove them from the borders of his kingdom, and greatly enlarged its extent. His reign appears to have been about three and twenty years,† but unfortunately his actions are negligently paſſed over, and nothing but the ſlight mention

* H. Hunt. lib. ii. Higden ſays, that he reigned ten years.

† Ibid. R. Higden ſays, twenty years.

of

of his Britiſh wars recorded; whilſt even of them, there is left no parti- A. D. 593.
cular account, either of the time when they happened, or the places where the battles were fought: but indeed, from this general gleam of light, as faint as it is, we may conclude him to have been a valiant prince, and deſerving of a more important place in the annals of the heptarchy. He left behind him three ſons; the eldeſt was Penda, the ſecond Cenwalk, and the laſt Eoppa: and one daughter, named Sexburga, after married to Cenwalh, king of the Weſt Saxons.

CEORL, *the third* KING *of* MERCIA.

AFTER the deceaſe of Wibba, his ſons did neither of them ſucceed A. D. 616.
him in the kingdom; but Ceorl, his nephew, the ſon of his brother Kinemund, was advanced to the throne. Yet whether by the conſent of the people, he was choſen in preference to the iſſue of Wibba, or whether he uſurped the dignity by force, or fraud, cannot be determined: however, his reign appears to have been ſpent in profound tranquility, for the ſpace of ten years, when he deceaſed, and left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the realm.* The reign of Ceorl not known.

PENDA, *the fourth* KING *of* MERCIA.

No ſooner was Ceorl departed from this life, than Penda, his couſin, A. D. 626.
the eldeſt ſon of Wibba, mounted the throne of Mercia. He was a man of a moſt turbulent diſpoſition; fierce and valiant in the field, violent in his councils, cruel in his temper, and inſatiate in his revenge. With war and deſtruction he ſhook the borders of the ſurrounding Saxon kingdoms, and ſpread an univerſal terror through the land. The chief cauſe of his wars ſeems to have proceeded from his own reſtleſs diſpoſition, and the end propoſed to himſelf no more than the cruel ſatisfaction of making others wretched; for, as thoſe wars were madly begun, ſo were the ſeveral advantages which his powerful forces had gained, as imprudently relinquiſhed.† Character of Penda.

His firſt war was commenced againſt Cynegils and Cwichelm, his A. D. 628.
ſon, who ruled jointly in the kingdom of Weſſex: with theſe he fought a great battle at Cirenceſter, which continued till both armies were parted by the approach of night. In this bloody conflict, ſo much ſlaughter was ſuſtained on either ſide, that, in the morning, inſtead of renewing the fight, a parley enſued, and agreements of peace were made.‡ Penda makes war in Weſſex.

Five years after this, he perſuaded Cadwallo, a Britiſh king, to rebel A. D. 633.
againſt Edwine, king of Northumberland, whilſt he himſelf with a The ſlaughter of Edwine and his hoſt.

* H. Hunt. lib. ii. & Mat. Weſt. Polychron. &c.

† Bede, Malmſ. Hunt. &c.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 628, & alia.

A. D. 633. mighty force aſſiſted him. Theſe two armies joined together, fought againſt Edwine and his hoſt at a place called Hethfield, where, after a ſharp battle, Edwine was ſlain, and all his forces put to flight. This conqueſt gained, they entered the kingdom of Northumberland, and dreadfully waſted the country wherever they came. Penda now left Cadwallo to revenge his own cauſe, and returned to Mercia, where he continued ſome time in peace.*

A. D. 642. Nine years after, the glory of Oſwald, the pious king of Northumberland, (who, in defence of his country, had overthrown the army of Cadwallo, and reduced the Britons to ſubjection) became offenſive to him; wherefore, to depreſs his riſing fame, and revenge the cauſe of his ally, he re-entered the borders of Northumberland with a mighty hoſt, and ſlew the unfortunate Oſwald in the field.†

Oſwald ſlain in battle.

A. D. 643. The year after this bloody expedition in Northumberland, hurried on by the impetuoſity of his temper, Penda went with his army into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and made war upon Egric, their ruler. After he had waſted the country by his deſtructive marches, and ſlaughtered a great number of the diſtreſſed inhabitants, he was met by the forces of Egric, under his command, joined with Sigebert, the former king, (whom the people had forced from the monaſtery where he had retired, and placed at the head of the army.) Both theſe unfortunate princes were ſlain by Penda, and all their forces put to flight; ſo that he purſued his march throughout the country without the leaſt oppoſition.‡

Sigebert and Egric ſlain by Penda in battle.

A. D. 645. Returning from the conqueſt of the Eaſt Angles, Penda ſat down peaceably for two years, when he again took the field, with a greater ſhew of juſtice than he had formerly. Cenwalh, the king of the Weſt Saxons, who had married Sexburga, his ſiſter, without the leaſt offence on her ſide, put her from his bed, and followed a diſſolute life. Incenſed at his ſiſter's wrongs, and to revenge the oppreſſive cauſe, he entered the borders of Weſſex with a powerful army, and drove Cenwalh from his throne. But being cruel in his conqueſts, the whole nation miſerably ſuffered by his violence, for the fault of their wretched ſovereign. Cenwalh, however, fled to the court of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles, where he remained ſome time, and was afterwards re-inſtated in the throne of Weſſex.§

Penda drives Cenwalh from his kingdom.

A. D. 654. Now again Penda paſſed nine years in peace, at the end of which he reſolved to re-enter the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and that (as it is generally thought) without the leaſt provocation; unleſs he ſtill remem-

Penda enters the Eaſt Angles again, and kills Anna.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 20. & alia.

† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 17.

‡ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6.

§ Ib. cap. 17. & Chr. Sax. ſub an. 645.

bered

bered the protection which Anna had formerly given to Cenwalh, when he had driven him out of the kingdom of Weſſex, and was determined for that offence to take revenge. However this may be, with a prodigious force he invaded that dominion; againſt whom the diſtreſſed Anna brought his army: but Fortune ſtill favouring the attempts of Penda, the Eaſt Angles were overthrown, and Anna himſelf ſlain in the field of battle. After this conqueſt, he ſet Æthelhere, the brother of Anna, upon the throne, as a reward for the aſſiſtance which this wicked prince had given him againſt his brother, and his country.* A. D. 654.

Scarcely was Penda returned to Mercia, when the traitor, Æthelhere, perſuaded him to make war once more in Northumberland; for he ſet the riſing fame of Oſweo, who then ruled in that kingdom, in ſuch a dangerous point of view, that, fired with jealouſy, and fearful of a rival in glory, he followed the advice which was given him, and being joined by the army of Æthelhere, went into Northumberland, and began with great cruelty to deſtroy the country wherever he came. Oſweo, on the other hand, was unwilling to meet his adverſary in the field, and ſtrove by large gifts and fair promiſes, to pacify his fury, but in vain; for the mind of Penda was bent on blood and deſtruction. When Oſweo ſaw the unrelenting diſpoſition of Penda, he reſolved to abide the fortune of the field. And now the cruel tyrant had run his deſtined race! for, being over ſecure in the ſuperior number of his hoſt, (which is ſaid to have been thirty times greater than the army of Oſweo) and negligent in his arrangement of the battle, he loſt the day, and fell himſelf in the fatal conflict; with him was alſo ſlain the traitor, Æthelhere, at whoſe inſtigation the war was firſt begun. This battle was fought upon the banks of the river Winwed, near Leeds,† which river burſt its banks during the engagement, and ſuddenly overflowed great part of Penda's army; ſo that more men periſhed in the waters, than were ſlain with the ſwords of Oſweo's ſoldiers. Thus ended the life of this furious prince, (who had cauſed the deaths of no leſs than five kings, by far more worthy than himſelf) after he had reigned almoſt thirty years. A. D. 655. Penda and his partner ſlain in Northumberland.

The wife of Penda was named Kinſwitha, and by her he had iſſue, five ſons, and two daughters: his three eldeſt ſons, Peada, Wulfere, and Ethelred, ſucceeded ſucceſſively in the kingdom. Merćthel, the fourth ſon, was a man remarkable for his piety; and Merewald, the fifth, and laſt ſon, governed ſome part of Mercia under his brothers. The daughters of Penda, were Cineburga, the eldeſt, who was after married to Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, but leaving her huſband, ſhe became The wife and iſſue of Penda.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6. Bromton.

† "*Apud amnem Winwed unde exivit "proverbium.*

"In Winwed amne vindicate eſt cædes "Anna.

"Cædes regum Sigeberti & Egrici.

"Cædes Oſwaldi & Edwini." M. Weſt. ſub anno 655. & Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii.

A. D. 655. a nun in Kingeſburgh abbey: and Cineſwitha, the youngeſt, was married to Offa, king of the Eaſt Saxons; and after his departure to Rome, became a nun in the ſame abbey with her ſiſter.*

PEADA, *the fifth* KING *of* MERCIA.

The converſion of Peada, and his marriage.

THIS prince was by his father, in his life-time, made governor over the Middle Saxons, a diviſion of Mercia. He ſought in marriage Alcfleda, the daughter of Oſweo, king of Northumberland; but received for anſwer, that, ſhe being a Chriſtian, it was contrary to the laws of her country for her to marry one who was a Heathen. Peada willing to obtain the virgin, liſtened with great attention to the doctrine of the goſpel, which was carefully preached to him. Struck with the ſacred truths, his heart inclined to Chriſtianity, and his wavering reſolutions were poſitively confirmed by the inſtructions and advice of Alcfrid, (the natural ſon of Oſweo, who had married Cyneburga, the ſiſter of Peada) ſo that he revoked his former errors, and reſolved to be baptized; declaring at the ſame time, that this change aroſe from a full conviction of the truth, and excellency of the Chriſtian religion, and not from the love which he bore to Alcfleda, for he would continue conſtant in his preſent reſolutions whether he thereby obtained the virgin or not. Some little time after, he was baptized; and at the ſame time, the greater part of thoſe people over whom he ruled received the Chriſtian faith. The chief objections of Oſweo being thus removed, he gladly conſented to the marriage of his daughter. All theſe proceedings of Peada were not oppoſed by Penda, his father, who, though he profeſſed no love to the doctrine of Chriſtianity, yet hindered not its promulgation in his dominions.†

A. D. 655. The treacherous murder of Peada.

Now broke out the fatal war between Penda and Oſweo; and after the death of Penda, Oſweo entered the kingdom of Mercia, and brought it under ſubjection. However, he received Peada with great kindneſs, and made him king over all the middle diviſion of the realm, which was conferred upon him by the conqueror, becauſe he had married his daughter, and embraced the Chriſtian faith; the reſt he held in ſubjection under him. Peada no ſooner mounted the throne, than he cauſed the idol temples to be deſtroyed throughout his dominions, and began by his own zeal and piety, to ſet an excellent example to his ſubjects. During the reign of Penda, their late victorious king, the Mercians had been ſo habituated to war and diſturbance, that the peace which followed, under the quiet government of Peada, became irkſome and tedious; and becauſe they ſaw no proſpect of freeing themſelves from the yoke which Oſweo had impoſed upon them, whilſt Peada held the ſcepter, they began with murmurs to expreſs their diſcontent; nor were they quieted, until, by his murder, way was made for Wulfhere, his brother, to aſcend the throne. To add

* Ingulphus. Hiſt. fol. 1.

† Bede, lib. iii. cap. 21.

to

to the heinouſneſs of this bloody act, his own wife is accuſed of having A. D. 655.
a principal hand in his death.* He was ſlain during the celebration of Eaſter, when he had reigned little better than two years, leaving no iſſue behind him.

WULFHERE, *the ſixth* KING *of* MERCIA.

THE faction who were concerned in the murder of Peada, headed by A. D. 658.
three chief nobles of the ſtate, named Jumin, Ebba, and Eadbert, after his death, rebelled againſt Oſweo, and diſclaimed all obedience to him, ſetting up Wulfhere, the brother of Peada, upon the throne. By the patriotic ſpirit of the chiefs, the reſolution of the people, and the valiant efforts of their new king, the whole province was reſtored to its former liberty.† The Mercians rebel againſt Oſweo.

Wulfhere was a ſtern, paſſionate man, eager in revenge, and valiant in the field. The impetuoſity of his temper cannot be more ſtrikingly delineated, than in the following extraordinary relation:---When he firſt mounted the throne of Mercia, he ſtill retained the idolatrous ſuperſtition of his anceſtors; and though he does not appear to have hindered the promulgation of the goſpel amongſt his ſubjects in general, yet he himſelf was far from being convinced of its ſacred truths. One of his ſons, named Wulfad, hunting in a foreſt, not far from his father's palace,‡ purſued a ſtag with great eagergeſs, and was ſeparated from the reſt of his company, when by accident he came to the cell of a religious prieſt, named Cedd, (who, during the reign of Peada, the late king, had been very aſſiduous in converting the Mercians to Chriſtianity.) The young prince pleaſed with the appearance of ſanctity and holineſs which he diſcovered in Cedd, went up to him, and a very intereſting converſation enſued; in which the prieſt ſet forth all the advantages that were to be found in the goſpel diſpenſations, and particularly explained the expectations of a future judgment, and an eternal life. Struck to the very ſoul by the diſcourſe of Cedd, Wulfad deſired to be received into the number of Chriſt's flock, and was accordingly baptized by him in a fountain that ran hard by. After this, Wulfad related his adventure to Rufine, his brother; Rufine was eaſily perſuaded to accompany Wulfad to the habitation of the holy man, where, being like his Wulfhere raſhly murders his two ſons.

* We ought here to take notice, (in favour of the lady) that Bede, whoſe authority is the beſt we have concerning this matter, does not poſitively declare that ſhe had a hand in the murder; but only intimates, that it was ſo reported. He was ſlain (ſays Bede) in the celebration of Eaſter, "proditione *(ut dicunt)* conjugis "ſuæ." Bromton and others, who have followed Bede, have left out the words "*ut dicunt*," and ſo poſitively fixed the ſtain upon the queen. However, there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe ſhe might be innocent; eſpecially, becauſe Robert de Swapham, a very ancient author, expreſsly declares, that it was not his wife, but his mother, that betrayed him to death. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt, lib. iii. cap. 24. Chron. John Bromton, & alia, & Hiſt. Eccleſ. de Medeſhamſted, per Robertus de Swapham.

† Ibid. &c. ut ſupra.

‡ At Wulferceſter, in Staffordſhire.

A. D. 658. brother convinced of his errors, he abjured his former religion, and was alſo baptized by Cedd. Yet theſe proceedings of the young princes were not ſo ſecretly conducted, but they came to the knowledge of Werbodus, the king's chief counſellor; and he, with many artful aggravations, related the ſame to Wulfhere, and informed him, that he might himſelf be witneſs of their fault. This information incenſed the king to the higheſt degree, and he preſently determined to go to the cell, accompanied only with Werbodus, who had inflamed his mind with a thouſand jealous fears. When he entered the habitation of the prieſt, he found his two ſons making their humble ſupplications to God, and in the height of his fury he ſlew them both with his own hand. But ſome time after, being himſelf convinced of the truth and excellency of the religion which they had embraced, he renounced his former ſuperſtitions, and became a truly zealous Chriſtian, repenting with unfeigned ſorrow the murder of his ſons. As for the bodies of the two unhappy princes, their mother, Ermenhild, cauſed them to be buried in a ſepulchre of ſtone,* over which, in after times, ſhe built a ſtately church.†

A. D. 661. Three years after Wulfhere had ruled in Mercia, he made war upon the Weſt Saxons, and in a ſharp battle fought againſt Cenwalh, at Poſſentesburg, he overcame his forces, purſuing his conqueſts to Eſceſdune, and from thence through the whole kingdom of Weſſex, to the iſle of Wight, which he invaded, and ſubdued. This iſland he gave to Edlewalch, king of the South Saxons, who, at his perſuaſion, renounced his idolatry, and was baptized, Wulfhere himſelf being his ſponſor at the font.

Wulfhere invades the kingdom of Weſſex.

A. D. 675. After theſe diſturbances, Mercia, which had ſo long been warring againſt her neighbours, or at variance within her own limits, enjoyed no leſs than thirteen years of tranquility; during which time, Wulfhere zealouſly endeavoured to advance the Chriſtian religion in Mercia, and ſecure the peace of the kingdom. In the beginning of the fourteenth year, he entered the kingdom of Weſſex the ſecond time, (but for what cauſe is unknown) and fought with Eſcwine a bloody battle, at a place called Bidanheafod, where, after much ſlaughter, the victory remained doubtful.‡

The death, wife, and iſſue of Wulfhere.

This engagement ſeems to have put a final ſtop to the marches of Wulfhere into Weſſex; for ſhortly after, he departed this life, being then in Mercia, over which he had ruled ſeventeen years. His wife was Ermenhild, daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent. She ſurvived her

* Regiſt. Obbat. Peterb. per Walter de Wittelſey.

† "This place was after called *Stones*, or *Stonar*, by reaſon (ſays Stow) of the ſtones which the multitude brought thither for the building of the church, when they came to frequent the place." Vide Stow's Chronicle, & Camden in Staffordſhire, &c.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 675, &c.

huſband,

husband, and after his death retired to the monastery of Ely, where her mother, Sexburga, was then abbess, and spent the remainder of her life in pious solitude: she died, and was buried, in the self-same monastery.* By this lady, Wulfhere had issue, three sons; Cenred, the elder, who following religious studies, did not immediately succeed his father in the government, but at the death of his uncle, Ethelred, was made king. Wulfad and Rufine, the other two sons of Wulfhere, were slain by himself, as is above related. He had also one daughter, named Wereburga, who was committed to the tuition of the pious virgin, Etheldreda, her mother's aunt, the abbess of Ely, and by her persuasion took the veil upon her. In the reign of Ethelred, her uncle, she returned to Mercia, and was by him made governess of all the monasteries and religious houses in his dominion. She died at Trickingham,† and was first buried at Hanbury, though afterwards her bones were removed to Chester, where a stately church, in honour of her, was built by Leofric, earl of Cheshire.‡ A. D. 675.

ETHELRED, *the seventh* KING *of* MERCIA.

ETHELRED, the third son of Penda, after the decease of his brother Wulfhere, took upon him the government of Mercia, whilst young Cenred, his nephew, contented himself with a private and studious life, never once attempting to disturb the quiet of his uncle's reign, in the assertion of his own right and heritage. A. D. 675. Ethelred mounts the throne of Mercia.

Ethelred was a man of a fierce and violent disposition, ambitious of power, and valiant in the field. Soon after he ascended the throne, he invaded Kent with a mighty power, and with fire and sword destroyed the country wherever he came; in his rash fury sparing no place, however sacred or respectable, so that even churches and monasteries sunk in the general ruin. All this time, the distressed Lothaire, who then ruled in Kent, fearing the power of his cruel foe, did not dare to take the field against him, or endeavour by force of arms to stop his destructive progress. Ethelred, on the other hand, finding none to oppose him, marched up to the city of Rochester, and after pillaging the miserable citizens of all their wealth, set fire to the city itself, and burnt it to the ground. Content with their conquests, and loaden with spoils, the triumphant Mercians shortly after left the borders of Kent, and returned home.§ A. D. 676. Ethelred cruelly invades the kingdom of Kent.

Ethelred now sat himself down in peace for the space of three years, after which he began another important war, and invaded A. D. 679.

* Bede, Eccles. Hist.

† Now called Trentham, in Staffordshire.

‡ Vita S. Werburgæ, MS. in bib. Cotton. insig. Caligula, A. viii.

§ Chron. Sax. sub anno 676, &c.

the

A. D. 679. the borders of Northumberland. But here he obtained not a paſſage ſo eaſy as he had found in Kent; for Egfrid, who ruled in that kingdom, met him with his army near the Trent, and gave him battle. After a fierce and bloody engagement, the conflict was ended, but with great, though nearly, equal loſs on either ſide; ſo that the victory ſtill remained doubtful. We do not find that they renewed the engagement, but ſometime after they entered reciprocally into agreements of peace, and were thoroughly reconciled to each other.*

Ethelred makes war in Northumberland.

A. D. 697. After this unſucceſsful expedition, Ethelred remained peaceable at home for a conſiderable time, when a very fatal accident troubled his domeſtic peace, which was no leſs than the murder of Oſtrid, his queen, who was ſlain by the noblemen of Mercia, as ſhe paſſed through the northern parts of the kingdom.† This remarkable event is unluckily paſſed over in ſuch haſte by the author who records it, that the reaſon of this violent outrage, as well as the manner of her death, is not at this diſtance of time to be diſcovered. No doubt, a matter of ſuch alarming conſequence muſt have greatly affected the king; and it is likely he might revenge her death, and ſeverely chaſtiſe the unbridled temerity of the ſeditious lords.

Oſtrid, queen of Mercia, ſlain.

A. D. 704. Ethelred at laſt was ſtruck with a ſudden remorſe of conſcience, and began in a religious light to reflect on the injuſtice of his former conqueſts. The blood which he had ſpilt to ſatisfy his ambition, was now called to remembrance; the recollection of thoſe ſacred places which he had polluted, and wantonly deſtroyed, awaked in his mind the horrors of guilt, and ſhook his ſoul with the awful fears of divine vengeance. In expiation of his cruel deeds, he firſt cauſed the monaſtery of Bradney, in Lincolnſhire, to be built; but after, thinking this was not ſufficient to attone for his former faults, he determined to forſake his worldly pomp, and in the cloiſtered cell, by prayer and meditation, complete the purgation of his affrighted ſoul. Accordingly, he firſt bequeathed his crown to his nephew, Cenred, to whom it by right belonged; and then bidding adieu to the world at once, retired to the monaſtery at Bradney, which he had lately built, after he had reigned over the Mercians full nine and twenty years. In the ſame monaſtery he was made abbot, and lived in his retirement twelve years, when dying in the year 716, he was honourably buried in the ſelf-ſame place.‡

Ethelred repenting of his former life, quits his crown, and becomes a monk.

The wife of Ethelred was Oſtrid, who was ſlain, as we have ſeen above, by the nobles of Mercia. By her he had one ſon, named Ceolred. Convinced of the injuſtice which he had been guilty of, in depriving his nephew, Cenred, of the crown, he appointed him to ſucceed him in the kingdom, and not Ceolred, his ſon.

Wife and iſſue of Ethelred.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 12.
† Bede in epitome.
‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 14. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4.

CENRED,

CENRED, *the eighth* KING *of* MERCIA.

CONTENT with his former ſituation, and pleaſed in the enjoyment of a private life, Cenred had ſpent his youthful days in retirement and ſtudy, far removed from the ſplendour of a court. It ſeems rather in compliance with the demands of his people, than his own particular wiſh, that he quitted his retreat, and took upon him the government of Mercia: this material change ſeems not to have been agreeable to him, whoſe very ſoul was ſet upon religious enquiries. The uproar and noiſe of the buſy world was irkſome and diſguſtful to him; and ſo long had he been accuſtomed to think and act in a manner totally different from that which his preſent exalted ſtate required, his heart ſoon panted for the more pleaſing ſolitude again. Five years he held the title of a king, when overcome by the irreſiſtible impulſe, occaſioned by the recollection of his former enjoyment, of the quiet comforts of life, he quitted the court, and left his crown as a thing deſpiſed, when weighed in the balance with a contented mind. Soon after, with Offa, king of the Eaſt Angles, and Edwine, biſhop of Worceſter, he went to Rome, (the faſhionable pilgrimage of thoſe times) and was there made a monk by pope Conſtantine, in the church of St. Peter. At Rome he ſpent the remainder of his life, employed continually in acts of piety and benevolence.*

A. D. 704.

Cenred prefers a monaſtic life to the crown of Mercia.

CEOLRED, *or* CELRED, *the ninth* KING *of* MERCIA.

THE quiet and peaceable diſpoſition of Cenred was as ill ſuited to the turbulent and warlike genius of the Mercians, as the fatigue of dignity was to himſelf; ſo that when he quitted the crown, they received Ceolred, the ſon of Ethelred, for their king, with the greateſt acclamations of joy and ſatisfaction. This was a man as remarkable for his perſonal bravery and conduct, as his predeceſſor had been for his piety; and though the people in general loved Cenred, whoſe virtues had endeared him to the more thinking part; yet was Ceolred by far more acceptable as a governor; for his lively temper and valour led them to expect great things from his adminiſtration. Virtue they loved, but glory was the object of their wiſhes.†

A. D. 709.

Ceolred elected king with great applauſe.

Scarce had Ceolred mounted the throne of Mercia, before the peace, which had long bleſſed the Mercian ſtate, was broke through, and war commenced with the Weſt Saxons. Which parties were the aggreſſors, or what was the cauſe, is not known; but with ſuch implacable hatred was the war purſued, that it was not decided for the ſpace of ſeven years, during all which interval various ſkirmiſhes were made, and battles fought, with different ſucceſs, yet no conſiderable advantage was gained

A. D. 715.

Ceolred makes war in Mercia.

* Malmſ. lib i. cap. 4. Chron. Bromton. & J. Redbourne. & Vita Egwini Epiſ.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4. Hen. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. &c.

A. D. 715. by either. After this long jarring had continued, the two kings met with their powers at a place called Wodens burh, where alſo the victory remained doubtful, prodigious ſlaughter being made in both armies; yet the loſs which either ſuſtained put a ſtop to the war; for if they were not reconciled to each other, they were ſo prudent at leaſt to retire, with the deſign of recruiting their ſtrength before hoſtilities were again commenced.

The death of Ceolred, &c.

In the year of our Lord 716, not long after Ceolred's return to Mercia, he departed this life, having reigned with great honour near eight years. His body was buried in the cathedral church of Litchfield. His wife is ſaid to have been named Wereburga, by whom he had no children. She ſurvived him many years, being very old at the time of her death.*

ETHELBALD, *the tenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 716. CEOLRED dying without iſſue, Ethelbald, the ſon of Alweo, deſcended from Wibba,† was advanced to the royal dignity. The character of Ethelbald is ſtrongly delineated in the ancient records, as a man of violent paſſions, impatient of controul, and immoderately fond of power and dominion: this diſpoſition occaſioned the title which is commonly annexed to his name, as the proud, or haughty, king.‡ He held the government with great valour, and adminiſtered juſtice with an equal hand: yet he himſelf is heavily accuſed of refuſing lawful marriage; not through the commendable preferment of a life of celibacy, but the rather to obtain the fruition of his libidinous deſires with the leſs reſtraint. He violated the chaſtity of maidens conſecrated to God, and ſeduced married women from the boſoms of their huſbands, taking them to his bed, without regarding the conſequence which might enſue from ſo open a violation of the Chriſtian laws, and the evil example ſet to his ſubjects. Nor were the nobles behind hand with their ſovereign; for treading in his ſteps, they followed their lewd purſuits without the leaſt reſtraint.‖

The character of Ethelbald.

A. D. 733. The firſt action of conſequence performed by Ethelbald, was the ſiege of the caſtle of Sommerton, which he won by force of arms. Some time after, obſerving the peaceable ſtate of the Northumbers, under the rule of their religious king, Ceolnulf, he entered the borders of that kingdom, and finding little or no reſiſtance, advanced with his army, and gained great ſpoils, returning in triumph back again to Mercia.§

Ethelbald invades Northumberland.

* Florentius, monk of Worceſter.

† His genealogy is thus ſet down in the Saxon Chronicle: Ethelbald the ſon of Alweo, the ſon of Eoppa, the ſon of Wibbæ, ſecond king of Mercia.

‡ Superbas Rex, &c. Vide Malmſbury, Bromton. Hunt. &c. &c.

‖ Epiſt. Boniface, in Chron. William Malmſbury, lib. i. cap. 4.

§ Chron. J. Bromton.

Some

Some time after, whilſt Egbert, king of Northumberland, (who ſuc- A. D. 740.
ceeded Ceolnulf in that realm) was buſily employed in his wars againſt the Picts and Britons, Ethelbald, well pleaſed with his former ſucceſs, re-entered that kingdom, and purſued his deſtructive marches without any oppoſition; for, as the principal part of the Northumbrian forces were employed in the northern wars, the ſouthern parts of the province were left open to the enemy, who cruelly waſted and deſtroyed the country wherever they came.*

Ethelbald again invades Northumberland.

Two years after his expedition in Northumberland, Ethelbald invaded A. D. 742.
Weſſex with a mighty army, and marched againſt Cuthred, who had then but juſt began his reign in that kingdom. Various ſkirmiſhes enſued, and Ethelbald ſeemed bent upon the deſtruction of his foe; for he not only aſſaulted him by open war, but by private practices endeavoured to procure his overthrow. Cuthred, on the other hand, being a man of great courage, reſiſted all the repeated efforts of Ethelbald, and finally gave him battle, which was fought with much bravery on both ſides, and after great effuſion of blood, the differences were made up, and the two inveterate enemies reconciled to each other.†

Ethelbald invades Weſſex.

Two years more had elapſed, when the Britons (the common enemy A. D. 744.
of the Saxons in general) fell under the diſpleaſure of theſe two princes, who joining their forces together, made war upon them. The miſerable Britons were in no condition to reſiſt the united powers of Mercia and Weſſex; wherefore, leaving their habitations, after a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, they ſought by flight to ſecure themſelves from the ſwords of their enemies; but being fiercely purſued by the Saxons, a prodigious ſlaughter was made. Ethelbald, after this conqueſt, returned to Mercia, and held his rule for ſome time in peace.‡

The Britons overcome.

A quiet life to a man whoſe ſoul delights in war, is tedious and irk- A. D. 754.
ſome, glory and power are generally the chief objects of his thoughts, and the buſineſs of the camp his beſt amuſement: minds like theſe, feel not the ſofter enjoyment of peace, nor ever conceive the value of that heavenly bleſſing! Thus Ethelbald, diſguſted with the tranquility that prevailed in his ſtate, broke through the ſacred bond of peace, and ſought in the field of war that ſatisfaction which at home he found not. Jealous of Cuthred's fame, he once more turned his arms againſt him, and invaded Weſſex with a mighty power, but unſucceſsfully; for, at Beorgford,§ his army was overthrown by the Weſt Saxons, with prodigious ſlaughter, he himſelf, with the remnant, making their eſcape by a precipitate flight.

Ethelbald again invades Weſſex.

* Chron. J. Bromton, & alia.
† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 742. Malmſbury, &c.
‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§ Vel Bedford. Vide Chron. J. Bromton.

A. D. 756. The death of Ethelbald.

Vexed to the ſoul at this ſudden turn of fortune, Ethelbald returned to Mercia; not, indeed, with a reſolution to ſit down tamely under his loſs, but with full intent to revenge his ſhame ſeverely upon the conquerors. He only waited till he had recruited his army, and a proper opportunity ſerved, to commence the war afreſh, and harraſs the borders of Weſſex. But Cuthred with his forces oppoſed his march with great courage, and drove him back to Sceandune, where a deciſive battle was fought; after a long engagement, the Mercians were routed, and Ethelbald himſelf was murdered in his retreat by one of his own chieftains, named Beornred. His body was after buried at Ripendune.* This fatal accident happened in the year of our Lord 757, after he had reigned with great glory the ſpace of forty-one years.† He left no children behind him; for indeed it does not appear that he was ever married.

BEORNRED, *the eleventh* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 757. The overthrow of Beornred.

No ſooner had the traitor Beornred murdered his maſter, than he mounted the throne, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. But he did not long triumph in the ſucceſs of his treachery; for, before he had held the kingdom the ſpace of one year, a young man of noble blood, named Offa,‡ rebelled againſt him, and in a fierce battle overthrew his forces, and ſlew him in the field.

OFFA, *the twelfth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 757. The character of Offa.

THE ſudden ſucceſs of Offa gained him great applauſe in the kingdom of Mercia; ſo that, after the death of the uſurper, with one conſent, the people advanced him to the royal dignity. Offa was a valiant man in the field, and a refined politician in the cabinet; but all his virtues in general were eclipſed by his unbounded ambition, which hurried him on to the commiſſion of ſuch vile actions, as have ſtamped an eternal blot upon his character.

A. D. 774. Offa wars againſt the neighbouring kings.

When Offa had been ſeated upon the throne of Mercia about fourteen years, he began to entertain the thoughts of extending his dominion by the conqueſt of the neighbouring realms. The firſt people who felt the fury of his arms are called the Heſtings, and ſeem to have been a ſmall diviſion of the Eaſt Angles, which he preſently ſubdued, and added to Mercia. From thence he marched into Kent, and in a bloody battle overcame the combined forces of that nation, under the conduct of Alric, their king; but whether the people were aftetwards tributary to him, cannot be diſcovered. As for Alric, it ſeems very clear that he reigned peaceably for ſeveral years after.§

* Ripon, in Derbyſhire.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 757.

‡ Offa was a deſcendant from Wibba. The Saxon Chron. thus derives his pedigree, Offa the ſon of Dincferth, the ſon of Eanwulf, the ſon of Oſmond, the ſon of Eava, the ſon of Wibba.

§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 774. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4. H. Hunt. &c.

The

The next year after his conquests in Kent, Offa marched into Wessex, and warred upon Cynewulf, who ruled in that district. Their principal dispute seems to have been concerning the town of Bensington, which, however, Offa won from the West Saxon, after he had defeated his forces in the field. These conquests added such consequence to the name of Offa, that he was justly feared by the other Saxon kings; every one was anxious for his own safety, and desirous, by some means or other, to secure the friendship of this mighty monarch; so that the power of Offa was daily increased. Yet far from being affected with haughtiness and pride by his exalted state, he held the government with so much prudence, that he secured at once his own glory, and the good-will of his subjects.* A. D. 775. Offa wins the town of Bensington.

Fortune crowning his attempts in the east and western parts of Britain, Offa turned his arms towards the north, and conducted his victorious army beyond the Humber, where he made considerable conquests, and that without much difficulty; for the Northumbers at this time were divided amongst themselves, and by their own domestic quarrels facilitated the advancement of the foreign foe. After these important conquests in Northumberland, his next care was to secure the borders of his kingdom from the inroads of the Britons, who inhabited beyond him to the west; which, that he might the better effect, he caused a large dyke to be made, beginning on the south at the mouth of the river Wye, and extending northward to the Dee. During the time that Offa was busied in the performance of this stupendous work, Marmodius, the chief ruler in Wales, seemed to wink at his designs, but was mean while making all the preparation in private that he could, in order to fall suddenly upon the army of Offa, at a time in which he could have no suspicion of such an attempt. It is also said, that he was secretly assisted by the Northumbers and the West Saxons, which is by no means unlikely. When the design was ripe for execution, Marmodius, the better to blind the searching eyes of Offa, sent a formal embassy, to demand a truce for a certain stated time; during which space some method might be thought on between them, by means of which they might conclude a final peace, which should be advantageous to both parties. The fair proposals of the Britons were kindly received by Offa, who not suspecting their treacherous design, granted the time of truce which they demanded, in a very friendly manner. Their plot so far succeeded as well as they could desire; and it being now near Christmas, they waited quietly until the evening of St. Stephen's day, when uniting the whole of their forces together, they went down suddenly upon the army of Offa, and filling up part of the new dyke, entered the camp, and made a great slaughter: for the Mercian soldiers knowing that the time of the truce was not yet A. D. 778. Offa conquers Northumberland, and makes a large dyke on the borders of Wales.

* Chron. Sax. sub anno 774. Malms. lib. i. cap. 4. H. Hunt. &c.

A. D. 778. expired, thought themſelves ſecure, and were more intent upon the celebration of the Chriſtmas feaſt, than the making defence with their ſwords. Offa finding himſelf thus infamouſly betrayed, rallied his forces again, and ſecured his retreat in the beſt manner that he could, and for a time withdrew himſelf into the heart of Mercia, to reinforce his army.*

A. D. 779. Offa overcomes the Britons. Incenſed with fury, and the ardent deſire of revenging the treacherous dealings of the Britons, early the next year he ſufficiently ſtrengthened his army, and marching into Wales, in a bloody battle overcame Marmodius and his aſſociates. After this, he deſtroyed the country round about, and drove the Britons to the greateſt diſtreſs. When he had completed his vengeance, he came back, and repaired the part of the dyke which had been broken down, and ſet every thing in order upon the weſtern borders of Mercia: this done, he returned to his court, and began, by powerful alliances, to ſtrengthen his ſtate. He now ſat down in peace, and for a conſiderable time attended to the affairs of his own realm, making no attempt upon the neighbouring kings.†

A. D. 791. Offa marries his daughters. Still deſirous of ſecuring the importance of his dominions upon the ſureſt foundation; thoſe whom he thought might at any time prove dangerous, he determined to hold by a ſtronger bond than that of mere friendſhip. In order to effect this deſign, he married his eldeſt daughter, Eadburge, to Beorhtric, king of Weſſex, who, proud of the alliance with ſo great a monarch, had ſought her of her father in marriage; and his ſecond daughter, Elfleda, he gave to Ethelred, king of Northumberland, after he was reinſtated in his throne, from whence he had been expelled by the people.‡

A. D. 792. Offa wickedly murders the king of the Eaſt Angles. Elfreda, third daughter of Offa, was promiſed to Ethelbyrhte, the king of the Eaſt Angles; who being kindly invited by her father to his court, went thither in order to conſummate the marriage, but was cruelly ſlain by the command of Offa: not content with the glory of his reign, and the extent of his dominions, he was determined in this baſe and treacherous manner to ſecure the kingdom of this unfortunate prince, and add it to his own. Immediately after the death of Ethelbyrhte, Offa went with his army into the Eaſt Angles, and ſoon ſubdued the whole province. Thus did the inordinate thirſt of power prevail on this mighty Mercian king, to commit a crime of the blackeſt nature, which is aggravated by the moſt infamous treachery and deceit; in ſhort, ſo baſe an action is ſcarcely to be found again in all our annals.§

The

* Matthew Paris, in Vita Offæ.
† Ibid.
‡ H. Hunt. lib iv. Ethelwerd, &c.
§ Matthew Paris, who has made a legendary life of Offa, lays the chief blame upon his wife, declaring, that ſhe endeavoured to perſuade him to commit this murder, but he refuſed; wherefore, ſhe herſelf undertook it, and cauſed the prince to be murdered on his wedding night.

All

The year after this bloody deed was done, Offa aſſiſted his ſon-in-law, Beorhtric, againſt the Danes, who had arrived upon the confines of his dominions, in three large ſhips, and by his timely aid they were driven back with conſiderable loſs. After this, Offa pretended great ſorrow for the murder of Ethelbyrhte, and in order in ſome meaſure to expiate for the offence, he went to Rome, where he obtained permiſſion to build the abbey of St. Albans; and, after the example of his predeceſſor, Ina, made the kingdom ſubject to the Romeſcot, or Peter-pence. At his return to Mercia, the abbey of St. Albans was begun, and juſt as it was completed, this great monarch departed this life, in the year of our Lord 796, after he had reigned nine and thirty years in the greateſt ſplendour.*

A. D. 793. Offa repels the Danes, and goes to Rome.

The wife of Offa was named Quendrida,† of whom we know but little; yet ſhe ſeems to have been a woman of good condition, but no way remarkable for her virtues. By her he had iſſue, one ſon, and three daughters: Egferth, the ſon, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom; Ethelburga, the elder daughter, was married to Beorhtric; Elfleda, the ſecond daughter, to Ethelred, king of Northumberland; and Elfreda, the youngeſt, was betrothed to the unfortunate Ethelbyrhte, the king of the Eaſt Angles; after the death of this prince, ſhe, with great lamentations, abandoned the ſociety of men, and withdrew herſelf to the monaſtery of Crowland,‡ and there ſpent her life in religious ſolitude.§

The wife and iſſue of Offa.

EGFERTH, *the twelfth* KING *of* MERCIA.

EGFERTH, the joy of his parents, had been crowned king of Mercia during his father's life-time, and reigned jointly with him till the day of his death, when he took the whole government of the realm upon him.

A. D. 796. Egferth's ſudden death.

All this is done to exculpate Offa, who was the founder of St. Albans, for which action the monks have haſtily paſſed over this cruel deed; but his afterwards ſubduing the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles in ſuch a ſudden and unlawful manner, may plainly prove the part he acted in the murder was more than that of a byeſtander.

* W. Malmſ. l. i. cap. 4. Chr. Sax. &c.

† Matthew Paris, in his legendary life of Offa, calls her *Drida*, and ſays, ſhe was kinſwoman to Charles the Great, king of France; and that being accuſed of ſome heinous offence, ſhe was put into a boat without either rudder, ſail, or oar, and left in the midſt of the ſea to the fortune of the waves. After ſhe had a time been wafted to and fro, ſhe was caſt upon the Britiſh ſhore, and being taken thence, was brought to Offa, who relieved her wants, and had her carefully conducted to his palace. She ſo well juſtified her conduct to Offa, that he was much pleaſed with her addreſs; and ſhe being a fair and lovely woman, he made her his wife, to the great grief of his parents, and the diſlike of the nobles of the realm. But this account has ſo much the air of romance, and not being confirmed by any ancient record, it is juſtly ſet aſide.

‡ Thus ſays Matthew Paris; others affirm, that ſhe was afterwards married to Cenwulf, king of Mercia.

§ Capgrave gives Offa another ſon, named Fremund, ſlain by Oſwy, and buried at Offchurch; and quotes an author, named Burghad, ſaid to have been preſent at the death of the prince. But Speed imagines him to have been miſtaken, becauſe the wars with the Danes, which occaſioned his death, happened not till one hundred years after.

The

A. D. 796. The exact time of his coronation is not recorded, but it certainly was towards the latter end, if not the laſt year, of Offa's reign. Egferth was a young man of an amiable diſpoſition, and much beloved by his ſubjects in general. His proſperous beginning, and the prudence which he ſoon diſcovered, left room for great expectations; but all his people's hopes were quickly depreſſed by his ſudden death, which happened one hundred and forty days after the deceaſe of his father, to the great grief of all who knew him. He left no iſſue behind him.*

KENULPH, *or* CENWULF, *the thirteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 796. VIRTUOUS young Egferth being ſo ſuddenly ſnatched away, the choice of the Mercians fell upon Cenwulf, a nobleman deſcended from Wibba. This prince is famous for his juſtice and many virtues; avoiding the errors of others, he was religious without being ſuperſtitious, and valiant without being cruel: in the defence of his country he flew to the field, but yet in the midſt of his conqueſts remembered, that mercy was the hero's nobleſt attribute.†

Character of Cenwulf.

Cenwulf invades Kent, and his ſucceſs.

The civil diſcords which had long prevailed in Kent, had ſo violently ſhaken that kingdom, and leſſened its conſequence, that Cenwulf imagined it would now be no hard matter quickly to complete the ruin that ſeemed to threaten its ſtate. Determining to try the fortune of war, he entered the borders of Kent with his army, and gave battle to Ethelbert Pren, who had uſurped the government, and after a ſharp engagement, overthrew his forces, Pren himſelf being made priſoner by the Mercians. This victory obtained, Cenwulf followed his fortunes, and ſubjugated all the ſtate, raiſing a man, named Cuthred, to the throne, who held his rule under him. The captive, Pren, Cenwulf carried with him into Mercia, where he detained him for ſome little ſpace; and at the dedication of a church which he, Cenwulf, had built at Winchomb, Pren was led up to the high altar, and there ſet at liberty, without fine or ranſom. This noble action added greatly to the honour which Cenwulf had already acquired.‡

A. D. 799. His next wars were in Northumberland, againſt Eardulf, with whom he fought a bloody battle; but the particulars of it being haſtily paſſed over, it is impoſſible to declare who had the victory: however, not long after, a peace was concluded upon between the two parties, and Cenwulf returned home to Mercia. From this time, his reign appears to have been ſpent in perfect tranquility, to the day of his death, which happened after he had reigned three and twenty years. His body was buried at Winchomb, in the county of Glouceſter, in the church which himſelf had built.§

The death of Cenwulf.

* Malmſ. l. i. c. 4. Chron. Sax. &c.
† Ibid. & Bromton, &c.
‡ Ibid. & Hiſt. Ethelwerdi.
§ Ibid. Ibid.

His

His wife's name was Ælfthryth, but her parentage is unknown; unleſs ſhe was, as ſome have ſuppoſed, the younger daughter of Offa, who was betrothed to the murdered Ethelbyrhte; but this is not very likely, for had ſhe been of ſuch noble lineage, it would have ſcarcely been forgot by the ancient hiſtorians.* By this lady he had iſſue, one ſon, and two daughters: Cenelm, the ſon, was yet a child at his father's death; Quendreda, the eldeſt daughter, after her father's death, wickedly aſpiring to the throne, (as ſome report) cauſed her brother to be ſlain. The youngeſt daughter is named Bergenhild; of her we find nothing recorded, more than the love ſhe bore to her brother, and her ſorrow for his death.† The wife and iſſue of Genwulf.

CENELM, *the fourteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

CENWULF being deceaſed, Cenelm, his only ſon, (then but a child) was appointed to ſucceed him; but ſhortly after his advancement, he was, by ſome fatal accident, unfortunately, though innocently, ſlain by the hand of his ſiſter Quendreda, whereby he obtained the name and honour of a martyr.‡ He was firſt privately buried, but afterwards his body was removed, and reburied, with great ſolemnity, in the church of A. D. 819. Cenelm unfortunately ſlain.

* One thing may be here obſerved, that either Cenwulf had two wives, or this one ſometimes bore a different name. An original charter of this king's, preſerved in the Cotton library, begins thus, "Ego Cenulf una cum conjuge mea Cenegitha regina Merc. &c." To which charter, Cenelm filii regis, is one of the witneſſes. In two others in the ſame book, the name is as above. I have not ventured to affirm upon this authority that he had two wives, becauſe no ſuch circumſtance is mentioned in the ancient authors. The curious may find theſe charters in a large book, marked Auguſtus II. and their numbers, x. 91 & 94.

† Vide Bromton, Redbourne, &c.

‡ The ſtory of the death of this prince is ſo differently related, that one can ſcarcely tell what judgment to form upon it. Aſſerius, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Henry Huntingdon, and R. Hoveden, make no mention of Cenelm; Malmſbury indeed does, but paſſes over this important tranſaction in the following haſty manner: "Kenelmus puer admodum a ſoror ſua Quendrida innocuè cæſus nomen & decus Martyrii adeptus," which is in ſubſtance the ſame as I have related above. But how totally different are the accounts of H. Higden, Matthew of Weſtminſter, T. Redbourne, and J. Bromton, who all relate the ſtory in or near the following manner: Quendrida wickedly aſpiring to the throne of Mercia, prevailed upon Aſkebert, the tutor of the young prince, to murder him; which vile action he performed one day as he was hunting, in a thick wood, and privately buried his body under a thorn-buſh. They further add, that the murder was diſcovered, as well as the dead body of the unfortunate youth, by means of a dove, that carried a ſlip of parchment in its beak to Rome, and laid it upon the high altar in St. Peter's church. On which was written, in Saxon characters, theſe words, "In Clenc kon baꝺ, Cenelm Cinnꝛbajne, lieꝺ unꝺeꝛ ꝺhojne, heaveꝺ bejeaveꝺ." "In Clenc cow paſture, Cenelm, the king's child, lieth under a thorn, bereaved of his head." Quendrida, after the diſcovery of the murder, died with ſhame and grief, for having been the cauſe of ſo foul a deed. But this trifling ſtory borders ſo much upon the legendary tale, that I have ſet aſide the whole account, and preferred that of Malmſbury, which, though conſiderably ſhorter, is yet much more likely to be true.

A. D. 819. Winchomb, by the ſide of his father. His reign was not above five months.

CEOLWULF, *the fifteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 819. AFTER the murder of Cenelm, Ceolwulf, his uncle, took the government upon him; but it ſeems not to have been with the general conſent of the people; for ſcarcely had he ſat two years upon the throne, before Beornwulf, a nobleman of Mercia, rebelled againſt him, and was joined by thoſe who were diſcontented with his management of the ſtate. He ſoon found himſelf deſerted on all ſides,* and was driven from the kingdom with diſgrace. This prince had one daughter, named Elfleda, after married to Wiglaf, the ſubſtitute king of Mercia, under Egbert.

Ceolwulf diſpleaſing to the people.

BEORNWULF, *the ſixteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 821. CEOLWULF being driven from the throne, Beornwulf (who all this while had been aiming at the imperial dignity) ſeized upon the government. He was deſcended from Oſher, a man reputed to be of the blood royal of Mercia. Valour and ambition are the ſtrong characteriſtics of this prince, and in the end proved his deſtruction. After he had held his ſcepter with a ſtrong hand upwards of two years, he caſt a jealous eye on Egbert, the powerful king of the Weſt Saxons, and fearful of his riſing fame, challenged him to the field. Egbert deſirous of puſhing his fortune on, which now flowed high, accepted the challenge, and met him at Ellendon,† where they fought a bloody battle, and prodigious ſlaughter was made on either ſide; at laſt, however, victory declared for the Weſt Saxons, and Beornwulf, with his party, was driven from the field. One evil ſeldom comes unaccompanied by another; immediately after this defeat, the Eaſt Angles, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed by the Mercians under Offa, threw off their yoke, and entering Mercia, added to the diſtreſs of that dominion. In endeavouring to ſave his bleeding country from total ruin, the unhappy Beornwulf loſt his life, before he had fully completed the third year of his reign.‡

Beornwulf challenges Egbert to the field.

LUDECAN, *the ſeventeenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 825. No ſooner was the death of Beornwulf known to the Mercians, than they advanced Ludecan, a valiant chieftain, to the throne, and made all the preparation that they could to revenge the revolt of the Eaſt Angles. But Egbert aiding them, they were too powerful for the Mercians, and overcame them in the field. In this fatal conflict fell Ludecan, and five

Mercia ſubdued.

* Malmſ. lib i. cap. 4. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 821.

† Or Wilton. Vide Milton's Hiſt. of Eng. fol. 219.

‡ Malmſ. ut ſup. Chron. Sim. Dunelm. & H. Hunt. lib. iv.

of his chieftains, bravely ſtruggling to defend the falling ſtate, but all in vain: for now the deſtined time was come, in which the glory of Mercia ſhould decline. Ludecan being ſlain, Wiglaf ſeized upon the government, but he was preſently after ſubdued by Egbert, and the whole dominion made tributary to the Weſt Saxons. A. D. 825.

From this time the kingdom of Mercia ceaſed to be an independant ſtate; though it is true it ſtill continued to have its own kings, yet they were no more than viceroys, or rulers, under the kings of Weſſex, and the accounts of them will naturally follow in the ſucceeding part of the Chronicle; for which reaſon, we will here break off the hiſtory of Mercia, and take our final leave of the heptarchy, which we have carefully traced out from its firſt beginning: imperfect indeed, and interrupted with frequent chaſms, are theſe early parts of our annals, yet ought they not to be paſſed over as unintereſting. The riſe and fall of theſe little kingdoms exhibit a great variety of different characters, many of them very important and amuſing. A. D. 826. The hiſtory of Mercia broke off, and why.

THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY.

*** For the better Underſtanding of the Genealogy of the Kings of the Heptarchy, the following Tables are here ſubjoined, which exhibit at one View the different Branches from which each particular King was deſcended, as far as they could be traced out with any Certainty. To theſe are added, the Chronological Order of the Year, in which each Monarch began his Reign, and when he died.

The laſt Table (No. VIII.) ſhews the regular Succeſſion of the Monarchs, or chief Kings of the Heptarchy, on whom the honorary Title of "King of the Engliſhmen" was beſtowed.

TABLE I.

Succeſſion of the Kings of the South Saxons.

Began to reign.	Died.	
477	514	ÆLLE.
514	590	Cymen. Wlenching. CISSA.
590	681	EDELWALCH.
681		Two Dukes, BERTHUNUS and ANTHUN.

☞ Note, that on the ſame line with each king, is ſet the year on which he began his reign, and when he died. Thoſe names in Italics joined with this mark = are the perſons married into the different families.

TABLE II.

Succeſſion of the Kings of Kent, with their Iſſue.

Began to reign. A.D.	Died. A.D.	
		WITHGILS, a German chieftain.
457	488	Horſa — HENGIST, 1ſt king of Kent. — Octa
489	513	Hatwaker — ÆSC, 2d king. — Rowena = *Vortigern*, King of the Britons.
513	535	OCTA, 3d king.
535	560	HERMENRIC, 4th king.
560	616	Second wife's name not known. = ETHELBERT, 5th king. = *Berta*, Daughter of Chilperic, k. of France. — Rikell = *Sledda*, King of the East Saxons.
616	640	Ethelburga = *Edwine*, K. of Northumberland. Married his fathers 2d wife. = EDBALD, 6th king. = *Emme*, 2d wife, Daughter of Theodore, k. of Lorayne.
640	664	Ermenred = Oſlave — *Sexburga*, Daughter of Anna, k. of the E. Angles = ERCOMBERT, 7th king. — Enſwith
664	673	Ethelred, Both ſlain by Egbert. — Ethelbert, Both ſlain by Egbert. — Dompnena, Married to a Mercian prince. — Erminburga, All three nuns. — Erinburga, All three nuns. — Ermengytha, All three nuns. — EGBERT, 8th king.
673	685	LOTHAIRE, 9th king.
685	687	EDRIC, 10th king.
692		Interregnum five years. WYCHERD and WEBHARD, two uſurping tyrants.
694	725	WIHTRED, 11th king.
725	748	EDBERT, 12th king.
748	759	ETHELBERT, 13th king.
759	793	ALRIC, 14th king.
794		Three uſurpers. { ETHELBERT PREN
797		CUTHRED.
805		BALDRED.

TABLE III.

Succession of the Kings of Weſſex.

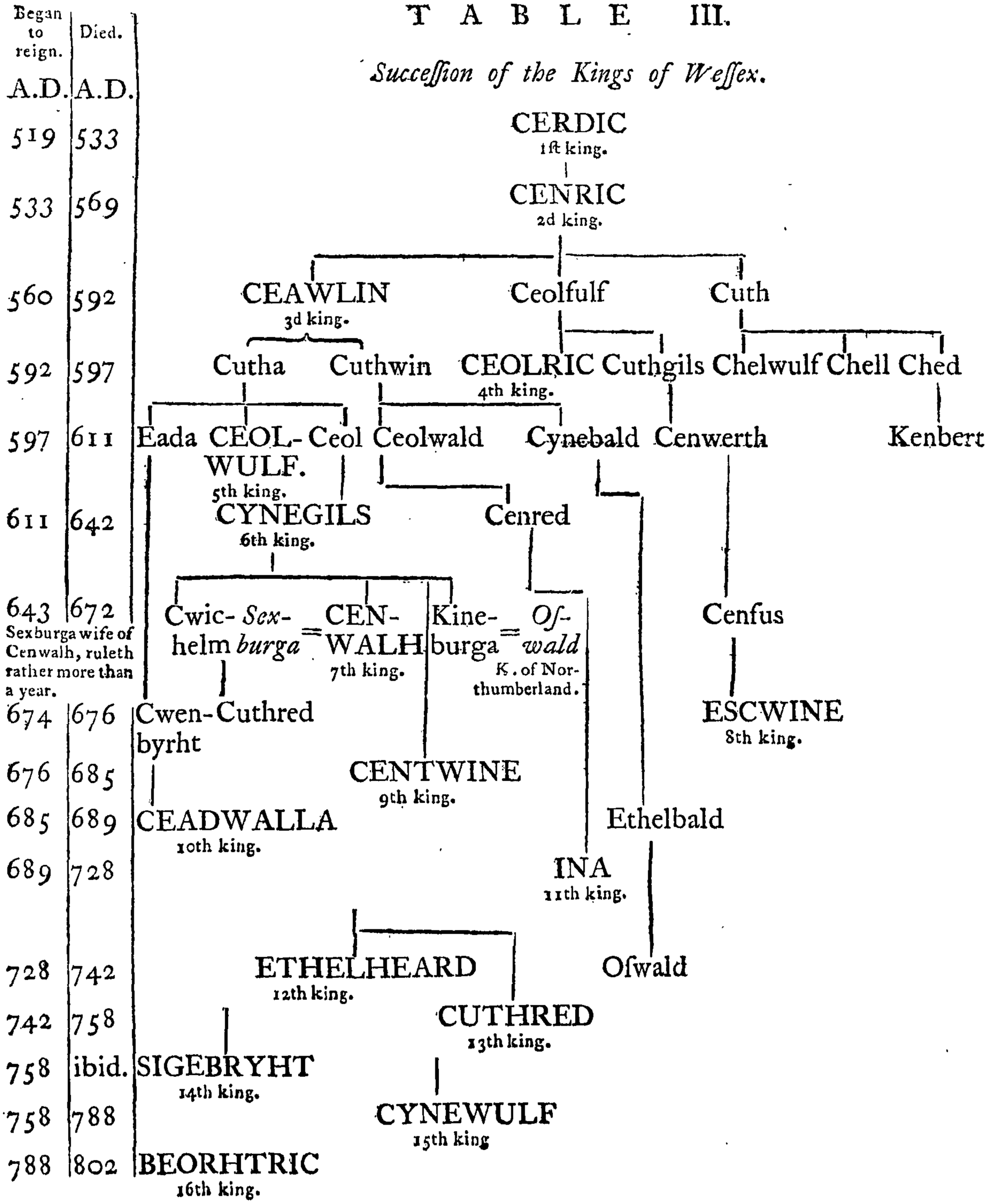


TABLE IV.

Succession of the East Saxon Kings.

Began to reign. A.D.	Died. A.D.	
527	587	ERCHENWIN, 1st king.
587	597	SLEDDA, 2d king. = *Rikell*, Daughter to Hermenric, k. of Kent.
597	615	Sigebald, or Sexbald; SEBERT, 3d king. = *Ethelgoda*
615	617	SERRED, 4th king.; SEWARD, 5th king.; SIGEBERT, 6th king.
617	645	SIGEBERT the Little, 7th king.
645	661	SIGEBERT, 8th king.
661	664	SWITHELM, 9th king.
664		SEBBA, 10th king. Obiit. 683.; SIGHER, 11th king Obiit. 691. = *Osfwith*, Daughter of Ethelfrith, king of Northumberland.
691		SIGHARD, 12th king.; SENFRED, 13th king.
701		OFFA, 14th king.
708		SELRED, 15th king.
746		SWITHED, 16th, and last king.

TABLE V.

Succession of the Kings of Northumberland, with their Issue.

Began to reign. A. D.	Died. A. D.	
547	559	BERNITIA. Concubine = IDA = Lawful wife (*1st king of Bernitia.*)
560		Alric, Ocga, Eccha, Osbald, Segora, Segothæ
560	567	ADDA (*2d k. of Bernitia.*)
567	572	Eadhelm
572	573	Blacmor
573	580	
580	587	
The two kingdoms of Bernitia & Deira united.		
587	589	
589	593	Ecgwald
593	617	Bossa
617	633	
The kingdom of Northumberland again divided.		
633	634	
The kingdoms again united.		
634	642	Leodwald
The kingdom again divided.		
642	670	Concubine = OSWEO = *Eanfled* (*8th k. of Bernitia.*; Daughter of Edwine.)
642	651	Blenham
653		
The kingdoms finally united.		
670	685	Eata, Cuthwine; EGFRID = *Etheldreda* (6th sole king. Daughter of Anna, k. of the East Angles.)
686	705	ALKFRID = *Kenburg.* (7th sole king | Daughter of Penda, king of Mercia.)
705	716	OSRED (8th sole king.)
716	718	Eanwin, CENRED (9th sole king.), Cutha
718	731	

DEIRA.

Ida's brother

ÆLLE (*1st king of Deira.*) — Elfric

GLAPPA (*3d k. ng of Bernitia.*)

THEODWALD (*4th k. of Bernitia.*)

FRETHULF (*5th k. of Bernitia.*)

THEODRIC (*6th k. of Bernitia.*)

ÆLLE (1st sole king of Northumberland.) — Acca

ETHELRIC (2d sole king)

Concubine = ETHELFRITH = *Acca* (3d sole king. | Daughter of Ælle.) — Tedbald (Slain by the Scots.)

Oslac, Oswid, Ossa, Oswine, Offa, Oswitha, Ebba — *Cuenburga* (both nuns. Daughter of Ceorl, k. of Mercia.) = ED-WINE (4th sole king.) = *Ethelburga* (Daughter of Ethelbert k. of Kent.)

Osfrid, Egfrid

Ethelm, Usfrea, Enfleda, Ethelrida

EANFRED (*7th k. of Bernitia.*)

OSRIC (*2d k. of Deira.*)

OSWALD = *Kineburg* (5th sole king. | Daughter to Cynegils, king of the West Saxons.)

Elfswine (Slain in battle, a nun), Elfleda, Osfrid = *Chelred* (k. of Mercia)

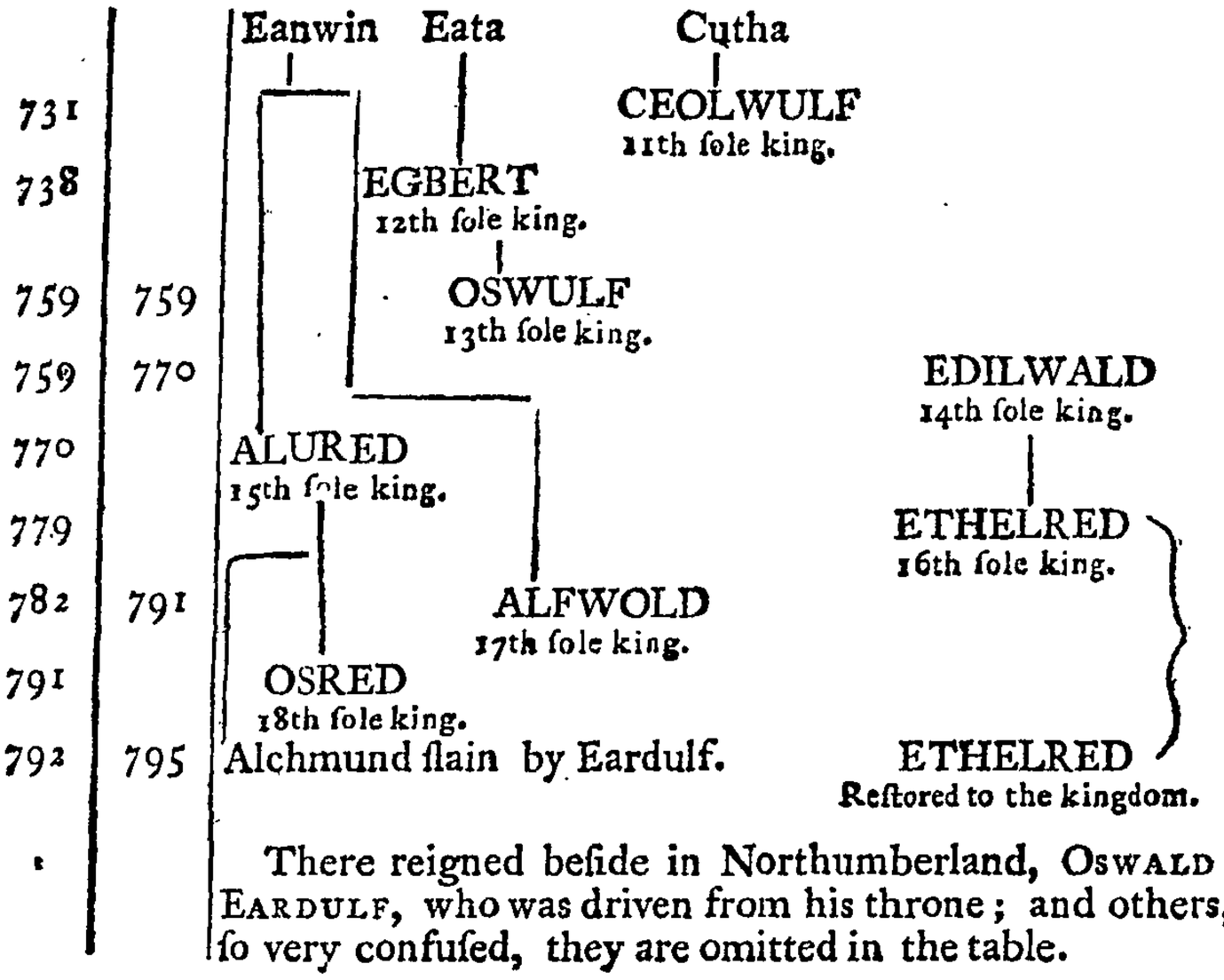
OSWINE (*3d k. of Deira.*)

ETHELWARD (*4th k. of Deira.*)

Alfrid

OSRIC (10th sole king.)

Continuation of the fifth Table.



There reigned beside in Northumberland, OSWALD twenty-eight days; after him, EARDULF, who was driven from his throne; and others, but the accounts of them are so very confused, they are omitted in the table.

TABLE VI.

Succession of the Kings of the East Angles, and their Issue.

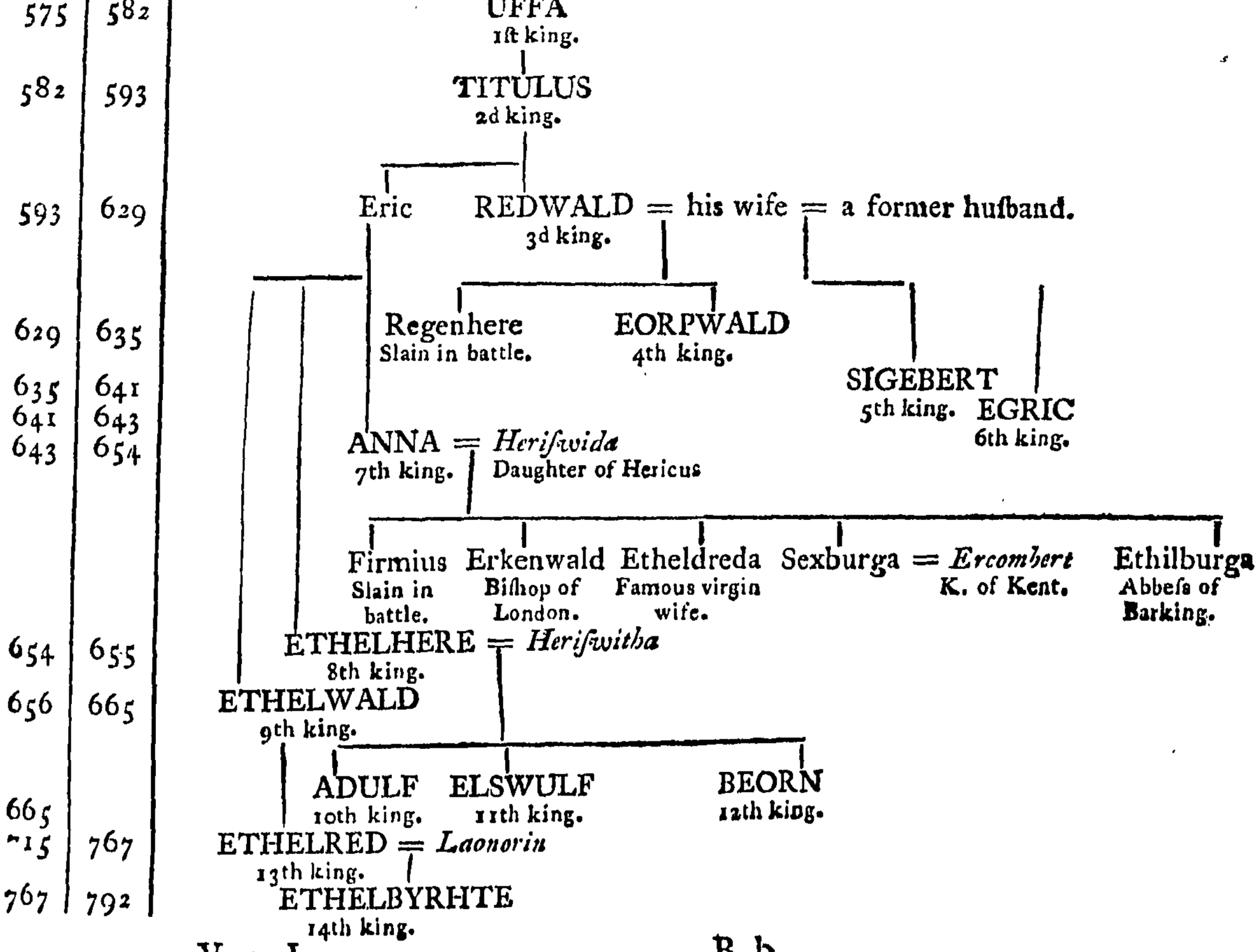


TABLE VII.

The Succeſſion of the Kings of Mercia.

Began to reign.	Died.
585	593
593	616
616	626
626	655
655	658
658	675
675	704
704	709
709	716
716	757
757	ibid.
ibid.	796
796	ibid.
ibid.	819
819	ibid.
ibid.	821
821	825
825	

CRIDA
1ſt king.

WIBBA
2d king.

Kinemund

CEORL
3d king.

Eoppa

Eva

Scxburga = *Cenwalh*
k. of Weſſex.

PENDA = *Kinſwitha*
4th king

Oſmund

Alcſleda = PEADA
Daughter of Oſweo, k. of Northumberland.
5th king.

Erminhild = WULFHERE
Daughter of Ercombert, k. of Kent,
6th king.

Alcweo

Kentwin

Wulfad

Rufine

Both ſlain by their father.

Wereburga
a nun.

ETHELRED = *Oſtrid*
7th king.

Baſſa

CENRED
8th king.

Eanwulf

Wereburga = CEOLRED
9th king.

ETHELBALD
10th king.

BEORNRED
11th king.

Dincferth

OFFA = *Quendrida*
12th king.

Cuthbert

EGFERTH
13th king.

Ethelburga = *Beorhtric*
K. of Weſſex.

Elfleda = *Ethelred*
K. of Northumberland.

Elfrida

CENWULF = *Ælfthrith*
14th king.

CENELM
15th king.

Quendrida

Burgenhild

CEOLWULF
16th king.

Elfleda = *Wigmund*
Son of Wiglaf

BEORNWULF
17th king.

Oſher

LUDECAN
18th king.

WIGLAF = *Cynethryth*
19th king.

Wigmund

TABLE VIII.

The regular Succeſſion of the Saxon Monarchs during the Heptarchy.

Began their monarchy.	Died, or were expelled.	No.	
457	488	1	HENGIST, firſt king of Kent.
489	514	2	ÆLLE, firſt king of the South Saxons.
519	533	3	CERDIC, firſt king of the Weſt Saxons.
534	559	4	CENRIC, the ſecond king of the Weſt Saxons.
560	591	5	CEAWLIN, the third king of the Weſt Saxons.
593	616	6	ETHELBERT, the fifth king of Kent.
616	629	7	REDWALD, the third king of the Eaſt Angles.
630	633	8	EDWINE, the fourth king of all Northumberland.
634	642	9	OSWALD, the fifth king of all Northumberland.
642	670	10	OSWEO, the eighth king of Bernitia.
670	675	11	WULFHERE, the ſixth king of Mercia.
675	704	12	ETHELRED, the ſeventh king of Mercia.
704	709	13	CENRED, the eighth king of Mercia.
709	716	14	CELRED, the ninth king of Mercia.
716	757	15	ETHELBALD, the tenth king of Mercia.
758	796	16	OFFA, the eleventh king of Mercia.
796	796	17	EGFERTH, the twelfth king of Mercia.
796	819	18	KENWULF, the thirteenth king of Mercia.
820	837	19	EGBERT, the ſeventeenth king of Weſſex, and the firſt abſolute monarch of the heptarchy.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

THE ANCIENT RELIGION AND CHURCH HISTORY OF THE BRITONS AND SAXONS, FROM THE LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY.

CHAP. I.

Druidical Religion of the Britons.

The craft and deceit of the ancient prieſts.

RELIGIOUS ſuperſtition is eaſily raiſed in ignorant and unenlightened minds; for every people, however barbarous, have ſome faint ideas of a Being, to whom they owe their exiſtence; and thoſe weak ſparks of light may, without much difficulty, be blown up into a flame of zeal by others, who appear to be better acquainted with ſacred matters, or more holy, than themſelves. Thus, all nations have religious rites, and prieſts to aſſiſt their offerings to the ſuperior powers. The prieſts ſoon found it needful to call to their aid pretended miracles, and myſterious doctrines, aſſiſted by ſolemn and unuſual geſtures, to ſtrike the greater awe upon the minds of their beholders: for, though the ignorant may have been eaſily perſuaded to believe whatever ſhould be told them of the reality and wiſdom of their gods, yet the genius of mankind generally makes them fond of the wonderful, and eſteem thoſe things the moſt, which they can the leaſt comprehend. It requires a greater light than that which is barely afforded by nature, to conquer thoſe prejudices, and lead a man to judge fairly for himſelf, in matters which ſeem to be (and undoubtedly are) of ſuch real importance to him. Hence it becomes neceſſary for the deſigning prieſts to keep their knowledge to themſelves, and lead the generality of people into greater darkneſs than they were before: but leſt ſome aſpiring genius might ſpring up to diſcover the fallacy of their proceedings, and pluck

the film from the eyes of the deluded multitude, a certain bound was ſet to their religious enquiries, and every individual ſtrictly forbid, under pain of the ſevereſt penalties, to believe either more or leſs that what he had been inſtructed by the prieſts themſelves. Yet, as ſomething more than natural and naked truths were required to keep the multitude in obedience, and make them quietly acquieſce in theſe arbitrary meaſures, the prieſts were not backward in the propagation of wonders and extraordinary events; whilſt by their myſterious actions, and pretending to ſecrets of the higheſt conſequence, they ſecured the reſpect of the vulgar, who regarded them as the favourites of the gods. Thoſe who obeyed their precepts, were thought worthy of their prayers; but threats and curſes were denounced againſt the diſobedient. By ſuch means as theſe they laid faſt hold on the minds of their followers, ſo that they were ready to ſacrifice their wealth, their families, nay, their own lives, to the mercenary deſires of theſe artful men. But all the ancient records of the known world cannot furniſh a more ſtriking view of the prevalence of ſuperſtition in the people, or the arbitrary government of the prieſts, than we ſhall find amongſt the deluded Britons.*

The power of the druids.

The religion of the Britons formed a very conſiderable part of their government; and their prieſts, who are called by the general name of druids,† were the chief in authority amongſt them. Beſides their miniſtering at the altar, they were entruſted with the tuition of the youth, they enjoyed an exemption from all taxes, and were never called upon to ſerve in the wars; they determined all controverſies, public or private; they decreed all rewards and puniſhments; and if the offender did not abide by their ſentence, he was inſtantly excommunicated; by which ſentence, he was forbid acceſs to their public ſacrifices, and deprived of all the comforts of life; for his friends and acquaintance fled from him, and would in no wiſe hold intercourſe with him, even in the moſt trifling matters: thus miſerably forſaken of all, he was doomed to wander about, a wretch accurſed, hated, and deſpiſed; whilſt if any inſulted, or abuſed him, he was denied the ſmalleſt protection from the law.‡

The knowledge of the druids, and their claſſes.

The druids were men of great penetration and learning, not, indeed, in books, but in human nature; they well underſtood the paths which

* Strabo fairly declares the ſame, amongſt his reaſons aſſigned for the fabulous theology of the ancients. "It is "impoſſible, (ſays he) to bring women, "and the vulgar part of mankind, to reli- "gion, piety, and virtue, by the ſimple "and unadorned dictates of reaſon; it is "abſolutely neceſſary to call in the aids "of ſuperſtition, which muſt be ſupported "by fables, and wonderful events of va- "rious kinds. For this cauſe thoſe ſur- "priſing fables of antiquity were invented "to awaken the errors of ſuperſtition in "the minds of the ignorant multitude." Strabo, lib. i. fol 19.

† This name, Camden thinks, is derived from the Greek word Δρῦς, which ſignifies an oak. Dr. Henry ſays, it comes more likely from the Celtic, or Britiſh word, DERW, which alſo ſignifies an oak. Vide Camd. in Introduct. & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. cap. 13.

led to the human heart, and neglected no opportunity of convincing the multitude of the importance of their doctrines. Under the general name of druids, were comprehended three different classes of religious men, who had all of them separate offices to perform: the bards, the faids, and the druids.*

The office of the bards was to sing to the harp, the actions of heroes, and great men;† yet their numbers were not confined to the panegyric, for they would praise and extol the actions of some, whilst they would satirize and decry those of others. But of the excellency of their poems, and their judgment in composition, to select such passages as were the most striking, we need no farther proof, than the surprizing effect that their songs had upon their hearers; for the Britons paid a great regard to these men, not only in the affairs of peace, but also in war: sometimes, when two fierce armies have stood fronting each other in array of battle, their swords drawn, their lances pointing to the foe, and waiting but the signal to begin the conflict, the bards have then stepped in between, and touched their lyres with such harmony, and so persuaded them with their flowing numbers, that suddenly on either side the soldiers dropped their arms, and forgot the fierce resentment that struggled in their breasts.‡ As to all the ceremonies of the altar, and religious rites, the bards had no share in them; their poems and their music seem to have been the whole of the studies belonging to their office. Bards, the first class of the druids.

The next class are the vates, or paids; these were of the order of priesthood, and performed the principal parts of all the religious ceremonies; such as sacrificing the victims, making offerings, and delivering out prophecies and predictions from an observation of nature, and contemplation on the causes of things. This was not all their office demanded, for they composed hymns in honour of their gods, which they sung to the music of their harps at their sacred solemnities. Both Gaul and Britain abounded with these religious poets, and pretended prophets.§ The vates, or prophets, the second class of druids.

The third, and last, class was by far the most numerous; these were the druids, to whom belonged the performance of all the religious offices which came not under the order of the paids; though, indeed, it may reasonably be thought, that, when the last were absent, they might officiate for them, if any case of immediate necessity required. Great part of their employment was in philosophical researches, and study of the heavenly bodies, their motions, the magnitude of the universe, and the earth, of the nature of things, and of the power of the immortal gods;‖ of all which they used largely to discourse to their disciples. The druids, the third class.

* Βαρδοι τε καὶ Οὐάτεις, καὶ Δρυΐδαι; *Bardi, Vates*, & *Druidæ*; horum *Bardi* hymnos canunt poetæque sunt; *Vates* sacrificant & naturam rerum contemplantur; *Druidæ* præter hanc philosophiam etiam de moribus disputant. Strabo, lib. iv.

† Lucan, & Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 9.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

§ Diod. Sic. & Marcell. ut sup.

‖ Strabo, ut sup. & Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

Besides

Female druids, and their claſſes, firſt the Senæ.

Beſides theſe, there were as many claſſes of religious female votaries, or druideſſes;* of which, the firſt were thoſe who had vowed perpetual virginity, and dedicated all their time to the ſervices of religion, living retired in loanſome places, ſequeſtered from mankind, and buſineſs of public import. Theſe, dwelling together in little parties, or ſiſterhoods, were much addicted to divination, prophecies, and miracles, ſo that they gained great reſpect amongſt the common people, by whom they were often conſulted. They were called Senæ, which ſignifies wiſe, or venerable women.†

The ſecond claſs of female druids.

The ſecond claſs conſiſted of certain religious females, who were married, but ſpent the greateſt part of their time amongſt the druids, aſſiſting in the divine ſervices. At certain times, theſe were permitted to viſit their huſbands, and do whatever their domeſtic duty might require.‡

Third claſs of female druids.

The laſt claſs of theſe females, and the loweſt, conſiſted of ſuch as performed the moſt ſervile offices about the temples, the ſacrifices, and the perſons of the druids. Theſe were not parted from their huſbands, but governed their families, brought up their children, and laboured as much at home as became their ſex and circumſtances, when their attendance was not required by the druids.§

The primate, or chief druid, how choſen.

Theſe ſix claſſes of religious people joined together, formed a large body, over which one chief, or primate, ruled, who is diſtinguiſhed by the name of arch-druid:‖ at his death, according to the rules of the druidical religion, the next in merit, knowledge, and judgment, ought to ſucceed; but this being a poſt of ſo much honour, and ſuch extenſive power, many were apt to ſet up their claim, and but few of them diſpoſed to yield the preference to his neighbour. In this caſe, the matter was to be referred to the votes of the druids; but it often happened, that the loſing parties flew from this determination, and ſpiriting up the temporal princes in their defence, had recourſe to arms, and by the ſword

* Borlaſs, Stukeley, &c.

† Pomponius Mela ſpeaks of one of theſe druidical ſiſterhoods in the following manner: "In an iſland ſituate in the Britiſh ſea, lived nine venerable veſtals, who pretended they could raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts by their incantations, cure the moſt inveterate diſeaſes, transform themſelves into all kinds of animals, and foreſee future events; of this laſt they made a great advantage, for they anſwered none but ſuch as viſited their iſland on purpoſe to conſult them; therefore, we may juſtly ſuppoſe, they came not empty handed."—Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6.

‡ Some ſay, that they were permitted only once a year to viſit their huſbands, for the ſake of children. Vide Borlaſs's Hiſtory of Cornwall, Stukeley's Stonehenge, &c.

§ Ibid. ibid. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain.

‖ The arch-druid is ſuppoſed to have reſided in great ſplendour, in Angleſea, where they pretend his ſeat is yet to be traced out. Rowland's Mona Antiqua. &c. Sammes, and ſome other authors, make two chief druids, one preſiding over the north, the other over the ſouthern parts of Britain: but for this they have no certain authority. Vide Sammes's Britan. Illuſtrata.

made

made good their claim; and then, according to the chance of war, this honourable poſt was either gained or loſt.*

Of theſe druids, many appear to have lived a kind of monaſtic life, united together in fraternities;† and becauſe the ſervice of each temple required a great number of every claſs, they all reſided near the temple where they ſerved. It is not in the leaſt unlikely, that amongſt theſe religious profeſſors, ſome may have ſpent their days in ſolitude and retirement, living like hermits, apart from mankind, in little huts, or near their temples in the gloomy groves; others again (and of theſe not a few) ſpent a far more public life, in the courts of princes, and families of great men; for no ſacred rite could be performed, or deciſive judgment pronounced, without a druid; their power extended, not only to what regarded their temples and public affairs, but even to the domeſtic tranſactions in private houſes.‡ As marriage muſt have been an incumbrance to the druidical offices in any of theſe different kinds of life, it is highly probable that they all lived in a ſtate of celibacy, being waited upon by their female devotees.

Different ways of life of the druids.

To the care of theſe men was committed the education of the youth; for it was not cuſtomary for the ſon to be ſeen with his father before he was able to bear arms. No wonder is to be made, that druids ſhould firſt endeavour to impreſs upon the minds of their ſcholars ſuch an awful reſpect towards them and their order, as might for ever after ſecure them the aſcendancy over their wills; for, impreſſions thus received in the ſouls of young people are not eaſily obliterated, even when their reaſon becomes more ſtrong, and their judgment more perfect.

The druids have the care of the education of the youth.

The druidical doctrine conſiſted of two diſtinct ſyſtems; the one only communicated to thoſe who were initiated, and admitted into their own order, and the which they were bound by ſolemn oaths never to divulge: ſo careful were they leſt their ſecret inſtructions ſhould be overheard by unhallowed ears, that they taught their diſciples in the moſt private places, ſuch as the caves of the earth, and the deep receſſes of the thickeſt foreſts.§ Neither committed‖ they any of theſe important doctrines to writing, leſt at any time they ſhould be divulged amongſt the common multitude. What this ſecret doctrine was, cannot be diſcovered; but a part of it, (as it is thought) and which might exhibit their own private ſentiments, was, that after death the ſouls of men aſcended to ſome higher orb, and enjoyed a more ſublime and exalted ſtate of felicity than what they could experience in this world.** But as this opinion was too refined to ſuit with the low and groſs conceptions of the vul-

The doctrine of the druids.

* Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi.

† Ammian. Marcel.

‡ Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi.

§ Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2. & Lucan, lib. i.

‖ "So jealous (ſays Strabo) were they "of their ſecret doctrines, that they ne- "ver communicated them to women, leſt "they ſhould divulge them." lib. iv.

** Lucan, lib. i. v. 455, & infra; & Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv.

gar in general, it was hid from them, and they were taught a ſecond doctrine, more ſuitable to the level of their genius; but above all things, in order to make them more brave and intrepid in the defence of their country, their preceptors aſſured them, that their ſouls were immortal, and conſtantly paſſed, after the death of one body, into another.*

The learning of the druids.

The druids appear to have been well verſed in natural philoſophy, and that in moſt of its branches; and beſides their divine offices, they were other ways very uſeful, as being the only phyſicians at that time; and their medicines chiefly conſiſted of herbs and plants, gathered at particular times, with various ſuperſtitious rites, which were thought abſolutely neceſſary to render them beneficial. Nor was the learning which was held requiſite for them to acquire, eaſy to be obtained; for their ſecret and public mythology was ſo large, that it required at leaſt twenty years to perfect themſelves in all its various parts, which was all of it to be learned by heart, and contained in an infinite number of verſes.†

The mythology of the druids.

Their mythology, which was very complex, conſiſted of a vaſt variety of fables, concerning the genealogy of the gods, their attributes, offices, actions, and the like; as well as of the different methods of appeaſing their anger, gaining their favour, and diſcovering their will; but all abounding with ſuperſtitions, wonders, miracles, and portentous ſigns. Theſe fables, at certain ſtated times, they delivered to the ſurrounding multitude, from little eminences, (many of which yet remain‡) and they added to their diſcourſes, moral precepts, and reflections on their natural duty to each other, exhorting them to live in friendſhip together, and to fight valiantly in the defence of their country. Theſe ſpeeches, which they made with ſurpriſing energy, had a great effect upon the minds of their auditors, and inſpired them with a reverential awe towards the gods, an enthuſiaſtic love for their country, an undaunted courage, and a ſovereign contempt of death.§

Four kinds of religion amongſt the druids.

The religion of the druids was of four kinds, as, ſongs of praiſe and thankſgiving, prayers, offerings and ſacrifices, and various rites of augury and divination, all of which were performed with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſometimes in public, and ſometimes in private amongſt themſelves. The nature and order of their religious ſongs we cannot by any means diſcover, nor the particular form in which their ſupplications were made. Of their offerings and divination we have a much clearer light.‖

The cruel ſacrifices of the druids.

All their offices of religion in general were performed in their ſacred groves and temples, which ſtood near ſome river, or fountain, conſe-

* Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.
† Ibid. Ibid.
‡ Rowland's Mona Antiq.
§ Ibid.
‖ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I.

crated

crated to the gods. Theſe hallowed places were ſurrounded with a circular mound, or bank of earth, to prevent the intruſion of improper perſons. Their offerings conſiſted chiefly of living animals, and ſuch as were the moſt uſeful, and fit for food. The druids who ſelected the victims, always choſe ſuch as were the moſt beautiful, and free from defect or blemiſh of any kind; for they propagated a belief, that the more noble the offering was, which was preſented to the gods, the more attention would be paid by them to the prayers of thoſe who offered. Led on by this deluſive argument, their altars ſtreamed with human blood; for, when a man was deſirous of obtaining any extraordinary favour or protection from the gods, he would lead another man to the altar, to be ſacrificed by the druid: in this manner he thought to appeaſe the immortal deities, and by depriving another of his life, ſecure his own. For the ſame cauſe, when any public calamity of the ſtate demanded a ſacrifice, or upon the eve of a dangerous war, their horrid offerings were increaſed, and that their obdurate deities might be ſatiated with human blood, an image of wicker was provided, of a prodigious ſize, and filled with living men, which being ſet on fire, the miſerable wretches within were burnt to death; theſe victims, it is true, conſiſted generally of ſuch as had been detected in thefts, or other crimes obnoxious to the law, (with whom they ſuppoſed the gods were beſt pleaſed;) but when a ſufficient number of ſuch could not be found, rather than their ſacrifice ſhould be incomplete, the innocent and harmleſs often ſuffered.* All the victims which were to be ſlain upon the altar, were brought with various ceremonies to the prieſt, who was to perform that office; and ſuch animals as were fit for food, were divided commonly into three parts, one of which was burnt upon the altar, another belonged to the officiating druid, and the third part to the perſon who had brought the offering, on which he feaſted, accompanied with his friends.

Divination of the druids.

The divination of the druids was of two ſorts, either by the flight of birds, or other caſual accidents of like nature; or by the inſpection of the entrails of victims ſlain in their ſacrifices: and to the declarations of the druids on theſe times, the people yielded an implicit faith. But when great occaſions required the conſultation of the deities, a man was made the victim, and ſlain by the prieſt with one blow of a ſword, ſtruck above the diaphragm: by obſerving the poſture in which he fell, his different convulſions, and the direction of the blood which flowed from his wound, they made their predictions, according to certain rules, that were left them by their anceſtors.†

Various ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the druids.

Superſtitious parade, and great variety of fooliſh ceremonies, were uſed by the druids in the moſt trifling actions; but at certain ſtated periods, and annual feaſts, ſome more particular ſolemnities were re-

* Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. cap. 15. & Strabo, lib. iv.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

quired; as in cutting the miſletoe from the oak,* which was done as near as the age of the moon would permit them, to the tenth of March, (their new-year's day) in the following manner: firſt, they obſerved that the moon was ſix days old, then having the ſacrifice prepared under the tree, two milk-white bullocks were brought forth, whoſe horns were then, and not till then, bound up; this done, the chief druid, habited in a white veſture, aſcended the tree, and with a golden pruning knife cut off the miſletoe, which was carefully received into a white woollen cloth by them who attended below, and over it many orations and incantations were uttered; after this, they began to offer ſacrifices, and pray to the gods, that they would give a bleſſing, with their own gift, to thoſe who were honoured with it; the miſletoe thus hallowed, was carefully kept, and the decoction of which they eſteemed as an antidote to poiſon, a ſure remedy for barrenneſs, and a certain cure for many other bodily diſeaſes.†

Ceremonies in gathering the herb Samulos.

Again, the druids had an herb, named Samulos, in great eſteem amongſt them: this herb grew chiefly in damp places, and in gathering it three things were to be cloſely attended to; firſt, that the perſon ſhould be faſting; ſecondly, to be careful that he did not look back whilſt he gathered it; and laſtly, that he ſhould do all with his left hand. When he was thus poſſeſſed of it, he laid it into the troughs and ciſterns where ſwine or oxen were wont to drink; and ſuch were its virtues, (eſpecially if it was bruiſed a little) that the cattle which partook of that water ſhould be effectually preſerved from all diſeaſes.‡

A feſtival dedicated to the ſun.

On the firſt of May, which day was dedicated to Belinus, or the Sun, they held an annual feſtival, and kindled prodigious fires in all their ſacred places, and performed ſacrifices, with many other ſolemnities.§ At theſe public feaſts the whole community of Britons attended, as well as their wives and children, all of them naked, and ſtained over with ſome certain compoſition, ſo that they appeared like Ethiopians.‖

Other feſtivals, and their cauſes.

It is thought, that at midſummer, and again early in November, other annual feſtivals were held; on the firſt, the people aſſembled to implore the friendly influence of Heaven on their fields and paſtures; on the latter, they came to return thanks for the favourable ſeaſons, and the increaſe with which the gods had bleſſed their labours; and beſides this, to pay their yearly contributions to the druids, who were always ready to receive them.**

* The oak was held in great veneration amongſt the druids; their religious rites were performed in groves of oak. Maximus Tyrius ſays, that the Celts worſhipped Jupiter, of whom they made the talleſt oak to be the reſemblance. But the oak was held ſtill more ſacred when any thing was found growing upon it, (miſletoe eſpecially) for then it was thought the gods themſelves had choſen that tree. Vide the Manners and Cuſtoms, &c. of the Inhabitants of England. Vol. I. page 11.

† Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

‡ Ibid. lib. xxiv. cap. 11.

§ Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, fol. 74. Mem. Acad. Royal. vol. XIX. p. 489.

‖ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxii. cap. 1.

** Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, fol. 69.

The honour that was paid to the druids, and their ſecluſion from the labours and troubles of the world, prevailed upon many to enter into their order;* and perhaps more would have taken the ſame ſtep, had not the ſtudy and application which was neceſſary for them to go through to make them adepts in the druidical ſyſtem, deterred them. The common people were far from being diſpleaſed at the increaſing numbers of theſe prieſts; for they were perſuaded, that, as they became more numerous, the more plentiful their harveſt would be;† becauſe the gods, for the ſake of their miniſters, would not fail to provide for the reſt of the people.

The great number of the druids a cauſe of fruitfulneſs in the land.

So much had the religious juggles of the druids prevailed upon the minds of men, that they were ſure to obtain reſpect, through fear, if not for love; and this was done in great meaſure by their pretenſions to the art of magic, and their declaring themſelves able to call in ſpiritual aids to aſſiſt them, and revenge their cauſe; beſides, all their religious ceremonies were ſo grave and ſolemn, that they raiſed a fearful awe in the minds of their beholders, ſo that they were eaſily convinced when the druids aſſerted their power, and proceeded to threaten them. Theſe deluſions did not only aſtoniſh the uncultivated Britons, but even the Romans themſelves; and it was declared, that the druids of Gaul and Britain ſeemed equal in knowledge with the Perſians, in that diabolical art of magic.‡ Nor ſhall we much wonder at their being able to play upon the minds of their votaries, when we conſider, that all the learning of their time was confined amongſt themſelves; and though, indeed, the chief part of their office was to learn their theological verſes by heart, yet they were by no means ignorant of letters; for all public affairs and private accounts were committed to writing.§

The druids famous for their ſkill in magic.

Now we have ſeen the power and authority of the druids, and been witneſſes of the great aſcendancy which they had gained over the minds of the deluded Britons, can we doubt of their opulence? and though we are unable to diſcover the real extent of their revenues, yet we may conclude they were as great as the people could afford. In the firſt place,

The revenues of the druids.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 13.

† Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Pliny, lib. xxx. cap. 1.

§ "Quum in reliquis ferè rebus publicis, privatiſque rationibus, *Græcis* literis utantur," are the very words of Cæſar; concerning which paſſage I find an excellent note in the additions to Camden, where the author juſtly ſays, "But we muſt not from hence conclude that the druids had any knowledge of the Greek tongue, for Cæſar himſelf, when he writ to Q. Cicero (beſieged at that time ſomewhere amongſt the Nervians) penned his letter in Greek, (*Vide Bel. Gal. lib.* v. *cap.* 40) leſt it ſhould have been intercepted, and ſo give intelligence to the enemy; which would have been but a poor project, if the druids (who were the great miniſters of the ſtate) had been maſters of that language. The learned Selden is of opinion, that the word *Græcis* has crept into the copies, and is no part of the original; and it was natural enough for Cæſar, in his obſervations of the difference between their diſcipline and their other affairs, to ſay in general, that in the one they made uſe of letters, and not in the other, without ſpecifying particulars." Note to Camden in Introduct.

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they ſeem to have had the ſuperiority over certain iſlands, if not the whole profit of them; as of Angleſea, Man, &c. beſides theſe, it is far from being improbable, but that they might have conſiderable poſſeſſions on the continent of Britain, near to their temples. When an army returned victorious, the moſt precious parts of the ſpoils were offered to the gods; and theſe were conveyed by the druids into the ſacred groves, where they were laid up by the ſide of the temple, or near ſome conſecrated lake, without any other guard ſet over them than the terrors of religion.* But although the common people were not hardy enough to touch theſe ſacred treaſures, the prieſts, who were the miniſters of the gods, would ſcarcely be ſo ſcrupulous as not to convert them to their own uſe, if neceſſity required. Again, they were well paid when conſulted by private perſons, concerning the ſucceſs of intended enterprizes. Beſides their profits were great derived from the adminiſtration of juſtice, their practice of phyſic, teaching the ſciences, and the rewards for thoſe inſtructed in their theology; eſpecially from ſuch as were rich, and came from abroad: for the Britiſh druids beſt underſtood the ſecret myſteries relative to their doctrine; and it was by no means uncommon for many to come over hither from Gaul, to be better inſtructed in the more occult and difficult parts of their profeſſion;† and theſe (it is highly probable) ſeldom came empty handed.

Annual tribute due to the druids, and for what.

A tradition is alſo mentioned by ſome authors, that the druids exacted certain annual dues, (but to what amount is not ſpecified;) in particular, on the laſt evening of October, all families of every degree were obliged to extinguiſh their fires, and attend the ſeveral temples with a ſtipulated payment, in conſideration of which, on the firſt day of November they were to receive ſome fire from the ſacred altars, to re-kindle thoſe in their own houſes; and this payment was exacted under pain of excommunication; and all ſuch were deprived of the uſe of fire during all the cold ſeaſon, when it was moſt wanted; and if any of their friends or neighbours ſupplied them with this neceſſary article, they alſo were excommunicated.‡ Theſe, and ſuch like ſources, had the druids to raiſe wealth; and when we conſider the advantages of them all, we ſhall preſently conclude that they were very opulent.

The gods worſhipped by the Britons.

The deities which were worſhipped by the Gauls and Britons, appear to have been very numerous. The Supreme Being they adored under the name of Heſus; they paid their court to him (with cruel rites) when they went forth to battle, becauſe from his favour they expected the victory. Tutates is not ſuppoſed by ſome modern authors to have been another god, but only a different name of the former, for by this word is ſignified "God, the parent, or creator,"§ which appellation can belong to none

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

† Ibid.

‡ Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, page 71, 72, & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

§ Tutates is derived from *Deu-Tatt*, Britiſh words, which ſignify *God, the parent, or creator*. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. lib. i. cap. 2.

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but the Supreme Being. When theſe nations ſunk into idolatry, they degraded Tutates into the ſovereign of the infernal world, and made him the ſame with Dis of the Greeks and Romans, or (as others think) with Mercury; and they worſhipped him in ſuch a cruel and bloody manner, as could only be agreeable to an infernal power.

Taranis, another deity, ſo called from Taran, thunder, over which he was ſaid to preſide.*

The ſun was worſhipped by the Britons under many various appellations, as Bel, Belinus, Belatucardus, &c. all which names, in their language, were expreſſive of the nature and property of that glorious luminary.

After the ſun, the moon, the leſſer light of Heaven, is ſuppoſed to have held its eſtimation.

Beſides theſe, which without doubt form but a very ſmall part of the number of their deities, they had female divinities, or goddeſſes; as Andraſte, thought to be the ſame with Venus, or Diana: Onvana, Minerva, Ceres, Proſerpine, &c. In ſhort, they are accuſed of having ſo many idol gods, and addicted to ſo many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, that their idolatry exceeded even that of the Egyptians.† Hardly a lake, a wood, a fountain, or hallowed hill, but what had its titular deity, or genius, reſiding in it, and to each of which, no doubt, ſome particular worſhip was aſſigned.

The druidical religion was in the zenith of its glory at the time of Julius Cæſar's arrival; but as the Romans proceeded in their conqueſts, the druids, who were not only religious officiators, but judges and directors in all civil affairs, foreſeeing the downfall of their power and conſequence, were continually ſtirring up the people againſt their conquerors, and fomenting rebellions. The Romans ſoon found it impoſſible to reconcile the minds of the people they had overcome to the yoke which they were laying upon them, whilſt theſe crafty prieſts held their extenſive authority; for this cauſe they were determined to ſuppreſs their power, as the only means left them to advance their own. All their ſubjects in the conquered provinces of Gaul and Britain they obliged to build temples, and ſacrifice after the Roman faſhion, ſtrictly prohibiting all offerings of human creatures. The druids were alſo deprived of their authority in civil affairs, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity when concerned in any revolt. By theſe means their power was brought ſo low in the reign of Claudius, the Roman emperor, about the year of

The decline of the druidical religion, and the cauſe.

* Concerning theſe deities, take the following verſes from Lucan, lib. i.

" Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
" Tutates, horenſque feris altaribus Heſus,
" Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ."

Thus Engliſhed in the addition to Camden:

" And thoſe vile wretches that with human blood
" Tutates' and fierce Heſus' altars load;
" And barbarous Taranis, his ſhrine that vies
" With curs'd Diana's Scythian cruelties."

† Gildas Hiſtoriæ.

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our Lord 45, that they were no longer looked upon as people of any conſequence throughout all Gaul.* About the ſame time alſo they began to feel the rigour of the Roman government in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain, from whence may of them retired to Angleſea, a kind of little dominion of their own; but here they were purſued by Paulus Suetonius, who, in the year 61, invaded that iſland, which had afforded a conſtant aſylum for all who were diſaffected to the Romans, and plotting againſt their government. In order to root them from their ſecret retreats, Paulinus deſtroyed their ſacred groves, overturned their altars, and burnt the druids in their own fires.† So many of theſe wretched prieſts periſhed at this time, and in the unfortunate revolt of the Britons under Boudicea, that they never afterwards made any conſiderable figure in the ſouthern parts of Britain. Such of them as would not ſubmit to the impoſitions of the Romans, and renounce their own authority, fled into Caledonia, Ireland, and the ſmaller Britiſh iſlands, where they ſupported their declining power ſome ſhort time longer.

But ſuch ſtrong traces had their ſuperſtition left in the minds of the infatuated multitude, that they baffled not only the efforts of the Romans, but even the ſuperior lights of the goſpel to remove; nor were they finally eraſed for a long time after. On this occaſion we meet with ſo many edicts of the emperors, and canons of the councils, in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth centuries, againſt the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, mountains, lakes, trees, &c.‡

* Suetonius in Vita Claud.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 3.

‡ Even in the days of king Cnute, the Dane, the following law was found neceſſary to be made: "We ſtrictly charge and "forbid all our ſubjects to worſhip the "gods of the gentiles; that is to ſay, the "ſun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, "trees, or woods of any kind, &c." Leges Canuti, cap. 5.

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

CHAP. II.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Britons from their Converſion to Chriſtianity, to the Arrival of the Saxons.

AMONGST thoſe things which cannot abſolutely be ſet down in the affirmative, none appears more certain, than that the enlivening ray of goſpel light firſt ſhone upon this iſland ſome time between the years of our Lord 43 and 61; for the period ſeems to be fixed by the records of antiquity as not long before the great defeat of the Britons, under the conduct of their hapleſs queen, Boudicea, which happened about the year 61:* but at this early period the doctrine of Chriſtianity could not be ſuppoſed to have greatly prevailed; it was not only confined to the ſouthern parts of Britain, but very likely to particular families, who might exerciſe their devotions in the greateſt privacy, and without the leaſt ſtir or noiſe. In the days of Nero, when perſecutions raged hotly upon the continent againſt the profeſſors of the goſpel, it is very probable, many, to avoid the cruelty of that wicked emperor, fled over into Britain, and took ſhelter here, ſo that the number of Chriſtians was greatly increaſed. From this time (we may ſuppoſe) they began to form religious ſocieties, under ſpiritual guides, for the inſtruction of mankind, and the regulation of their manners, and now firſt aſſumed the face and form of a Chriſtian church. When the Britons were firſt converted.

Concerning the converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity:—by whom this glorious work was begun, or how at firſt effected, cannot at this time be traced out; unhappily all ancient and authentic records are ſilent on theſe heads; if ever any accounts of this important tranſaction were ſet The uncertainty of the perſon by whom the Britons were converted.

* Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. chap. 1. & vide Gildæ Epiſt. cap. 6.

Cent. I. down by the primitive Chriſtian Britons, they were ſoon deſtroyed, or loſt in the fatal diſcords and unfortunate wars which followed, ſo that none of them have been tranſmitted to poſterity. The fables concerning Joſeph of Arimathea's coming hither, and preaching the goſpel, are now exploded, as the idle inventions of the monks of Glaſtonbury, to give a greater air of conſequence to their monaſtery. Setting all ſuch tales aſide, we have only to add, that it would be abſurd to declare poſitively to whom the Britons owed their firſt knowledge of the divine truths, or that any one of the apoſtles came hither and inſtructed them; yet thus much may, and ought to be ſaid, if it was the work at all of an apoſtle, none was ſo likely to have been the man as St. Paul, whoſe extenſive travels, and abundant labours, may greatly tend to ſtrengthen this conjecture; which is confirmed beſides by a great variety of plauſible arguments drawn from the writings of the primitive fathers.*

The Romans, without any ſuch deſign, aid the propagation of the goſpel.

The Chriſtian religion thus early introduced, began to diffuſe its light from one of the Britiſh nations to another, until they had all of them in ſome degree felt its powerful influence. The conquering Romans themſelves, though without their knowledge or intention, contributed not a little to the advancement of Chriſtianity; for by reducing all the different ſtates of the ſouthern Britons under one government, a free intercourſe was kept up over the whole country, and by this means their religious opinions were communicated with the greater eaſe, and the goſpel doctrine ſpread abroad much ſooner than it would otherwiſe have been. As the Romans completed their conqueſts before the end of the firſt century, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that ſome faint light (at leaſt) of Chriſtianity was received in each particular ſtate by the beginning of the ſecond. Another principal cauſe of the early progreſs of the Chriſtian religion, (which was alſo owing to the Romans) was the deſtruction of the druids; for when they were removed, and their pernicious doctrines eraſed from the minds of the people, they were left more open to conviction, and better prepared to receive an impreſſion from a more pure and rational worſhip.†

Cent. II. During the ſecond century, the goſpel knowledge ſeems to have continued increaſing, and that in its original purity, untainted by any of thoſe hereſies which were broached on the continent. Great parade is made by the monkiſh hiſtorians of Lucius, a king of Britain, under whoſe ſpecial favour the Chriſtian church began to flouriſh, protected by the civil power, and was formed into a regular and proper government, ſupported by biſhops and archbiſhops, who were appointed to preſide over all things relative to religion. The converſion of this king they place about the year of our Lord 167, and they repreſent him as a great

The Britiſh religion not yet tainted with hereſies.

* Stillingfleet, ut ſup.

† Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. cap. ii. ſect. 2.

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prince, ruling over many ſtates,* and abſolute in his dominions: but to any one who will peruſe the hiſtory of this period, and at the ſame time recollect, that all the ſouthern parts of Britain were under the government of the Romans, this romantic fable will preſently appear in its proper colours. If there ever were any grounds at all for the ſtory, this Lucius (at moſt) could have been no more than a petty prince, or chieftain of the Britons, who might be living about this time, and by the favour of the Romans indulged with ſome degree of authority amongſt his people; he may have embraced Chriſtianity, and promoted the converſion of his friends and followers as much as lay in his power.† Cent. II.

Although the goſpel doctrine made *not that very* rapid progreſs which the monks ſo confidently affirm it did, yet it continued to flouriſh in Britain, and every day gained ground in the hearts of the inhabitants; for very early in the beginning of the third century it had extended beyond the bounds of the Roman province into the north, and advanced gradually into thoſe parts of the iſland which had not ſubmitted to the Roman arms; and this was moſt probably effected by ſome provincial Britons who were animated with a true Chriſtian zeal, and deſirous of communicating their new faith to their neighbours. From the preſent period to the very latter end of this century, we have nothing authentic recorded concerning the ſtate and progreſs of the Chriſtian religion; but about that time the perſecution under Diocleſian breaking out, the Britons, amongſt the reſt who profeſſed the true faith, had their ſhare in the cruelties which were then put in force by the command of that emperor. Cent. III.

The progreſs of the Chriſtian faith.

The exact time of this perſecution in Britain, as well as the particular circumſtances attending it, are not to be diſcovered.‡ Our own monkiſh writers, (it is true) who never fail to lard their religious hiſtories with miraculous events, have ſaid a great deal upon the ſubject, but

The perſecution of the Chriſtians.

* Nennii Hiſt. Brit. cap. 18. Galfrid Monmouth, &c.

† But even this is doubtful, becauſe Gildas, the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, makes no mention of king Lucius, though he was himſelf a Briton, and a zealous Chriſtian. However, biſhop Uſher, and after him, biſhop Stillingfleet, are of the opinion here adopted; and Uſher, to prove the real exiſtence of Lucius, mentions two coins found, one in gold, another in ſilver, inſcribed with theſe letters, LUC. Uſſer de primord. p. 39 & 40. & Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, fol. 62.

‡ In what year it began, or how long it continued, cannot be diſcovered. Gildas, the moſt ancient hiſtorian, ſays, it continued nine years in other countries, and but two in Britain, and ſeems to intimate it was the two laſt years of Diocleſian, (we may recollect this emperor aſſumed the purple, A. D. 284, and laid it aſide, A. D. 305.) The old church hiſtories alſo agree with Gildas, and repreſent this perſecution as raging with the greateſt violence in the beginning of the fourth centruy. But the venerable Bede, and a great number of our own ancient authors, place it and the martyrdom of St. Alban, in the year 286. If Diocleſian, or his colleague, Maximianus, had any hand in this perſecution, it muſt have been either near the beginning, or the end, of their joint reign; for, in the intermediate time Britain was governed more than ten years, firſt by Carauſius, and after by Alectus, in a manner quite independent of thoſe emperors. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit.

Cent. III. in ſuch a ſtile as plainly indicates the air of romance. However, the truth, deprived of its fabulous ornaments, ſeems to be as follows:—— That at the very cloſe of the third century, or the commencement of the fourth, the Britiſh Chriſtians throughout all the ſouthern parts of the iſland, were perſecuted with great rigour, on account of their religion. Amongſt the number of pious men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, and ſuffered death in the cauſe of Chriſt, St. Alban (a native of Verulam) was the firſt; after him, two others, named Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon; yet, though theſe are the only names that remain to poſterity, they were not the only Britons who reſiſted the repeated endeavours of their perſecutors, and continued faithful even unto death. Many more, as well men as women, in various parts of the Roman province, ſhared the ſame fate, and became martyrs in a cauſe ſo truly laudable.* But, unhappily, authentic materials are wanting, by which we might be able to trace out any further particulars relative to this important period.

The church doctrine at this period.

It is impoſſible to give a ſatisfactory and authentic account of the government, doctrine, and worſhip, of the Britiſh church, during the firſt three centuries; yet there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that in their rites and ceremonies they did not differ much from the other churches of the ſame time, and that they had not any cuſtoms very ſingular. In keeping of Eaſter, indeed, they rather imitated the churches of Aſia, than that of Rome.† As to their doctrine, it was probably the ſame in ſubſtance with the apoſtles' creed; for we have undoubted authority, that they were not tainted with hereſy until they received that of Arius.‡

Cent. IV. Early in the fourth century, a ſtop was put to the perſecution of the Chriſtian church; for, in the year of our Lord 305, Diocleſian and Maximianus reſigned their ſtate, and Conſtantius Chlorus, being in Britain, was declared emperor; and though, before this time, he was obliged in compliance with the edicts of the two emperors, to permit the perſecution to go on, yet no ſooner had he himſelf aſſumed the imperial authority, than he put an end to the ſufferings of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, and reſtored them to their former privileges. This prince died at York, in the year 506, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Conſtantine the Great, who entirely freed the Chriſtian church from all oppreſſion. We have, indeed, no reaſon to ſuppoſe that Conſtantine himſelf was a Chriſtian when he firſt aſſumed the purple: yet it is very certain, that before he left Britain, he determined to take the Chriſtians under his ſpecial protection, and ſhew them greater favour than his father had done. Under the favourable auſpices of this prince, the Britiſh Chriſtians, who had

The church protected by Conſtantius, and his ſon, Conſtantine the Great.

* Gildas, Bede, &c.

† See King's Enquiry into the Conſtitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, part II.

‡ Dr. Henry, ut ſup. Gildas & Bede, vol. I. cap. ii. ſect. 2.

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fled from the face of perſecution and cruelty, came from their lurking places, where they had hid themſelves, and applied themſelves to rebuild their ruined churches, beginning again their ſacred ceremonies with joyful hearts.* Cent. IV.

The church protected by the ſtate.

Hitherto the Chriſtian church had not enjoyed the protection of the ſtate, ſo that their councils, or ſynods, were held in the moſt private manner, and conſequently the tranſactions of thoſe councils are but little known; but as ſoon as Conſtantine began to declare more openly in the favour of their religion, theſe aſſemblies became more frequent and important; being often called by the emperor himſelf, they were ſometimes honoured with his preſence, and their decrees enforced and executed by his authority.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church.

At the firſt council called by Conſtantine, which was held at Arles, in the year of our Lord 314, there were three of the Britiſh biſhops preſent, as Eborus, biſhop of York, Reſtitius, biſhop of London, and Adelfius, the third biſhop;† together with Sacerdos, a preſbyter, and Arminius, a deacon, from the ſame city with the laſt biſhop. This council, which was not very numerous, conſiſted only of thirty-three biſhops, and a ſtill ſmaller number of preſbyters and deacons, who were ſummoned as repreſentatives of all the clergy out of the weſtern empire. Four of theſe biſhops came out of the province of Gaul, called Vienne, of which Arles was the capital, but only one out of every other province; and as there was then but three Roman provinces in Britain, three biſhops were its full compliment. And hence we ſee the conſequence of the Britiſh church at this period; that it was viewed in the ſame light with thoſe of the other provinces of the Romans, and treated on the ſame footing.‡

The edicts of Conſtantine in favour of the church.

Conſtantine was very liberal to the Chriſtian clergy, but at the ſame time he was careful to grant them no favour which could affect or hurt the community in general. By a public edict, he exempted them from all military duty, as well as any other burthenſome ſervice, that they might have full leiſure to purſue their ſtudies, and improve themſelves in religious knowledge. By another edict, he gave the goods and poſſeſſions of ſuch of the late martyrs as had died without heirs, to the church. Theſe were great encouragements to the clergy: but he added beſides another edict, of greater advantage to them than either of the former; this was publiſhed at Rome, the third day of July, in the year 322; by this he gave full liberty for all perſons of what ſtate or degree ſoever, to make their laſt wills in favour of the clergy, and grant them as large a proportion of their eſtates and goods as they ſhould think proper: by this means, in opulent places, the clergy were ſoon enriched.§

* Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. viii. cap. 13.

† In the original *Adelſius de Civitate Colonia Londinenſium*. Many opinions have been ſtarted concerning this city, and where it could ſtand. Vide Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. cap. 2. Dr. Henry ſays, perhaps it ſhould be *Colonia Lindum*, i. e Lincoln, and this appears to be moſt likely.

‡ Stillingfleet, cap. 2.

§ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. cap 2. Euſeb. lib. x. cap. 7. Zoſimen, lib. i. cap. 9. & Vita Conſtant. lib. ii. cap. 36.

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Cent. IV. In Britain, indeed, where the inhabitants were very poor, theſe contributions could not be ſo conſiderable; of this ourſelves may judge, for thirty-ſeven years after this edict was publiſhed, a council was called by Conſtantius, which was held at Ariminum, and the emperor freely offered to maintain all the clergy at the public charge; his offer was not accepted by any, thoſe three biſhops excepted, who came from Britain, who not being able to maintain themſelves, choſe rather to receive the emperor's gift than be a charge to their brethren. Hence it plainly appears, that the greater part of the biſhops had in ſo ſmall a ſpace of time been raiſed to a ſtate of independency.

The fatality of the Arian hereſy.

The church was no ſooner delivered from external oppreſſion, but unhappy differences were fomented within itſelf, and its concord broken by internal diſſentions. Amongſt theſe, few were more fatal than the controverſies between Arius, a preſbyter of the church of Alexandria, and Alexander, a biſhop of the ſame city, concerning the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. This diſpute confuſed, and deſtroyed, the peace of the church in almoſt every corner. How ſoon the heretical opinions of Arius reached Britain cannot poſitively be aſſerted, nor can we know what progreſs it might make here during this century; for in this point authors have greatly differed, ſome accuſing the Britons very heavily, and others again as aſſiduouſly endeavouring to exculpate, and clear their characters.* The Arian hereſy made but little progreſs during the reigns of Conſtantine, and his elder ſon, Conſtans, for his opinions were ſeverely cenſured, and condemned in the council of Nice, held in the year of our Lord 325. But Conſtantius, the ſecond ſon of Conſtantine, who ſucceeded his brother Conſtans in the government of the weſtern empire, (being himſelf a favourer of the Arian party) called a council at Ariminum, in the year 359, at which time there were almoſt all the biſhops of the weſtern empire aſſembled, to the number of four hundred; and amongſt others, thoſe of Britain ſigned

* Gildas ſeems to intimate, that the Arian hereſy made a great progreſs in this iſland ſoon after its firſt appearance; for having deſcribed the happy ſtate of the Britiſh church ſome time after the end of the perſecution, he proceeds in this manner: "This ſweet concord between Chriſt, "the head, and his members, continued "until the Arian perfidy appeared; and "like an enraged ſerpent, pouring in upon us its foreign poiſon, inflamed brethren and countrymen with the moſt cruel "hatred. And a paſſage being thus made "over the ocean, every other wild beaſt "who carried the venom of any hereſy in "his horrid mouth, eaſily inſtilled it into "the people of this country, who are "ever unſettled in their opinions, and always fond of hearing ſomething new." But Gildas is here thought to be too ſevere upon the Britiſh clergy: the opinions of Arius were condemned at the council of Nice, where, it is thought, the Britiſh biſhops were preſent. Alſo, St. Athanaſius, and the biſhops aſſembled at Antioch, in council, aſſure the emperor Jovian, in their letter to him, that the biſhops of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, continued to adhere to the faith of the council of Nice, of which they had been informed by letters from thoſe biſhops. Both St. Jerome and St. Chryſoſtom ſpeak often of the orthodoxy of the Britiſh church in their writings. Gild. Hiſt. cap. 9. Athan. Oper. tom. I. page 399. Hieron. ad Evag. ad Mareil. Chriſoſt. tom. II. page 696, &c.

a creed,

a creed, differing in ſome few points from that of the council of Nice.* But yet this appears to have been the effect of mere force, for at the beginning of the council, they unanimouſly declared their approbation of the Nicean creed, and pronounced anathemas againſt the errors of Arius; and after their return to their reſpective dioceſes, renounced their involuntary ſubſcriptions as ſoon as they could do it with ſafety. Cent. IV.

Whatever the doctrine of the Britiſh church might be at this period, there is certainly no evidence that they were ſubject to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome, or any other foreign biſhop. The Britiſh clergy are thought to have differed from thoſe of Gaul, and ſtill more from thoſe of Italy, in their religious worſhip; but they had not yet departed from the ſimplicity of the goſpel.† The Britiſh church at this period under no ſubjection to foreign biſhops.

As the Chriſtian clergy in general grew more opulent, they manifeſted a miſtaken zeal, and began to add new ceremonies to their religious worſhip, and even to adopt ſome of the Pagan rites, with trifling alterations; their churches, and places of religious meetings, were adorned with pictures of ſaints and martyrs, in imitation of the idol temples of the heathens; the clergy performed their ſacred offices in great variety of habits, not much unlike the Pagan prieſts; faſts, feſtivals, and holidays were multiplied, and many ceremonious injunctions enforced. The clergy uſed theſe fatal imitations of the heathen rites, partly out of their natural love of pomp, and partly in hopes by ſuch means to allure the unconverted Heathens to the worſhip of the true God;‡ but however good the primitive intention may have been, theſe innovations were in the end productive of the moſt unfortunate and deſtructive conſequences. How far the Britiſh clergy followed the general example of the other Chriſtians, cannot be determined; yet we find it certain, that they were not without their ſhare of the ſuperſtition, which began at this time to prevail, as the ſuppoſing that certain places were more holy than others, and making a virtue of going on pilgrimage in order to viſit them: we find the Britons ſo far inflated with this zeal, that they made journies as far as Jeruſalem, to behold the place where Chriſt ſuffered;§ others again, ſtill more extravagant, travelled even into Syria, only to have a ſight of the famous ſelf-tormentor, Simon Stylites, who lived fifty-ſix years upon the top of a high pillar.‖ Innovations in the ceremonies, &c. of the church.

In this century, a new order of eccleſiaſtics made their appearance in the world; theſe were the monks, or regular clergy, who in after times made ſuch a conſiderable figure in the Chriſtian church. In Egypt they had their origin; for many of the Chriſtians who fled from the perſecution of Diocleſian, took refuge in thoſe parts, and lived in the deſerts The firſt beginning of the monaſtic life.

* Dupin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. IV. vol. II. page 263.
† Stillingfleet, chap. iii.
‡ Moſheim, Hiſt. Ecc. Sæcul. IV. cap. iv. page 175.
§ Hieron. tom. I. epiſt. xvii.
‖ Theod. Philotheus, cap. 36.

and

Cent. IV. and retired places, in an abſtemious and ſolitary manner. Amongſt the reſt, St. Anthony (the father of the monaſtic life) was much famed for his ſanctity; great numbers flocked to him from all quarters, and theſe, in the beginning of this century, he formed into religious fraternities, and every company was placed in a ſeparate habitation, and at a diſtance from each other; to all of theſe he delivered out ſpecial rules and directions for their behaviour. St. Pachomius and Hilarion, two admirers of St. Anthony, ſoon after following his example, founded monaſteries in Egypt, Paleſtine, and Syria,* ſo that theſe religious brotherhoods abounded in the eaſt; and the ſame zealous ſpirit (penetrating into Europe about the middle of this century) in a little time prevailed as much in the weſt as it had done in the eaſt.

Incredible accounts of the monaſteries in Britain.

It is not eaſy to diſcover the exact time that the monaſtic life was introduced into Britain, or to what degree it prevailed at this time. The accounts, as given by the monks of the middle ages, of monaſteries in the days of king Lucius, are falſe and extravagant to the greateſt degree; nor are all the ſtories of the monks of Banchor to be implicitly believed;† not but that it is highly probable there were monaſteries in Britain at the end of this century, and particularly one at Banchor, which was afterwards very famous, but it does by no means ſeem likely, that, in this early period, it ſhould have attained to that ſplendour and greatneſs which the monkiſh hiſtorians would have us believe. One obſervation may be made, on the difference between the Britiſh monks of Banchor, and thoſe who ſucceeded them; the former ſupported themſelves in a frugal manner by their own labours, ſome alternately working, whilſt others performed the religious offices; but the latter were maintained in ſloth and idleneſs by the miſtaken charities, and profuſe donations of the kings, nobles, and other wealthy men.‡

Cent. V. In the beginning of the fifth century, one Pelagius, ſaid to have been a native of Britain,§ publiſhed a very dangerous hereſy, which not only diſturbed the peace of the Britiſh church, but ſpread its infection abroad over the whole continent, as well to the eaſt as to the weſt. Amongſt the Britons, the opinions of this man greatly prevailed; owing, perhaps, in ſome meaſure, to his being their countryman. The moſt important, and plauſible part of the doctrines of Pelagius, were theſe;—— That Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died if he had not ſinned: that Adam's ſin only affected himſelf, and not his poſterity; that children at their birth are as pure and innocent as Adam was at his firſt creation; and that the grace of God is not neceſſary to enable men to overcome temptation, perform their duty, or even attain perfection;

The Pelagian hereſy in Britain.

* Acta Sanctorum, tom. II. p. 107.
† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt.
‡ Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. cap. ii. ſect. 2.
§ Bede, lib. i. cap. 19.

but

but they might do all theſe things by the freedom of their own wills, and the exertion of their own natural abilities.* Cent. V.

The opinions of Pelagius, ſo ſoothing to the pride of men, were propagated here in Britain with great ſucceſs, by ſome of his diſciples, headed by one Agricola; for the arch heretic himſelf, with Celeſtus, a Scotſman, and Julianus, of Campania, his other principal followers, were employed in the ſame work at Rome, and other places. This hereſy made ſuch a rapid progreſs amongſt the Britiſh clergy, that the true believers found themſelves unable to reſiſt its courſe; therefore they ſent over into Gaul for aſſiſtance, the matter being there debated in council; they deputed Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus, biſhop of Troyes, to undertake this commiſſion, which they did with joy; and being arrived in Britain, they inſtantly ſet about the work for which they came, preaching ſometimes in the churches, and ſometimes in the open fields and highways, with ſuch ſucceſs, that their fame was preſently ſpread all over the iſland: thoſe who were wavering they confirmed in the true faith, and reclaimed many who had adopted the heretical errors. The Pelagian champions at firſt declined the meeting, and arguing with the biſhops, but ſeeing their reputation daily loſe ground, and being fearful of loſing all their authority, they challenged their opponents to a public diſputation, which was joyfully accepted by the biſhops; and at the time appointed both parties met, attended on either ſide by a prodigious multitude of people. The heretics were gaudily habited, and came proudly into the field, as if confident of carrying their point; whilſt on the other hand, the two biſhops were plain in their attire, and humble in their deportment. The conteſt was opened by the Pelagian party, who made various long ſpecious arguments, containing no ſolid matter, nor tending to any conviction; when they had finiſhed, the biſhops ſtood up, and with irreſiſtible proofs, drawn from the ſacred ſcriptures, amazed and confounded their opponents, and convinced their hearers of the truth of their aſſertions. The ſurrounding multitude with ſhouts expreſſed their joy, and it was with great difficulty that they were hindered from deſtroying the baffled heretics. This intereſting victory over the opponents of the ſcripture truths, opened the eyes of the people in general, and they returned to their former faith. The biſhops having thus happily completed the work for which they came, tarried ſome ſhort time longer, to confirm the converts in their preſent opinion, and after they returned to Gaul.† The expedition of Germanus and Lupus in Britain.

But although the Pelagian champions had been ſilenced, or intimidated by the biſhops, yet they were not convinced of their errors; for as ſoon as their antagoniſts had left the kingdom, they began afreſh to propagate their doctrines, and with ſuch great ſucceſs, that the clergy who Germanus comes over into Britain a ſecond time.

* Uſſer. Primord. p. 218. Concil. Lab. vol. I. chap. ii. tom. II. & vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. † Bede, lib. i. cap. 17, &c.

Cent. V. ſtill continued conſtant in their faith, were obliged to ſend into Gaul, and beg the aſſiſtance of Germanus a ſecond time; he obeyed the invitation, and came again into Britain, accompanied with Severus, biſhop of Treves, a diſciple of the former Lupus. On their arrival, the two biſhops found (to their great ſatisfaction) that the falling off from the true belief had not been ſo great as was reported; however, they preſently applied themſelves with the greateſt zeal to accompliſh the deſign of their miſſion. They preached to the people with great eloquence, and thereby reclaimed ſuch as were apoſtatiſed, and confirmed others who before ſeemed irreſolute in their determinations. Having proceeded thus far, and convinced the multitude of their errors, they procured the baniſhment of the chief Pelagians from the iſland, and by theſe means the true faith being happily reſtored, it remained inviolated for a conſiderable time.*

* Bede, lib. i. cap. 21. & Conſtant, monk of Auxerre, in Vita German. Epiſt. Here we may obſerve, that ſome diſputes have been made concerning the time of the coming of Germanus; but it appears to be morally certain, that it muſt have been ſometime between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons; for Germanus was made biſhop of Auxerre, A. D. 418, a few years after the Romans had left the iſland, and he died A. D. 448, one year before the arrival of the Saxons.

END OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE BRITONS.

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

CHAP. III.

The ancient Religion of the Saxons.

BEFORE we proceed to give an account of the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, (for this event happened a conſiderable time after their arrival in Britain) it may be thought highly proper to ſay ſomething concerning their ancient religion; but at preſent, it is propoſed only to trace the outlines, becauſe a much more perfect picture of their mythology muſt neceſſarily follow hereafter, when we ſhall treat upon the manners and cuſtoms of the ancient Danes; who, as they were originally from the ſame ſtock, may be juſtly thought to agree with them in their ideas of religion, and mode of worſhip. It may, perhaps, be unneceſſary to add, that thoſe valiant Germans who came over into Britain, and firſt eſtabliſhed the heptarchy, were all of them Pagans; for this is a fact ſo well known, that few can be ignorant of it.

The religion of the ancient Saxons paſſed over haſtily, and why.

It is impoſſible to give ſo perfect an account of the prieſts of the ancient Germans, as we have done of the druids; nor can we poſitively aſſert that they were, like them, divided into different claſſes, according to their ſeveral offices or degrees. In the celebrated temple at Upſal, dedicated to the three chief deities, Odin, Frigga, and Thor, each of theſe deities had his reſpective prieſts, the principal of whom, to the number of twelve, preſided over the ſacrifices, and exerciſed an unlimited authority over every thing which ſeemed to have any connection with religion.* Like other Pagan nations, the ancient Germans had prieſteſſes, whoſe office it was to officiate in the temples of their female

The prieſts of the ancient Saxons.

* Northern Antiq. cap. 7.

deities; and Frigga, their chief goddeſs, for her greater honour, was ſerved by the daughters of kings, and other ladies of the higheſt rank in that country.*

The names of the prieſts, and their office.

The prieſts were generally named drottes, but they were alſo frequently ſtiled prophets, wiſe men, and divine men. Yet notwithſtanding theſe appearances of reſpect and honour, they ſeem by no means to have been equal, either in power or conſequence, to the druids; nor do we find that they had any ſuch ſhare in the civil or military government, ſo as to direct the actions of their kings or governors. Beſides, as the Germans were not ſo bigotted to their religion as the Britons, it ſeems a natural conſequence that their prieſts ſhould not be ſo opulent.† The power of inflicting penalties, of beating and binding delinquents, was ſoly veſted in the prieſts;‡ this was chiefly performed by ſuch as ſerved the god of war, and attended upon the armies. The prieſts were prohibited appearing in arms, and ſtrictly forbidden to mount on horſeback.§ The prieſteſſes were held in the higheſt reſpect; they were diſtinguiſhed by the exalted titles of propheteſſes and goddeſſes; they devoted themſelves to perpetual virginity, and one part of their office was to keep up the ſacred fire, which burnt upon the altars of the deities they ſerved. Thoſe, in particular, at the temple of Upſal, uſed to deliver out oracles, and were conſulted on all important occaſions.‖

The religious opinion of the ancient Saxons.

The religious opinions of the northern nations, in former ages, were juſt and equitable; for even amidſt their groſſeſt idolatry, they ſtill retained ſome faint idea of the Supreme Being: but by degrees their minds were clouded with error, the ancient ſimplicity of their worſhip was loſt, and their mythology crouded with wonderful fables, ſetting forth, in an extravagant manner, the actions of their gods. In theſe fables we meet with the trueſt portraits of the people themſelves; for it has been always cuſtomary with barbarous nations, to make their deities think and act according to their own paſſions; ſo that it is no wonder that a race of men like the Germans, bred up in hardineſs and love of war, ſhould make their gods delight in the ſame. What can be more ſtriking, or more pictureſque of the genius of this warlike race, than the deſcriptions left us of their future ſtate? When the ſoul of a warrior was

* Northern Antiq. cap 7.

† This opinion ſeems to be confirmed by the ſpeech which Coifi, the Pagan biſhop, made to Edwine, king of Northumberland, who therein declares publicly, "That the gods whom they adored had "not power to reward their votaries; for "(adds he) none of the people of your "realm have ſerved the gods with more "unwearied aſſiduity than myſelf, yet "have I not reaped ſuch reward as many "who have not obeyed them with half "my zeal. If theſe gods had the power "to reward thoſe that ſerve them, would "they not have exerted themſelves in my "favour, who have performed my duty "towards them ſo faithfully?" Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 13.

‡ Tacit. Morib. Germ.

§ Bede, ut ſup.

‖ Mallet. Introduct. vol. I. cap. vii.

releaſed

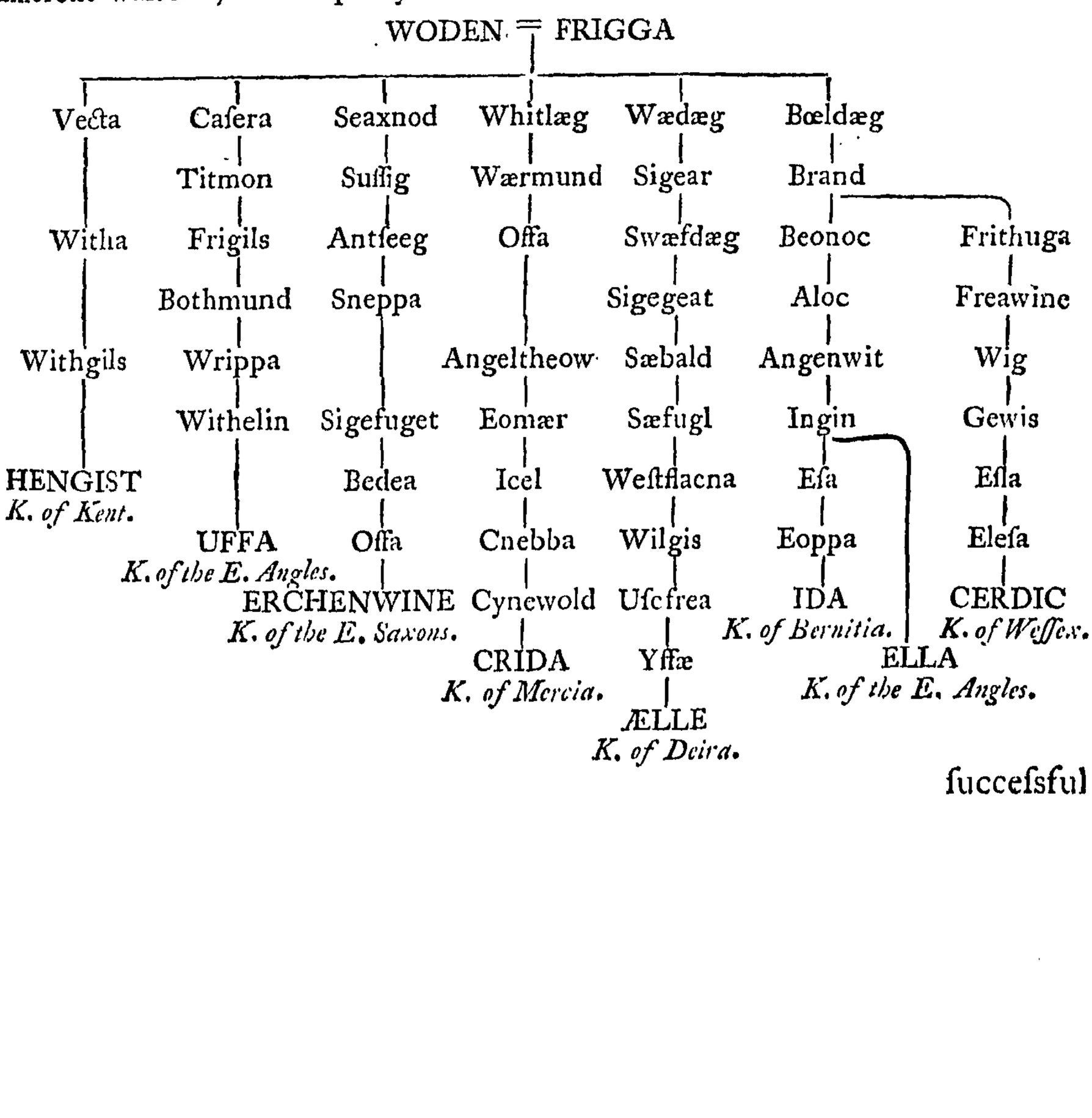
releaſed from its mortal bondage, it aſcended to Heaven, and arriving at the palace of Woden, was there received with acclamations of joy; in this happy place the departed ſpirits ſpent their time in a continual ſucceſſion of pleaſures, ſuitable to their taſte whilſt they inhabited the preſent world: the whole day was paſſed in martial exerciſes, and counterfeited battles; when theſe ſports were finiſhed, they retired to the hall of Woden, and began their evening's entertainment, which conſiſted in feaſting and carouſing deep draughts of mead and ale from the ſkulls of their enemies. On the other hand, their Hell was a place of continual idleneſs, ſickneſs, and deep diſtreſs.*

Odin, or Woden, the true god of the Germans, was worſhipped amongſt the firſt colonies who came from the eaſt, and peopled Germany and Scandinavia. In after times, a ſecond band came from the eaſt to thoſe parts, under the conduct of a valiant chief, who finding the worſhip which was paid to this ſupreme deity, aſſumed the ſame name, and claimed a ſhare in all thoſe honours which belonged to the god alone.† This ſecond Woden was a mighty warrior, and particularly

Odin, or Woden, two deities of this name.

* Mallet Introduct. vol. I. cap. 7. & vide Ancient Edda, in the ſecond volume of the Northern Antiquities.

† M. Mallet, in his Introduct. à l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, informs us, that there is a third Woden mentioned by ſome authors, ſo that it is very poſſible (ſays he) this name may have been uſurped by many different warriors, out of policy and ambition; of all whom, poſterity have, in proceſs of time, made but one ſingle perſon.—The founders of the Saxon heptarchy in Britain all of them declared themſelves deſcended from Woden, and that at the diſtance only of a few generations, but without doubt it was only from one of theſe uſurping princes. Their genealogy is as follows:



ſucceſsful

ſucceſsful in battle, from whence he was after believed to be the god of war. He civilized the country, and introduced amongſt the people many uſeful arts, before unknown, ſo that the infatuated multitude ſoon worſhipped him as the true god, built temples to his honour, offered ſacrifices, and paid him every other duty which formerly belonged to the deity, with whom he is generally confounded; and to him the fourth day of the week was dedicated.

Frigga, the principal goddeſs of the Germans.

When the ſecond Woden arrived in Germany, the people alſo adored a great goddeſs, under the appellation of Mother Earth; and as his followers had deified him, ſo alſo they advanced the glory of his conſort, Frigga, and made her equal in honour with the goddeſs Earth; to whom, it ſeems, was transferred all the rites and religious ceremonies, formerly due to that divinity alone. At laſt, ſhe was adored as the goddeſs of love and pleaſure, who beſtowed upon her votaries all kinds of delight, happy marriages, and eaſy child-births; to her was conſecrated the ſixth day of the week.

Thor, the god of thunder, &c.

The braveſt of the ſons of Woden and Frigga, was Thor, who preſided over the meteors and the air, and had the direction of ſtorms, tempeſts, thunder, and lightning; the people prayed to him for winds, rains, and fruitful ſeaſons; to this god was dedicated the fifth day of the week. Theſe three ſeem to have been their principal deities; beſides whom, they had many others; of them, together with their ſeveral offices, a full account will be given hereafter.

The Germans ſacrificed human creatures.

The Germans, like other barbarous nations, were cruel in their religious worſhip; for thinking their gods as fond of blood and deſtruction as themſelves, their altars often ſtreamed with human gore; theſe wretched victims were chiefly criminals, captives, or ſlaves; but on an important occaſion, even people of the higheſt rank and dignity ſhared in the ſame miſerable fate.

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

CHAP. IV.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, from their Converſion by St. Auguſtine, A. D. 596, *to the Acceſſion of Egbert,* A. D. 803.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church briefly conſidered.

WE may remember that we left the Britons in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtian faith in its original purity, and reſtored from the pollution of the fatal Pelagian hereſy, which had occaſioned ſo much trouble to eradicate. It is true, that from the departure of Germanus, to the time that the arrival of Auguſtine called upon the Britons to aſſert their right as a national church, independent of any foreign authority, we have but ſlender accounts of the ſtate of religion amongſt them. However, it ſeems, that as their calamities increaſed, they became leſs religious, and were at laſt involved in a ſtate of impiety and looſeneſs; but though theſe accounts may be thought to be ſomewhat exaggerated, yet from the general view of ancient records, it appears very plain that there was but too much ground for this heavy accuſation.*

The

* Many authors, notwithſtanding the accuſations which Gildas has laid to the charge of the Britons, and the clergy in general, have ſuppoſed that they held their faith inviolate, and zealouſly, for a conſiderable time after the departure of Germanus; and that there were ſome of the clergy who took great pains in the education of the youth: for inſtance, Dubritius, (who was one of the diſciples of Germanus, and firſt biſhop of Landaff, but after made archbiſhop of Caerleon) had the chief direction of two ſchools for the inſtruction of young men, for the ſervice of the church. Iltutus, another religious man, and fellow-labourer with Dubritius, preſided over another ſeminary of learning, (now called Lantuct, or the church of Iltut, in Glamorganſhire.) Theſe were both of them diſtinguiſhed for their learning, and brought up ſeveral very famous men: ſo that the Britiſh church, amidſt all the calamities of theſe times, was conſiderable for the learning and piety which flouriſhed

The hatred of the Saxons to the Christians.

The Saxons who came over into Britain, were not only Heathens themselves, but they conceived an inveterate hatred against the Christian religion. Soon after their arrival, casting off the mask of amity, they commenced open hostilities against the Britons, and joining with their old enemies, the Scots and Picts, drove them from their habitations, and took possession of the more fruitful part of the land. Some of the wretched natives fled to Brittany, in Gaul, some to Cornwall, some even sought refuge amongst their barbarous foes, the Scots and Picts; but the greater part got them into the western division of Britain, (since called Wales) where, hid amongst the mountains and woods, they preserved the wretched remnant of their once flourishing and popular state.*

Cent. VI.

The ground-work of the Saxons' conversion.

The hatred which the Saxons entertained against the Britons was also exasperated by their being Christians; therefore they pursued them with unrelenting rigour, and murdered the clergy without any mercy wherever they were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.† But after some time had elapsed, the fierceness of these ruinous contests were in some measure abated; and the Saxons enjoying their dominions in quietness, became more reconciled to the Britons, and by degrees began to form alliances with them, so that from their discourses they conceived a more favourable opinion of the Christian faith, and wished to be better instructed in its principles. Here again the British clergy are accused of being indolent and careless in the propagation of the gospel, and neglecting these happy opportunities which offered for them to make new converts, and be daily adding to the number of the church of Christ.‡ About the year 570, Ethelbert, king of Kent, contracted an alliance with Chilperic, king of France, and married his daughter Berta; but she having always been brought up in the profession of Christianity, it was agreed upon before the conclusion of the marriage, that she should be allowed the public exercise of her religion, and Letardus, a Gaulish bishop, with other of the clergy, to attend upon her. On her arrival, a church, formerly built by the Britons, and dedicated to St. Martin, was prepared for her, wherein she performed all the duties of her religion without the least restraint;§ and it appears certain, what by the

flourished amongst its directors. From hence we may justly conclude, that Gildas has set the worst face upon matters. But even these authors, who have thus strenuously defended the Britons, confess that their synods, (of which, it is true, we have but very imperfect accounts, either of the time or the transactions) reflected no honour either to the princes or the clergy concerned in them; the first appear to have been guilty of enormous crimes, and the latter accepted of donations to the church as sufficient marks of repentance. This conclusion surely confirms, in some measure, the words of Gildas, and plainly shews the degeneracy of the clergy in general. Vide Usser. Primord. page 445. Spelman's Council. Dr. Henry's History of Britain, vol. II.

* Vide the Chronicle, part. II.

† Bede, lib. i. cap. 15.

‡ Gildas Epist.

§ Bede, lib. i. cap. 25.

perſuaſion of this princeſs, and the exhortations of the biſhop and his aſ- Cent. VI.
ſiſtants, who came over into Britain with her, the mind of the king was well diſpoſed to liſten to the preaching of Auguſtine, who not long afterwards came from Rome.

This was the poſture of affairs amongſt the Saxons in Britain when Gregory the Great came to the papal ſeat, about the year 590, who was the chief inſtrument of the converſion of the Saxons. At what time he formed this deſign, or the firſt occaſion which moved him to undertake it, cannot ſo eaſily be aſcertained: it has, indeed, been imputed to his pity, on ſeeing certain Saxon youths expoſed to ſale in the public market at Rome, and being ſtruck with their comely appearance, he made enquiry concerning them, and was informed from whence they were, and that they were ignorant of the worſhip of the true God, as were all their countrymen. When he heard this, with the zealous ſpirit of a true Chriſtian, he reſolved to promote the converſion of the Saxons in Britain.* If this circumſtance might give the firſt occaſion of his conceiving ſuch a deſign, it is highly probable that he might alſo receive letters from Berta, queen of Kent, ſignifying the deſire which the Saxons in general had of being inſtructed in the goſpel truths, and theſe letters might confirm him in his reſolutions.†

Gregory the Great, the chief inſtrument of the Saxons' converſion.

When Gregory had determined upon this undertaking, he made choice of Auguſtine, prior of the monaſtery of St. Martin's, at Rome, to perform his commiſſion, aſſiſted with about forty other monks. In the year 596, Auguſtine, with his aſſiſtants, ſet forward on their journey towards Britain; but coming into Gaul, they were affrighted with the character which they there received of the Saxons, and conſidering alſo that they were entirely ignorant of the language and cuſtoms of that people, they determined to proceed no farther, and Auguſtine poſted back to Rome, to inform Gregory of his fears. But Gregory having the matter at heart, gave him freſh encouragements, and ſent him back to his aſſociates in Gaul, with recommendatory letters to the king and queen there, as well as to the biſhops, intreating them to aſſiſt the laudable deſign of Auguſtine as much as lay in their powers. Thus inſpired with freſh courage by his inſtructor, Auguſtine ſet forth again; and having provided proper interpreters to go with him, he, with his company, ſailed the ſame year to Britain, and landing firſt upon the iſland of Thanet, he ſent to the king and queen of Kent, informing them of his arrival, and the importance of his meſſage: the king received him very graciouſly, and though he did not immediately profeſs the Chriſtian faith himſelf in a public manner, yet he gave Auguſtine free leave to

Auguſtine choſen by Gregory, to execute his commiſſion.

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 1.

† Notwithſtanding the ſtory above related, it may ſeem very likely to be true, that to theſe letters was owing the reſolution of Gregory from the beginning; for it appears plainly, that this princeſs took the greateſt pains to prepare the mind of her huſband for the reception of the goſpel truths, if ſhe did not abſolutely convert him to Chriſtianity.

Cent. VI. preach to his people, and inſtruct them in the doctrine of the goſpel; at the ſame time he aſſigned him a place of abode in the city of Canterbury.*

The great ſucceſs of Auguſtine in Kent.

Auguſtine having hitherto ſucceeded ſo well, went ſpeedily to Canterbury, and with his company joining the little community of Chriſtian prieſts belonging to the queen, they preſently ſet about the performance of their commiſſion, and preached with great zeal to the people, and their pious endeavours were crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs; for, it is ſaid, that in leſs than the ſpace of one year, ten thouſand of the Kentiſh Saxons received baptiſm, and renounced all their former errors and ſuperſtitions; amongſt which number, the king himſelf is thought to have been one. Auguſtine, tranſported with the fortunate ſucceſs of his doctrines, went over into Gaul, and was conſecrated biſhop of the Engliſh, by the archbiſhop of Arles, conceiving that this new honour would give him additional conſequence in the eyes of his converts. No ſooner was he returned to Britain, than he diſpatched Laurentius, a preſbyter, and Peter, a monk, to Rome, to acquaint Gregory with his proceedings, and the great progreſs which he made in the execution of his undertaking; he alſo deſired Gregory to ſend him directions for his future conduct, and at the ſame time propoſed ſeveral queſtions in writing. To all theſe Gregory (ſome time after) returned full and ſatisfactory anſwers, which were brought to Auguſtine by Melitus, who came over into Britain about the year 601, with an additional number of religious men, to aſſiſt in the completion of the great work already begun; with him he brought the pall, with orders from Gregory to conſtitute Auguſtine primate of the Engliſh church; at the ſame time giving him full power and authority over the Britiſh clergy, to teach the unlearned, confirm the weak, and correct the obſtinate. But when the Britons were made acquainted with this part of the proceedings of Gregory, they knowing themſelves to be an independent church, openly and ſolemnly diſavowed all ſubjection to Auguſtine, and ſet aſide the authority of Gregory himſelf.†

Cent. VII.

The diſpute between Auguſtine and the Britiſh clergy.

The firſt beginning of the diſputes between the Britiſh clergy and Auguſtine ſeems to have been as follows:—This prelate deſirous of putting in force the authority which had been given to him by his employer, over the Britons; through the means of Ethelbert, obtained a meeting with them at a place called Auguſtine's Oak,‡ in the confines of Weſſex, where Auguſtine propoſed to the Britiſh clergy, that they ſhould come into the unity of the church, and join with him and his followers in preaching to the Saxons. After they had taken ſome time to conſider on the conſequences of theſe arguments, and reflecting on what alterations

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 23.
† Ibid. cap. 25, 26, 27, & 29.
‡ Agurtinur-ac, in the Saxon verſion of Bede, by Elfred. Vide Bede, lib. ii, cap. 2.

would be neceſſary for them to make in their religious forms of worſhip, they were at a loſs how to act, being on one hand unwilling to introduce any innovations into their religion; whilſt, on the other, they were very fearful of offending Ethelbert, who ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe of Auguſtine with great fervency. Thus undetermined in their reſolutions, they are ſaid to have applied to a certain anchorite, reputed for his wiſdom and holineſs, to know whether they ought to quit the antient rites of their anceſtors, and ſubmit to the propoſals of Auguſtine: he anſwered, "If he be a man of God, you ought to follow him." Being aſked how they ſhould know whether he was a man of God: he anſwered, "By his humility and gentle deportment." Cent. VII.

The Britiſh clergy offended with Auguſtine.

Afterwards, ſeven of the Britiſh biſhops, with Dinoth, abbot of Banchor, and other learned men, came on a certain day to a place appointed, in order to meet Auguſtine a ſecond time. The Britons contrived that Auguſtine ſhould be ſeated before they entered the aſſembly; when they came in, he proudly kept his ſeat, without riſing to ſalute or receive them, which haughty deportment raiſed the greateſt reſentment in their breaſts, ſo that they reſolved to oppoſe his arguments, as being now convinced that he was no man of God. After ſome time ſpent in fruitleſs diſputes, Auguſtine addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the Britons: "You act contrary to the cuſtoms of the Univerſal Church in many particulars; however, enjoy your own uſages as you pleaſe, only yield to us in three things; firſt, to keep the feaſt of Eaſter as we do; ſecondly, to uſe the ſame form of baptiſm with us; and laſtly, to join with us in preaching the goſpel to the unconverted Saxons." To which they haſtily replied, "That they would not agree with him in any one of thoſe conditions, nor would they acknowledge him as their archbiſhop." Auguſtine irritated by this reply, declared angrily, that "Since they had refuſed peace from their brethren, they might expect war from their enemies; and becauſe they would not join in preaching life to the Engliſh Saxons, they ſhould receive death at their hands."*

Three years after this unſucceſsful conference, A. D. 604, Auguſtine conſecrated three biſhops: Melitus, to preach to the Eaſt Saxons; Juſtus,

* From theſe menaces, Auguſtine is by many grievouſly accuſed of being acceſſary to the murder of the monks of Banchor, which was executed by Ethelfrith, as related page 131 of this volume; for this prelate having miſcarried in the hopes he had conceived of bringing the Britons to his authority, out of reſentment, ſtirred up Ethelbert to perſuade Ethelfrith to deſtroy thoſe hapleſs monks, becauſe Dinoth, their abbot, ſeems to have had ſo great a ſhare in the contradictions of the Britons. But ſays Inett, though theſe raſh and unwarrantable menaces of Auguſtine are without excuſe, yet there is great probability that this affair happened after the death of that prelate; which muſt be, if he deceaſed A. D. 604, as Mr. Wharton has given many weighty reaſons to prove. Now it is certain that this ſlaughter happened A. D. 607, ſo that one would be led to judge as favourably as poſſible of an affair which can by no means be proved, and, indeed, which reaſon ſeems to contradict. Vide Angliæ Sacræ, pars I. page 91, & Dr. Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. page 35, &c.

Cent. VII.

State of the church at the death of Auguſtine.

to be biſhop of Rocheſter; and Laurentius, to ſucceed him in the ſee of Canterbury. In the ſame year, it is generally thought that Auguſtine died; but this is a matter which has been very much conteſted: however, it ſeems plain, that, before his death, the greater part of the kingdom of Kent had received the Chriſtian faith, and that the cathedrals of Canterbury and Rocheſter were begun; alſo ſome other churches, founded originally by the Britons, were repaired, and proviſion made for the education and ſubſiſtence of the clergy; all of which was chiefly oweing to the piety and munificence of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the zeal of Auguſtine and his aſſiſtants.* No ſtep ſeems hitherto to have been made towards the converſion of the other kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy.

Laurentius ſucceeds Auguſtine.

After the death of Auguſtine, Laurentius ſucceeded him in the ſee of Canterbury; but the exact time of his advancement is juſt as uncertain as the deceaſe of his ſuperior, upon which it depended. No ſooner was he in poſſeſſion of his dignity, than he followed the example of Auguſtine, and ſtrove to prevail upon the clergy of the Britons and Scots to change their antient uſages, and to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter in the ſame manner he and his followers did; but he was equally unſucceſsful as his predeceſſor had been; for the breach was made ſtill wider by the ſucceeding conferences, inſomuch that the Scotch Chriſtians at laſt refuſed all converſation with this prelate, or any of his followers.†

The converſion of the Eaſt Saxons.

About this time, however, a work of greater conſequence was begun, which ſucceeded much more happily than the former; this was the converſion of the Eaſt Saxons. Sebert, the ſon of Ricula, the ſiſter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, at the ſame time was king of Eaſtſex, which he held as tributary under his uncle; by whoſe perſuaſion, and the zealous labours of Melitus, both himſelf, and a conſiderable part of his ſubjects, were prevailed upon to renounce their idolatry, and embrace the Chriſtian faith. Melitus went into Eaſtſex ſome time in the year 604, after he had been conſecrated biſhop by Auguſtine, and being well received by king Sebert, he proceeded with great zeal in the performance of his religious deſigns, and founded a new biſhopric, the ſeat whereof was fixed at London, by the appointment of Ethelbert; by whoſe munificence, the cathedral church in that city, dedicated to St. Paul, was firſt begun. In the year 610, Melitus went to Rome, to conſult with Boniface the Fourth, who was at that time poſſeſſed of the papal ſeat, and returned ſoon after with letters from that prelate for Ethelbert, king of Kent.‡

Decline of the Chriſtian religion in Eaſtſex.

Notwithſtanding all the pious labours of Melitus, and the endeavours of Sebert, to promote and eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion in Eaſtſex, too many of the new-made proſelytes were but lukewarm, and wavering in their faith. Upon the death of Sebert, which happened towards the concluſion of the year 615, his three ſons, Serred, Seward, and Sige-

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 3. Angl. Sac. p. I. page 91.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 3.

‡ Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 4.

bert,

bert, who jointly ſucceeded him in the kingdom, being no longer under the controulment of their father, threw off all that ſhew of religion that they had kept up during his life-time, and openly returned again to their former idolatry; nor could the earneſt perſuaſions of Melitus prevail upon them to follow the excellent example of their deceaſed parent; but coming into the church, they commanded Melitus to give them the holy bread, and adminiſter to them the ſacrament, as he was wont to do to their father, which he reſolutely refuſed, unleſs they would forſake their preſent wicked life, and again embrace the doctrine of Chriſtianity. Provoked at this refuſal, they drove Melitus from his ſee, who fled into Kent, in order to conſult with Laurentius what ſtep was beſt for him to take.* The people of Eaſtſex ſeeing the wicked inclinations of their governors, laid aſide all reſtraint, and flocked back again to their former abominations. Cent. VII.

The apoſtaſy of Edbald, king of Kent.

By the time Melitus reached Kent, a change, almoſt as alarming as that which had happened in Eaſtſex, had taken place there; for, in the beginning of the year 616, pious Ethelbert departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edbald, who, though he had during his father's life-time been carefully inſtructed in the Chriſtian doctrines, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he apoſtatiſed from the true faith, and gave permiſſion to his ſubjects to renew the worſhip of their Pagan deities, notwithſtanding all the zealous endeavours of the biſhops of Canterbury and Rocheſter to prevent this alarming evil. Encouraged by the example of their prince, great numbers fell off daily from the true faith, and idolatry began again to flouriſh in the confines of Kent.

The reſolution of the biſhops.

Alarmed at the dreadful appearance of affairs, the biſhops conſulted ſeriouſly together, and by common conſent it was concluded upon, that it would be in vain to make any further attempts to ſtop the ruinous apoſtaſy, which broke in upon the church on every ſide; therefore, they all agreed to leave Britain, and return again to Rome. In purſuance of this reſolution, Juſtus, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Melitus, preſently withdrew, and paſſed over into Gaul; and though Laurentius ſtill tarried for a time behind, yet he determined to follow them as ſoon as he could with conveniency;† but juſt as he had prepared to depart, king Edbald, touched with the ſtings of conſcience, repented him of his apoſtaſy, and again embraced the faith of Chriſt. This ſudden alteration in the king

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 5.

† Having prepared for his departure, the night before he had determined to ſet out, he fixed upon a ſtrange method of taking leave of his church; for he cauſed his bed to be laid in the cathedral, and lodged there that night, when St. Peter appeared to him, and having reproached him for his cowardice, he ſcourged the ſhoulders of this prelate, ſo as to leave the marks of the laſhes upon his body. The next day he went to the king, and told him what had happened, ſhewing his back. This relation had ſuch an effect upon the king, that he forſook his idolatry. But if there is any truth in this miracle, as Bede calls it, or whether it was owing to God, or the age, is left to the judgment of the reader. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 6. & Inett's Hiſt. of the Engliſh Church.

Cent. VII. put a powerful check to the growth of Paganiſm, and gave freſh life to the Chriſtian cauſe. Melitus and Juſtus were now recalled again, and returned to Britain about a year after their departure; and Juſtus was reſtored to his ſee at Rocheſter; but the Londoners had ſo abſolutely renounced their belief in Chriſt, that Edbald could by no means replace Melitus in his former ſeat. In this ſtate continued the affairs of the church until the death of Laurentius, who departed this life about the year of our Lord 619.*

The chriſtian religion firſt planted in Northumberland.

After the deceaſe of Laurentius, Melitus ſucceeded him in the archbiſhopric, which he held the ſpace of five years, and then died: no material alteration happened in the church during that time. Upon his death, Juſtus, biſhop of Rocheſter, was advanced to the ſee of Canterbury, about the year 624. The year following, Edwine, king of Northumberland, married Ethelburga, ſiſter of Edbald, king of Kent; and as ſhe had always been brought up in the Chriſtian faith, it was agreed upon before her marriage, that ſhe ſhould be permitted freely to exerciſe her own religion; and accordingly Paulinus was made a biſhop, in order to attend upon her. The next year, A. D. 626, Edwine conſented to have his daughter Enfleda (his firſt child by Ethelburga) baptized; and through the perſuaſion of the queen, and the indefatigable labours of Paulinus, Edwine himſelf was baptized the following year, on Eaſter day, and openly profeſſed his converſion to the Chriſtian faith. After this, Edwine founded an epiſcopal ſee at York, and he ſent to Honorius, then biſhop of Rome, from whom he received the pall, and title of metropolitan, which he beſtowed upon Paulinus.†

Edwine's care for the propagation of the goſpel.

Edwine now became a very zealous Chriſtian, and by his earneſt perſuaſions prevailed upon his friend Redwald, king of the Eaſt Angles, to embrace the ſame religion; beſides which, he promoted the propagation of the goſpel in the northern borders of Mercia, and in that part of Lincolnſhire that borders upon the Trent. In the year 631, Juſtus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, and Honorius ſucceeded him, who was conſecrated by Paulinus, archbiſhop of York. During the life of Edwine, the goſpel flouriſhed in Northumberland; but he being unfortunately ſlain in the month of October, A. D. 633, the whole kingdom was overrun by two cruel enemies, ſo that Paulinus was driven from his ſeat, and, accompanied with Ethelburga, (the unfortunate queen, who ſurvived her huſband Edwine) returned into Kent, where he was made biſhop of Rocheſter, in which place he died.‡

The apoſtaſy of the two kings of Northumberland.

After the death of Edwine, two kings aſſumed the rule in Northumberland; Eanfrid bearing rule in Bernitia, and Oſric in Deira. Theſe princes, although they had received the Chriſtian baptiſm, and acknowledged that faith in Scotland, where they had taken refuge, were no

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6. & Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church.

† Bede, lib. ii. cap. 10, 14, & 17.

‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 20.

ſooner

sooner in poſſeſſion of the regal dignities, than they renounced the true religion, and wickedly returned to Paganiſm. Their apoſtaſy, together with the deſtruction which had preceded in Northumberland, brought the Chriſtian religion to a very low ebb in that kingdom.* Alſo amongſt the Eaſt Angles no progreſs was made; for though Redwald, at the intreaty of Edwine, king of Northumberland, had been baptized, yet far from continuing ſtedfaſt in the profeſſion of the true faith, he, not long after, through the perſuaſion of his queen, gave it entirely up, and followed the Pagan rites as he had done before.† Cent. VII.

About a year after the death of Edwine, A. D. 634, the two apoſtate kings were killed by Cadwallo, the Britiſh monarch; againſt whom Oſwald fought a ſucceſsful battle, in which Cadwallo was ſlain, and all his forces routed. Oſwald, after this victory, took the government of Northumberland upon him; and as he was a very pious man, and zealous for the Chriſtian religion, to which he had been converted in Scotland, he immediately ſet about the reſtoration of the ſame, which had ſuffered ſo much of late in thoſe parts. The better to effect his laudable purpoſe, he ſent into Scotland, deſiring that a biſhop might be ſent from thence to inſtruct his people; the firſt who came not being approved by the people, a ſecond arrived, whoſe name was Aidan, a juſt man; by his labours, a vaſt number of the Northumbers were converted; and becauſe he did not at firſt underſtand the Saxon language, the king himſelf uſed to expound his meaning to the people. This pious prelate, far from uſing the pomp and ſhew of the Roman miſſionaries, preached the word of God in its primitive plainneſs and ſimplicity. Oſwald now appointed the epiſcopal ſee of Lindisferne, which before had been at York, and Aidan was made biſhop there. He alſo perfected the cathedral at York, and built churches in many parts of his kingdom. The encouragement which he gave to all religious perſons, cauſed ſeveral of the Scotch and Iriſh clergy to come into Northumberland, ſo that by their joint endeavours the Chriſtian faith was advanced daily; beſides all this, public ſchools were erected for the inſtruction both of men and youth, in learning and religion. In this flouriſhing ſtate the church continued until the death of Oſwald, which happened A. D. 642.‡ Oſwald reſtores the Chriſtian religion in Northumberland.

Nearly about the ſame year that Oſwald mounted the throne of Northumberland, Birinus, a biſhop from Rome, arrived in the weſtern parts of Britain, and began to preach the goſpel with great ſucceſs to the Weſt Saxons: Oſwald at the ſame time ſeeking the daughter of Cynegils in marriage, who was then king of that dominion, joined his intreaties with thoſe of Birinus, and prevailed upon that prince to be baptized, which was performed at York, in the year 635. After the converſion of their king, the people liſtened attentively to the zealous inſtructions of Birinus, and the Chriſtian religion quickly gained great ground in Weſ- The converſion of the Weſt Saxons to Chriſtianity.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 1.
† Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 4.
‡ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 3. & infra.

ſex.

Cent. VII. sex. The year following, Cwichelm, the son and colleague of Cynegils, was also baptized at York, and an episcopal see was founded at Dorchester, of which Birinus was made bishop.*

The conversion of the people of the East Angles.

The light which sprung up amongst the East Angles was suddenly extinguished by the apostasy of Redwald; but after his death, he was succeeded in that kingdom by his son Eorpwald, who was a prince of a meek and tractable disposition, so that through the earnest persuasions of Edwine he renounced the errors of idolatry, and was baptized A. D. 632,† but he was traiterously murdered about four years after, therefore no great step could be made towards a general reformation. Eorpwald was succeeded by his half-brother, Sigebert, who was a zealous advocate for Christianity: in the former part of his life he had been banished into Gaul, where he was converted, and instructed in the gospel truths. Soon after he mounted the throne, a Burgundian bishop, named Felix, out of pure zeal, came over into Britain, and offering his service to Honorius, then archbishop of Canterbury, was sent by him to Sigebert, king of the East Angles, by whom he was gladly received, and with great earnestness he preached the gospel to the people of that kingdom. Presently after, he was joined by Furseus, an Irish monk, who was equally zealous for the propagation of Christianity, and their united endeavours were crowned with surprising success; for the greater part of that nation were soon converted, and the true faith settled upon a permanent foundation. The episcopal see, since removed to Norwich, was now founded at Dumnock,‡ and Felix made first bishop there. Sigebert, the king, also caused schools to be erected in his kingdom, for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of their morals.§

All Kent not yet converted.

Thus whilst the gospel shed its happy influence over the island, the missionaries in Kent used repeated endeavours to bring the British and Scotch clergy to the usages of the Roman church, but without success. The progress of the Christian religion in Kent, is not so well known: in the year 640, Ercombert, who was then king of that district, published an edict, requiring all his subjects to relinquish their worship of idols, and that all the idols throughout his kingdom should be destroyed, and appointed officers to see that those who violated this law should be punished;‖ by which it should seem that they had not all of them as yet forsaken their errors.

The East Saxons re-converted.

The East Saxons who had long ago returned to their former idolatry, and continued in the same, notwithstanding the earnest persuasions and endeavours which were made use of by Melitus, their late bishop, whom they banished from his see of London, about the year 654, again received the Christian faith, under Sigebert the Second, their king, who, at the

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 3.
† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 15.
‡ Probably the same place that is now known by the name of Dunwich, in the county of Suffolk. Vide Inett's History of the English Church, vol. I. fol. 51.
§ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18.
‖ Ibid. cap. 18.

per-

perſuaſion of Oſweo, had renounced his errors, and was baptized by Fi- Cent. VII.
nanus, biſhop of Lindisfarn; after his baptiſm, Sigebert begged the aſ-
ſiſtance of ſome of the clergy, as alſo of Cedd, a man of great holineſs,
to forward the converſion of his ſubjects: accordingly Cedd, with another
clergyman, was ſent into Eaſtſex, who went through the dominions of
Sigebert, preaching the goſpel with ſuch energy and zeal, that a gene-
ral converſion of the people crowned their pious labours. Having
formed a church, Cedd returned to Northumberland, where he was con-
ſecrated biſhop by Finanus, but ſoon came back to Eaſtſex, and eſta-
bliſhed his ſee at London, about forty-one years after the expulſion of
Melitus.*

The converſion of the Mercians.

In Mercia the Chriſtian doctrine had begun to take root, even before the arrival of Cedd in Eaſtſex; for Peada, the ſon of Penda, king of Mercia, ſeeking in marriage the daughter of Oſweo, named Alcfleda, his ſuit was rejected becauſe he was not a Chriſtian: however, by the means of Oſweo, and the perſuaſion of Alcfred, the brother of Alcfleda, he embraced the true faith, and was baptized, with ſeveral noblemen, who attended him into the north, by Finanus, biſhop of Lindisfarn, about the year 653, and by this means he obtained the damſel. Peada returning into Mercia, carried with him four prieſts, Cedd, Adda, Bette, and Diuma, a Scotſman, by whoſe pious endeavours all that part of Mercia, called Middle Angles,† (which had been committed to the government of Peada by his father) was converted to the Chriſtian faith; nor was it confined to that part only, its light began to diffuſe itſelf over the other parts of that extenſive dominion, and this during the life-time of Penda, who, though himſelf a Heathen, yet he no ways hindered either the converſion of his ſon, or propagation of the goſpel. Cedd, however, was ſoon after recalled from Mercia by Oſweo, and ſent into Eaſtſex, when Diuma was made biſhop of the new converts, and conſecrated by Finanus, under the title of biſhop of the Mid Engliſh and Mercia.‡

Diſpute concerning religious ceremonies.

Finanus being dead, who had ſucceeded Aidan, Coleman, a Scotſman, was made biſhop of Lindisfarn. Whilſt he ſat in this ſeat, a warm diſpute was made concerning the keeping of Eaſter, ſhaving the crowns of the clergy, and other religious ceremonies, wherein the Scottiſh and Britiſh Chriſtians differed from thoſe who had been converted by the Romiſh miſſionaries. Oſweo, king of Northumberland, who had been taught and baptized by the Scots, married Eanfled, the daughter of Edwine, who had been educated in Kent, and followed the cuſtoms of the Chriſtians there, ſo that when the king was celebrating the feſtival of Eaſter, his queen and her followers were engaged in the ſeverities of Lent. For ſettling all theſe matters a ſynod was appointed to be held at the abbey

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22.

† Middelengli, id eſt Mediterranei Angli, in the original. Vide Bede, lib iii. cap. 21.

‡ Ibid.

Cent. VII. of Streanſhalch,* in the year of our Lord 661. Oſweo himſelf appeared in favour of the Britons, alſo Coleman, biſhop of Lindisfarn, Cedd, biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons, and ſeveral other Scotch and Britiſh biſhops, and clergymen. On the other ſide, was Alcfred, the ſon of Oſweo, who had been educated by Wilfrid; Agilbert, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, who had ſucceeded Berinus in the ſee of Dorcheſter; Abbot Wilfrid; this man, though born amongſt the Northumbers, and inſtructed by the Scotch biſhops in the early part of his life, yet after that, being long reſident in Kent, he there imbibed the principles of the Kentiſh Chriſtians: of the ſame party was Agatha, a preſbyter, James, a deacon, and Romanus, with many other of the clergy. The matter was fully debated with great warmth on either ſide; however, in the end, Oſweo decided in the favour of the Catholics, to the great uneaſineſs of the oppoſite party.†

The advancement of Wilfrid.

Coleman offended at the deciſion made againſt him and his ſect, ſhortly after relinquiſhed his biſhopric, and returned back into his own country, and Tudda, one of the oppoſite party, was advanced in his ſtead; but he dying within a few months, Wilfrid, (at that time but thirty years of age) was choſen biſhop of Northumberland through the intereſt of prince Alcfred, his ſcholar: this Wilfrid was the principal ſpeaker in favour of the Roman uſages and ceremonies in the above diſpute, and to him was chiefly owing the ſucceſs which that party had met with at that time.‡

The reaſon of Wilfrid's diſappointment.

Hitherto the archbiſhop of Canterbury had no claim over the northern Engliſh; for Wilfrid, who had ſo warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Kentiſh Chriſtians, on being choſen biſhop, went into France to be conſecrated, although Deus Dedit, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was then living. Wilfrid ſtaying too long in France, Oſweo was prevailed upon to conſent to the election of another biſhop, which was Cedda, a Scot, and ſaid to have been the brother of that Cedd who had converted the Eaſt Saxons, and was now biſhop of London. Cedda, immediately after his election, travelled into Kent, in order to be conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he dying before Cedda arrived, he went into the weſt, and was there conſecrated by Wini, biſhop of Wincheſter; ſo that Wilfrid, on his return, was obliged to quit his dignity, and retire again to his monaſtery.§

A Saxon prieſt ſent over to Rome to be conſecrated.

Deus Dedit dying whilſt Cedda was going towards Kent, the ſee of Canterbury was for a ſhort time vacant; wherefore, after ſome debate between Oſweo, king of Northumberland, and Egbert, king of Kent, an agreement was made to chuſe ſome perſon out of Britain, who ſhould be an Engliſhman by birth, and to ſend him over to Rome, in order to be conſecrated, according to the uſages and ceremonies of that church.

* Now Whitby, in Yorkſhire.
† Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25.
‡ Ibid. cap. 24. & Eddii Vita Wilfrid, fol. 56.
§ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 29. & Vita Wilfridi, ut ſup.

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Accordingly, Wighaſt, a preſbyter, bred in Kent, was choſen by the common conſent to be archbiſhop of Canterbury, and forthwith ſent to Rome to be conſecrated; but he died there of a plague, which prevailed at that time, before all the ceremonies were completed. Vitalian, who was then biſhop of Rome, took hold of the opportunity which offered of advancing his own power, and conſecrated one Theodore, a Greek by nation, born at Tarſus, in Celicia, and bred a monk, a man of great learning and piety; and when he had given him his inſtructions, ſent him over into Britain, attended by Adrian, a monk, who was ſet as a kind of ſpy over him, leſt he ſhould vary from the uſages of the church of Rome, and introduce thoſe of the Grecian church.* Cent. VII.

Theodore was conſecrated the 25th day of March, in the year 668, and in May, the year following, he came over into Britain, where he was well received; and being an active buſy man, he advanced the authority of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, and of the biſhop of Rome, more than all his predeceſſors had done ſince the death of Auguſtine.† Theodore ſent over into Britain.

When Theodore came over into Britain, he diſputed the legality of the conſecration of Cedda, and declared, that he uſurped the place of another, (meaning Wilfrid;) but Jarumman, biſhop of Litchfield, dying at the ſame time, Cedda was advanced to that ſee, and Wilfrid reſtored to that of York. The two princes having now prepared all things for the union of the Saxon churches, a ſynod was held in the month of September, A. D. 673, at a place called Herudford, in the county of Hertfordſhire.‡ At this meeting, beſides Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, there were preſent only four Saxon biſhops in perſon, but not one of the Britiſh biſhops, or any of their clergy; Wilfrid, biſhop of York, appeared by a deputy; Riſi, biſhop of the Eaſt Angles, Lutherius, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, Winfrid, biſhop of Mercia, and Putta, biſhop of Rocheſter, were the four that appeared in perſon. Here Theodore produced a book of canons, which were ſubſcribed to by all the biſhops and other clergy who were preſent. Thus were the Saxon churches of the Scotch and Roman eſtabliſhment united by Theodore, who ſoon began to aſſume a great ſuperiority in the kingdom; and three years after the above council, depoſed Winfrid, biſhop of Litchfield, for being diſobedient to his commands.§ Synod held at Hartford.

About the year 678, Wilfrid, biſhop of York, was driven from his ſee by Egfrid, who, ſucceeding his father Oſweo, now reigned in Northumberland, and his offence was either his pride, and the pomp which he aſſumed, or his aſſiſting Etheldreda, the wife of Egfrid, in her religious deſigns: for after her marriage ſhe had refuſed to cohabit with her huſband, and preferring the monaſtic life, by the advice of Wilfrid, ſolicited a divorce, and at laſt, without the conſent of the king, withdrew Wilfrid driven from his ſee.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 1.

† Ibid. & Vide Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. page 73.

‡ Probably the ſame with Hartford, the chief town of that county.

§ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 6.

Cent. VII. herſelf into a monaſtery, where ſhe received the veil at the hands of Wilfrid, and could not be prevailed upon by the king to return by the moſt preſſing intreaties.*

New biſhoprics ordained.

After the expulſion of Wilfrid, Boſa was made biſhop of York, and a new biſhopric was founded under the old name of Lindisfarn,† and Eata was made biſhop thereof. Again, three years after, or thereabouts, this latter biſhopric was ſubdivided, and a new ſee planted at Hagulſtad, and Trumbert was made biſhop thereof; and Eata, the former biſhop, had his title limited to that of biſhop of Landisfarn only. About the ſame time that this firſt diviſion was made in the biſhoprick of Northumberland, Egfrid founded another ſee at Sydnaceſter, in Lincolnſhire, near the Humber;‡ and Eadhead being firſt conſecrated at York, had the charge of the ſame committed to his care; but on the death of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, from whom Egfrid had won this part of the country by conqueſt, Ethelred, brother to Wulfhere, ſucceeding in the kingdom of Mercia, and in the year 678, recovered this province, and drove Eadhead from his ſeat: but ſome time either in the year after, or elſe in the following year, the biſhopric of Sydnaceſter was again reſtored, by the authority of Ethelred himſelf, and Edelwine made biſhop thereof.§

Wilfrid arrives at Rome, and his ſucceſs.

Mean time Wilfrid haſtened to Rome, in order to make complaint to Agatho, then biſhop there, of the hard treatment he had met with, not only in being expelled from his ſee, but in having his dioceſe divided, and new biſhoprics erected therein without his conſent; and as he had nobody to oppoſe or contradict his ſtory, he repreſented the matter in ſuch a light, as convinced Agatho, and all the clergy who were preſent, that he had been ill-treated in the affair; therefore, the whole ſynod were of opinion that he ought to be reſtored to his ſee, and if the intereſts of religion required the diviſion of his dioceſe, yet he ought to have full power and authority to appoint and conſtitute all ſuch biſhops as were under him: alſo, to give the greater force to this their determination, they decreed, that any preſbyter refuſing to be obedient to the ſame, he ſhould be expelled from his office, and any of the laity guilty of the like offence ſhould not be admitted to partake of the holy ſacrament.‖

Wilfrid's commiſſion not regarded.

Wilfrid having thus obtained his deſires, haſted back to Britain, in order to ſhew the reſolution of the biſhop of Rome, and his ſynod, to Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had depoſed him, and to Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been acceſſary to, or at leaſt connived at his expulſion; but ſo little was the authority which he brought

* Vita Etheldredæ, &c.

† Now Hexham, in Northumberland. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12.

‡ This is the part of Lincolnſhire, which is ſtill known by the name of Lindeſey.

§ Bede, ut ſupra.

‖ Eddii Vita Wilfrid. cap. 29, 31, &c.

with

with him regarded by either one or the other, that he ſaw no hopes of ſucceeding in his attempt; on the contrary, Egfrid called a council of his biſhops and nobility, where the matter was debated; and ſo far were they from ſiding with the turbulent prelate, that by their advice and conſent, he was inſtantly ſent to priſon, where he was confined nine months.* Cent. VII.

The miſerable ſtate of Kent.

We will now look back upon the misfortunes which happened in Kent:—That kingdom was invaded by Ethelred, king of Mercia, about the year 676; that prince finding none to oppoſe his march, ſpoiling the country before him, deſtroying churches, monaſteries, and religious houſes, without diſtinction, until he reached Rocheſter, which city he alſo ruinated; and Putta, who was biſhop there, was driven to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was obliged to take upon him the humble employment of teaching the church ſingers, in order to ſupport his old age from want and miſery.†

The hereſy of the Monothelites, and the ſynod at Hatfield.

But to go on. About this time a dangerous hereſy, which had been long ago broached upon the continent, (and generally known by the name of the Monothelite hereſy) began to make an alarming progreſs in the church, ſo that it required a public council to be called at Rome for the aboliſhing it. The opinions on which this hereſy was founded, entirely contradicted the diſtinct properties of the divine and human nature of Chriſt.‡ At the ſame time alſo, Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, thought it his duty to take notice of a danger which was every day increaſing, and therefore he ſignified his intentions to Egfrid, king of Northumberland, to Ethelred, king of Mercia, to Adulf, and his brothers, kings of the Eaſt Angles, and to Lothaire, king of Kent, by their common conſent, a great council was called; the parties met at Hatfield, the 15th day of September, in the year 680.§

The Engliſh biſhops declare their acceptance of the true faith.

At this ſynod, after the ſermon, Theodore proceeded to give a ſhort account of the Chriſtian faith in its original purity, as given to the primitive Chriſtians by Chriſt himſelf, and his apoſtles. He produced to them the apoſtles' creed, and its explanation, as ſet forth by the fathers of the church, and confirmed in their general councils. All the biſhops

* Eddii Vita Wilfrid. cap. 34 & 35.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12.

‡ Concil. tom. VI. col. 594.

§ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 17. Notwithſtanding the pompous accounts which the monks give of this council, and of a hundred biſhops there aſſembled, ſays Dr. Inett, we have great difficulty to find out the tenth part of that number; the whole kingdom of Mercia contained but two biſhoprics, if we reckon that of Sydnaceſter as one, which there is reaſon to think was not yet reſtored. But even ſuppoſing the other three, namely, of Worceſter, Hereford, and Leiceſter, were to be added, there could be but five. Erkenwald, biſhop of London, was the only biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons, and Hedda of the Weſt; Boſſa was biſhop of York, and Eata of Lindisfarn, and Quichelm, biſhop of Rocheſter, who ſucceeded Putta; ſo that as it does not appear that any of the Britiſh biſhops were preſent, there could not be more than nine or ten, including Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Vide Dr. Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. p. 106.

Cent. VII. inſtantly conſented to theſe doctrines, and publicly declared, that they agreed with the whole catholic church, and alſo expreſſed their firm belief in the trinity.*

Diviſions made in the large biſhoprics.

It was reſolved upon, either at the time of the above ſynod, or elſe ſhortly after, to make diviſions in the biſhoprics in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Mercia; in the former, the ſee of Lindisfarn was divided, and that of Hagulſtad erected, as we have before declared. Egfrid alſo erected a new ſee in the more northern parts of his dominion, the which he had gained by conqueſt from the Picts, ſo that at this time there were four biſhops in Northumberland; as Boſſa, biſhop of York, Eata, of Lindisfarn, Trumbert, of Hagulſtad, and Trumwin, of thoſe parts lately ſubject to the Picts. In Mercia, where there was only one ſee, which was Litchfield, Ethelred added Worceſter, Hereford, and Leiceſter;† beſides theſe, he alſo reſtored that of Sydnaceſter, which had been formerly founded by Oſweo, king of Northumberland, as has been ſaid before.

Wilfrid, the great inſtrument of the converſion of the South Saxons.

We may remember, that before the above council was called, Wilfrid, the abdicated biſhop of York, was committed to priſon; from whence he was releaſed by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, ſome time during the year 680. After his enlargement, he went into Mercia, and was entertained for a ſhort time by Berthwald, nephew to Ethelred; but he was ſoon after commanded to leave that court, for Ethelred not being willing to anger Egfrid, would not afford him any protection; from thence he went into Weſſex, where the ſame objections to his ſtay were made. Being thus harraſſed by the diſpleaſure of his prince, he at laſt ſought protection amongſt the South Saxons, who were as yet unconverted. Edelwalch, who at that time was king of Suſſex, received Wilfrid with great joy, and aſſiſted him in undertaking the converſion of his ſubjects. Previous to the coming of Wilfrid, Edelwalch had married a Chriſtian princeſs, named Ebba, through whoſe perſuaſion he had himſelf embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was baptized; ſo that a path was already opened for the propagation of the goſpel. Edelwalch being zealous in the cauſe of Chriſt, not only encouraged thoſe who were willing to receive his doctrine, but compelled many who were unwilling to be baptized, and profeſs it. The next ſtep that Edelwalch took to advance the Chriſtian religion amongſt his ſubjects, was, to found a biſhopric, and he planted the ſee thereof at his own capital city, at Seolſey,‡ and Wilfrid was conſtituted biſhop.§

During the ſtay of Wilfrid amongſt the South Saxons, Ceadwalla was baniſhed his country, and for ſome provocation made war upon Edelwalch,

* Bede, lib iv. cap. 17.

† For the diſputes concerning this name, and whether Cheſter is not meant, vide Anglia Sacra, part I. page 427. & Inett's Church Hiſtory, vol. I. page iii, &c.

‡ Seolſey, a village in Suſſex.

§ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13. & Vita Wilfrid. per Edd. cap. 40.

walch, and ſlew him in battle. Shortly after, coming to the crown of Weſſex, he overcame the two noblemen who ſtill ſtrove to uphold their ſinking country; and in the year 685, made the South Saxons tributary to him. This prince gaining ſome acquaintance with Wilfrid, invited him to his court; which invitation the prelate accepted of, and was received by that king with every mark of reſpect and eſteem; ſo that he now employed his time between the South and Weſt Saxons.* Cent. VII. Suſſex made tributary to Caedwalla.

Wilfrid now recovered a great deal of his former conſequence, and his zeal in the propagation of the goſpel, gained him much eſteem in the opinion of Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſo that about the year 687, he was reconciled to him, and alſo wrote a letter in his favour to Ethelred, king of the Mercians, and another to Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, who had ſucceeded his brother Egfrid, the old enemy of Wilfrid. Theſe commendations ſo effectually pleaded his cauſe with Alcfrid, that he was recalled; and on his arrival in Northumberland, Cuthbert, the favourite prelate of that age, being dead, his intereſt bore down all oppoſition, ſo that Boſſa, biſhop of York, and John, biſhop of Hagulſtad, were both driven from their biſhoprics, and Wilfrid, in the ſelf-ſame year, again reſtored to all his former glory, which he held better than four years; at the end of this time his haughty ſpirit broke forth again, and for ſome miſunderſtanding between him and Alcfrid, he was a ſecond time depoſed, and obliged to fly for his ſecurity into the kingdom of Mercia. Boſſa was now again reſtored to his ſeat at York, and John to his biſhopric at Hagulſtad. This change happened ſome time about the year 691.† Wilfrid reſtored to his ſee at York, and again expelled.

Wilfrid, after his ſecond expulſion, was graciouſly received by Ethelred, king of Mercia; and Sexulphus, biſhop of Litchfield and Leiceſter, dying at the time of his arrival, Hedda was made biſhop of Litchfield, and Wilfrid biſhop of Leiceſter. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in the north, Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, in the year 690, and the ſee of Canterbury continued vacant for the ſpace of two years, when Brithwald, an Engliſhman, was choſen to ſucceed him, in the month of July, A. D. 692, although he was not conſecrated until the latter end of June, the year following. This man had been abbot of Raculf, in Kent, and was well ſkilled in the holy ſcriptures, and acquainted with all the affairs of the church.‡ Wilfrid meets with a kind reception in Mercia.

By the zeal and good conduct of Theodore, the Engliſh churches were brought to ſome conſiſtency and union; the title and authority of metropolitan was fixed on the biſhops and ſee of Canterbury; great dioceſes were divided, and epiſcopal ſees ordained in proper places: beſides theſe ſalutary regulations, Theodore is ſaid with great fervency to have exhorted the well-diſpoſed people to build churches, towns, and villages; and in order to forward the ſame, began the diſtinction and ſettlement of pariſhes; he alſo obtained a grant of the kings of England, that the right The regulations made by Theodore.

* Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. 41.
† Ibid. cap. 42 & 44.
‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 9. & Vita Wilfridi, ut ſup.

Cent. VII. of patronage ſhould be veſted in thoſe by whoſe charitable donations churches were built.* By ſuch prudent means as theſe, at the latter end of this century, the light of the goſpel was diffuſed throughout all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, and Chriſtianity became the national religion; the church alſo began to incorporate with the ſtate, and the laws of princes took religion under their protection, and made proviſion for the honour and ſupport of the clergy.†

The Britons not perſuaded to quit their manner of keeping Eaſter.

The controverſies concerning the keeping of the feſtival of Eaſter, indeed, was diſputed upon to very little purpoſe during this century: for, though the Engliſh churches received the new cycle, the Scots of Ireland, the Picts, and the Britons, did ſtill adhere to their old calculation; therefore, towards the latter end of the century, Adhelm (then abbot of Malmſbury) was, by a ſynod of the Weſt Saxon church, appointed to write againſt them, and he obeyed the order of the ſynod, and managed the controverſy with ſuch ſucceſs, that many of the Britons, ſubjects of the kings of Weſſex, were prevailed upon to adopt the catholic Eaſter. Early in the beginning of the eighth century, this learned abbot, Adhelm, was made biſhop of Sherborn, which was at that time firſt founded.‡

Monaſteries, what they were.

Monaſteries were at this time the ſole nurſeries of learning, and therefore, whenever a new biſhopric was founded, a monaſtery was alſo uſually built, as well for the habitation, as the ſupport, of the biſhop. Theſe places were colleges of prieſts, diſtinguiſhed in after times by the name of ſecular canons, who were not bound to live a life of celibacy, but were permitted to marry, if they pleaſed; the ſame privilege was alſo granted to the monks and nuns: but the lewdneſs and irregularities which ſprung up in theſe monaſteries were ſoon after taken notice of, and juſt complaints made.

Cent. VIII. Early in the beginning of this century, the year 701, a ſynod was held at Oneſtrefield, or Oſterfield, to conſult upon the caſe of Wilfrid, and, as it ſeems, at the inſtigation of Alcfrid, king of Northumberland; but by what means Wilfrid had again offended that prince is not known. However, Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the greater part of the Engliſh biſhops who were then preſent, after a long debate, confirmed the ſentence of Theodore, the late archbiſhop, reſpecting the diviſion of the dioceſe of York; and alſo proceeded further, upon a general deprivation of whatever he, Wilfrid, held either in Mercia, or Northumberland: but this matter being again debated, a milder ſentence was the reſult; for they now agreed, that if Wilfrid would give over all his

Wilfrid diſgraced in a ſynod, and excommunicated.

* Vide Ed. Wheelock's Notes upon Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. page 399.

† Vide the firſt four laws of Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, as publiſhed by Lambard, or by Ed. Wheelock, in his edition of Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. and the interpretation given by Dr. Inett in his Hiſtory of the Engliſh Churches, vol. I. pag. 120, 121.

‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 19.

other

other pretenſions, he ſhould be permitted to retain the abbey of Rippon, but that only on condition he would retire thither, and never ſtir beyond the bounds of that monaſtery without leave obtained of the king; nor ſhould he ever after pretend to exerciſe the offices of his epiſcopal function; and alſo, that he ſhould now, in the preſence of the council, give his conſent and ſubmiſſion to this ſentence under his own hand. Wilfrid, who was preſent at the council, in an angry manner enumerated the ſervices which he had done the church, and the injuſtice of ſuch a ſentence; he alſo declared, that Agatho, biſhop of Rome, had pronounced him innocent. To this he received for anſwer, that the council regarded not the decrees of the biſhop of Rome, but would be directed by thoſe which had been made by Theodore, their own archbiſhop. He then proceeded to threaten them that he would go to Rome, and vindicate his innocence; and declared, that he would juſtify his proceedings againſt any one of them before the biſhop there. This haughty anſwer was received in ſuch a heinous manner, that he was excommunicated by the council for appealing to Rome, and not granting the judgment of this court to be deciſive; and not only him, but all his followers and adherents were laid under the ſame predicament; and the ſentence was ſo very ſevere, that if any prieſt, or abbot, of Wilfrid's party, ſhould make the ſign of the croſs, to bleſs the meat of any Chriſtian people, it ſhould be eſteemed as meat offered to idols, and accordingly be thrown out of the doors to the dogs: and alſo, that all holy veſſels uſed by him, or any of his party, ſhould not be uſed again till they had been waſhed, as if defiled by ſuch touching. The council alſo affirmed, that their judgment in this ſynod was final, and not to be reverſed by any other authority whatever.* Cent. VIII.

After this harſh ſentence was pronounced, Wilfrid went into Mercia, and enquired of Ethelred, if he intended to execute the ſame upon him, and deprive him of the preferment which he held under him; and he received from that prince this favourable anſwer, That the decree of the council ſhould not be put in force in his dominions, until he ſhould be informed of the determinations of the biſhop of Rome.† Wilfrid, pleaſed with the regard which Ethelred diſcovered towards him, haſtened to Rome with all the diligence he could, and preſented a petition to John, then biſhop there, beſeeching him to uſe his endeavours to prevail upon Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, to permit him to enjoy his two monaſteries of Rippon and Hagulſtad. Mean while, the legates from the council arrived, and accuſed the prelate of diſobeying the decree of the metropolitan ſynod. John, and his council, having heard the accuſation and defence of Wilfrid, pronounced him innocent, and received him (though excommunicated by the Engliſh) into their communion. In, or near the year 704, Wilfrid was ſent back to Britain, with letters from John, biſhop of Rome, requeſting Egfrid, king of Northumberland, Wilfrid goes to Rome.

* Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. 45. † Ejuſdem, cap. 46.

Cent. VIII. and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to call a council, and give the cauſe of Wilfrid another hearing; in order, if poſſible, to compromiſe the matter, and come to a friendly determination amongſt themſelves.*

Wilfrid returns to Britain.

Wilfrid being returned from Rome, went firſt to Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and prevailed ſo far upon him, that he dropped all his reſentment, and being reconciled to him, promiſed to uſe his endeavours to mitigate the ſentence of the ſynod. Pleaſed with this ſucceſs, the unfortunate prelate went from Kent to Mercia; but Ethelred, his patron, following the ſuperſtition of the times, had, juſt before his arrival, quitted his regal dignity, and taken the cowl in the monaſtery of Bradney; however, he received Wilfred favourably, and uſed his intereſt to procure him the favour of his ſucceſſor, Cenred.

The concluſion of Wilfrid's troubles.

In the year 705, Wilfrid, by the advice of Ethelred, ſent meſſages to Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, intreating that prince to permit him to come into his kingdom, that he might lay before him the letters which he had from Rome; but Alcfrid returned for anſwer, that he never would revoke what the ſynod had agreed upon as long as he lived, for what was called writings from the apoſtolic ſee. Badwin and Aldfrid, the two legates of Wilfrid, returned to him with this heavy news. But at the end of the ſame year, Alcfrid died of a languiſhing ſickneſs, and after his death, his ſon Oſred, a child of eight years old, being placed upon the throne, freſh application was made; and the miniſtry, who had the direction of the ſtate, being chiefly favourers of Wilfrid, the matter was at laſt compromiſed; and becauſe Boſa, biſhop of York, died about the ſame time, John, biſhop of Hagulſtad, was appointed to ſucceed him in that ſee; and Wilfrid was then placed in the biſhopric of Hagulſtad, and permitted beſides to enjoy his abbey of Rippon.†

The biſhopric of the Weſt Saxons divided.

The affair of Wilfrid being thus terminated, in the ſame year deceaſed Hedda, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, and upon his death the diocеſe was divided; for Daniel was made biſhop of Wincheſter, and Adhelm biſhop of Sherborn. Beſides this, the biſhopric of Seolſey, in the kingdom of the South Saxons, and which, ever ſince the time that Wilfrid left it, had been under the adminiſtration of the Weſt Saxon biſhops, was now filled by Eadbert, late abbot of the ſame, and from this time continued a diſtinct biſhopric.‡

Pilgrimages in great vogue, and their abuſe.

About the year 709, died Wilfrid, biſhop of Hagulſtad, at Owndle, in Northamptonſhire, being at that time near, if not full eighty years of age, and was buried with great pomp at Rippon, in Yorkſhire.§ About the ſame time the making pilgrimages to Rome, and other places, famous by the death of the ſaints and martyrs, came into faſhion; nor were theſe fantaſtical journies confined to the men alone, the nuns and other female devotees partook of the ſame zeal. However good the primitive intention of pilgrimages may have been, it is certain, that they

* Ejuſdem, cap. 53. & infra.
† Ibid.
‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 19.
§ Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. 60.

were in the end productive of the greateſt evils; for, amongſt the crouds of Engliſh that were conſtantly upon their travels, ſuch ſcenes of lewdneſs and debauchery were carried on, as ought to have ſhocked a feeling mind, poſſeſſed of the ſmalleſt ſhare of Chriſtianity.* This cuſtom, which probably firſt began amongſt the monks and profeſſors of religion, diffuſed itſelf amongſt the laity, and at laſt extended to the chief people of the ſtate, ſo that we frequently find the kings and nobles engaged in the ſame ridiculous travels.† Cent. VIII.

Notwithſtanding the writings of Adhelm, the biſhop of Sherborn, and the earneſt endeavours of others of the clergy, who were zealous in the cauſe of religion, the Britons yet continued to practiſe their ancient rites, and were as warm as ever in their oppoſition to the uſages of the catholic Chriſtians. In this poſture ſtood the affairs of the Engliſh church at the death of Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who departed this life in the very beginning of the year 731, and was ſucceeded by Tatwin, a man of great wiſdom and learning; he was conſecrated at Canterbury, on Sunday the 10th of June, the ſelf-ſame year, by four biſhops, namely, Daniel, biſhop of Wincheſter, Inguald, biſhop of London, Aldwin, biſhop of Litchfield, and Aldulf, biſhop of Rocheſter; and without making any application to Rome for the pall, he entered immediately upon the diſcharge of his religious function.‡ The Britons will not obey the uſages of the Roman church.

The ſtate of the Engliſh church in the year 731, was as follows:—— Throughout the whole heptarchy there were about ſeventeen biſhoprics, under the government of one metropolitan, the archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the kingdom of Kent there were two biſhoprics, that of Canterbury, and that of Rocheſter; Tatwin poſſeſſed the former, and the latter was in the hands of Aldulf. In the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons there was only one ſee, which was London, and Inguald was at that time in poſſeſſion of the ſame. There were two biſhoprics in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, the firſt ſee at Dunmock, of which Eadbert was biſhop; and the other at Helman, which ſeat was filled by Hadulacus. The kingdom of the Weſt Saxons had alſo two ſees, the firſt Wincheſter, of which Daniel was biſhop; the latter Sherborn, which was held by Frothere. The kingdom of the South Saxons was all under the dioceſe of Seolſey, which ſeat was at this time vacant, and the whole of that nation under the government of the Weſt Saxon biſhops. Mercia, the largeſt kingdom of the heptarchy, contained five epiſcopal ſees, as Litchfield and Leiceſter, both at this time under the government of biſhop Aldwin; Sydnaceſter, (or Lindeſey) over which Cymbert preſided; Worceſter, whoſe biſhop was the younger Winfrid; and Hereford, which ſeat was poſſeſſed by Walſtod. In Northumberland there were four ſees, as that of York, poſſeſſed by Wilfrid the Second; Lindisfarn, held by Edilwald; Hagulſtad, where Acca, who had ſucceeded Wil- The ſtate of the Engliſh church, A. D. 731.

* Baron. Annal. an. 709. Epiſt. Bonifacii Concil. Brit. vol. I. p. 241.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 20.

‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 24.

Cent. VIII. frid, now preſided; and Candida, Caſa, or Withern, which ſee was held by Pectelmus.*

The love of a monaſtic life, and its bad effects.

The zealous love of a monaſtic life, which in the former century began to prevail, grew into great exceſs in the preſent; ſo that their prodigious increaſe, as well as the abuſe of thoſe ſocieties, was but too juſtly complained of by the cotemporary writers, and called aloud for redreſs:† for this mad error ſo far infatuated the minds of the people in general, that the monks increaſed daily; kings and noblemen, queens, princeſſes, and others of high rank and eſteem, followed this ſuperſtitious faſhion; and from being uſeful to the community in general, retired from the world, and often left the people to diſtreſs and miſery, whom they ought to have protected. It has been remarked, that in the ſpace of about two hundred and twenty years, thirty of the Engliſh Saxon kings and queens reſigned their dignity, and buried themſelves in uſeleſs retirement; to theſe may be added an innumerable body of noblemen, ſoldiers, and others of a lower rank.‡

The ſee of York made an archbiſhopric.

From the union of the Britiſh churches, under Theodore, to the year 736, all that part of Britain poſſeſſed by the Saxons was but one province, and had no other metropolitan than the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but at, or near this time, the province of Canterbury was divided, and a new metropolitan ſee ſet up at York, to which belonged all the biſhoprics within the kingdom of Northumberland; and Egbert, a deſcendant of the blood royal of that kingdom, was made firſt archbiſhop there.§ In the mean time, Tatwin being dead, he was ſucceeded by Nothelmus, in the ſee of Canterbury. Nothelmus alſo died about the year 740, and he again was ſucceeded by Cuthbert, biſhop of Hereford, a pious and learned prelate.

The council of Cloveſhoe.

In the year 747, a council, or provincial ſynod, was held at Cloveſhoe, in which the Engliſh clergy aſſerted their own right, and diſclaimed dependence on any foreign biſhop; yet they appointed, that in the obſervance of feſtivals, the canonical hours of prayers, and the litanies and rogations, the uſage of the church of Rome ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved; they ordained, that the clergy ſhould be obliged to learn the creed, and Lord's prayer, in the Engliſh tongue, and teach them to the people; and that they ſhould be able to explain, in the mother tongue, the offices of baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper; and to be conſtant in their attendance on the communion of the body and blood of Chriſt, and to ſtudy the holy ſcriptures with diligence; if they had no knowledge of the Latin, they were required to learn ſome particular offices in the Engliſh tongue. This council conſiſted of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and eleven ſuffragan biſhops; theſe were Dunnus, biſhop of Rocheſter,

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 24.
† Bede Epiſt. ad Egbert.
‡ Præfat. ad Monaſt. Ang. vol. I.
§ Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, cap. 11.

Totta, biſhop of Leiceſter, Witta, biſhop of Litchfield, Podda, biſhop of Hereford, Milred, biſhop of Worceſter, Alwight, biſhop of Lindeſey, Hunferdus, biſhop of Wincheſter, Hirwald, biſhop of Sherborn, Heardulf, biſhop of Dunmock, Egwulf, biſhop of London, and Siega, biſhop of Seolſey: Ethelwald, king of the Mercians, with many of his nobles, and a vaſt body of inferior clergy were alſo preſent on this important occaſion.* Cent. VIII.

Towards the latter end of this century a diſpute was began about the legality of placing images in churches, which occaſioned a great deal of confuſion upon the continent: however, at laſt, the diſputants in favour of them got the better of their antagoniſts, and they were permitted to hold their place and authority. Cuthbert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died in the year 758, and was ſucceeded by Bregwin the year following, who held the ſee for three years, and then deceaſed; he was ſucceeded by Lambertus. In the year 766, Egbert, the firſt archbiſhop of York, departed this life, with the reputation of a great ſcholar, and of a wiſe and uſeful prelate. During all this ſpace, and for ſome time afterwards, no material change happened in the government of the Engliſh church.† Diſpute concerning images.

About the year 785, Offa, the victorious king of Mercia, formed the reſolution of making the Mercian church independent of the ſee of Canterbury; ſo that this year, as it is thought, he obliged Jambertus, at the council of Calcuith, to conſent to the diviſion of the dioceſe, and forbade the biſhops within his kingdom to yield any further obedience to their former metropolitan. Litchfield being then the chief city, and metropolis of Mercia, he cauſed the archbiſhopric to be there placed, and obtained the pall for the prelate from pope Adrian. After this, Offa over-ran the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and made it tributary to Mercia; this, as well as the whole kingdom of Mercia, he laid into the new province of Litchfield; by which change the biſhops of Hereford, Worceſter, Leiceſter, Sydnaceſter, Helmanſted, and Dunmock, became the ſuffragans to the new archbiſhop of Litchfield. Higbert was choſen firſt archbiſhop, but he dying before the pall came from Rome, Adulf, the ſame year, ſucceeded him, and received the pall with the new honours.‡ Biſhopric of Litchfield made a metropolitan ſee.

No ſooner had the doctrine of image worſhip gained ground, than another kind of adoration followed, which was equally as pernicious as the former; namely, the eſteem which prevailed for the reliques of ſaints:§ and this fooliſh devotion ſpread apace, ſo that the hiſtories were ſoon filled with ſtrange and miraculous diſcoveries of the bones of martyrs, and holy men; but all of them big with abſurdity, and the groſſeſt ſuperſtition. The honour of theſe diſcoveries are chiefly attributed to the monks, who, notwithſtanding all their pretended zeal and ſanctity, were Superſtition concerning the reliques of ſaints.

* Council. Brit. vol. I.
† Vide Inett, cap. 12.
‡ Angl. Sac. part i. fol. 429.
§ Inett, chap xiii.

never

Cent. VIII. never backward in broaching the moſt impudent falſities, if they could thereby add a conſequence to their monaſtery, or enrich themſelves: nor is this ſo much to be wondered at, if we conſider the taſte of the times, when the whole world was gadding on religious pilgrimages to places where the moſt curious reliques were depoſited, or the moſt memorable miracles had been performed. When this ſuperſtition firſt took place, there were many monaſteries, by whoſe doors whole crouds would neglectfully paſs, becauſe they contained nothing that was miraculous. To give a conſequence to ſuch ſlighted places, wonders were ſoon told out, and glorious reliques diſcovered; by this means the croud would ſtop there, and by this means the holy brethren were enriched, for theſe votaries ſeldom came empty handed; ſo that in a little time there were no monaſteries without their ſaints and miracles. Thus alſo martyrs have been divided, and twenty different bodies of one ſaint enſhrined at as many different places. It is but too plain that the churches of England had a great ſhare in this abominable practice.*

The abbey of St. Alban's firſt founded.

About the year 793, king Offa pretended, that an angel had in a viſion diſcovered to him where the body of St. Alban was depoſited; and with great devotion the remains of a dead body were taken up at Verulam, and ſaid to be the bones of that holy man; theſe were carefully depoſited in a ſhrine of gold, enriched with pearl; alſo, to perpetuate the memory of this adventure, Offa, by the advice of his council, began to build a monaſtery, which he dedicated to that ſaint, at Verulam, where the bones were found, which then loſt its former name, and is known to this day by that of St. Albans. This done, he went to Rome, and obtained from pope Adrian a confirmation of the privileges which he had granted to this new ſtructure.†

Prayers and maſſes performed in honour of the dead.

It is certain, that towards the end of this century the clergy began to offer up public prayers for the ſpirits of deceaſed perſons; and at the council of Calcuith, holden about the year 816, it was carried ſo far, as to require, that upon the death of a biſhop, a tenth part of his wealth ſhould be given to the poor; and that upon notice of his death, in every pariſh the congregation ſhould reſort to church, and ſing thirty pſalms for his ſoul; and that every biſhop and abbot ſhould ſing ſix hundred pſalms, and one hundred and twenty maſſes, manumiſe three ſlaves, give three ſhillings in alms, and faſt thirty days. But all this was only meant as an honour paid to the deceaſed, if he had been a good man; for ſuch ceremonies were never performed over the bodies of the wicked or prophane: nor did they at this time give the leaſt intimation of their belief in a purgatory, although it is true, by ſuch very means the door to that belief might be ſet open.‡

* Vide Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. chap. xiv.

† Mat. Paris in Vita Offæ.

‡ Dr. Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, chap. xv.

This

This was the poſture of the Engliſh church when Offa died, A. D. 796, and his deceaſe gave a turn to the affairs of the church, as well as of the ſtate of Mercia; but, it is true, this total change was not immediately effected. Not long after the death of Offa, the archbiſhopric which he had erected at Litchfield, returned again to Canterbury, where it remained. From the preſent time, to the end of this century, no further material alteration was made; but the revolutions which took place in the beginning of the next, in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, muſt of courſe afford a conſiderable change in the church affairs throughout the whole poſſeſſions of the Saxons in Britain.

Concluſion of the eighth century.

END OF THE THIRD PART OF THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

CHRONICLE


10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2
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Rona
CARENI
CORNABII
Dungsby Head
Ila R.
MERTÆ
LOGI
CANTÆ
CERONES
CALEDONIA
CALEDONII
Firth of Tay
Tweed R.
Solway Firth
Isle of Man
Isle of Anglesea
Cape Cornwall
St. Davids
Hartland Pt.
Falmouth Hav.
Lizard Point
I. of Wight
Humber R.
Tees R.
Cape R.
Yorkshire R.
St. Thomas
Firth of Clyde
Firth of Forth
Tweed R.
Firth of Solway
Yorkshire R.
CARNONACÆ
SILVA CALEDONIA
VACOMAGI
ZEXALI
Dee R.
HORESTI
VENICONTES
DAMNII
OTODINI
EPIDII
NOVANTÆ
GADENI
SELGOVÆ
BRIGANTES
PARISI
HIBERNIÆ PARS
ORDOVICES
CORITANI
CORNAVII
Huicii
SILVRES
ICENI
DEMETÆ
ANCALITES
ATRIBATII
DOBUNI
BIBROCI
CATTIEULANI
TRINOBANTES
BELGÆ
CANTII
REGNI
Ostidamii
DUROTRIGES
DANMONII
Cobrini
GALLIA

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART IV.

A DISSERTATION ON THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, MANNERS, HABITS, ETC. OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR, A. A. C. 55, TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A.D. 449.

CHAP. I.

Names of the ſeveral Britiſh Nations, and where they were ſituated.

The firſt inhabitants of Britain, their character.

ALL the beſt authors have now agreed, that the firſt inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of the Celtæ, or Gauls; their language was nearly the ſame; their manners, government, and religion, alſo agree; or, at leaſt, were only varied in ſuch ſort as time, and a communication with other nations, muſt produce.

The picture which has been generally handed down to us of the Britons, is by far too rudely drawn. The Greek and Roman navigators, or merchants, who trafficked with the Britons, carried home the moſt ſhocking accounts of their ferocity, in order to advance their own fame, and excite the admiration of their countrymen. From theſe exaggerated reports, the ancient hiſtory of this people was penned, ſo that we ought not to be aſtoniſhed when we find a great part of them much more civilized than we expected.

Reaſon of ſome miſtakes.

Again, ſufficient reaſon may be given why many of our own authors have run into conſtant miſtakes on this head; for they have unadviſedly confuſed the accounts of the Britons found in various authors, without attending to the different times in which thoſe authors wrote, or in what part of Britain the people they have deſcribed might inhabit.

Even in the days of Julius Cæſar, the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain had made the firſt, and moſt requiſite ſtep towards a civil ſettlement; and by tillage and agriculture, provided themſelves with every requiſite neceſſary for the enjoyment of life: mean while, the inland inhabitants were not ſo poliſhed, but wandered about from place to place, ſupporting themſelves by paſturage; and the northern Britons, natives of the wilds of Calidonia, for a long time afterwards were but in a ſtate of nature, and entirely unacquainted with the refinements which had taken place in the other parts of the iſland.

The nations inhabiting Britain.

The different nations who inhabited Britain, and their ſituations, as deſcribed by our beſt antiquaries, are as follow:

The Danmonii; this people poſſeſſed the ſouth-weſt part of Britain, and occupied thoſe countries now called Cornwall and Devonſhire; ſome other Britiſh tribes were alſo ſeated within theſe limits, as the Coſſini and Oſtidamii, which were particular clans of the Danmonii, and, as ſome think, the keepers of their flocks and herds.†

The Durotriges were ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the Danmonii, and inhabited the county of Dorſetſhire.‡

The Belgæ, ſeated to the eaſt of the Durotriges, poſſeſſed the counties of Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Somerſetſhire. When Cæſar invaded Britain, part of this country was inhabited by the Segontiaci; but this people being after ſubdued, they were incorporated with the Belgæ.§

The Bibroci were ſituated on the north-eaſt ſide of the Belgæ, and inhabited part of that county now named Berkſhire.‖

The Attrebatii were ſeated next to the Bibroci, inhabiting part of Berkſhire, and part of Oxfordſhire.**

The Ancalites were ſituated near to the Attrebatii, and they are thought to have been only the ſhepherds belonging to that nation. The Ancalites inhabited thoſe parts of Oxfordſhire and Buckinghamſhire as were moſt fit for paſturage.††

The Regni were ſeated in the counties of Surrey and Suſſex.‡‡

The Cantii were next to the Regni; theſe poſſeſſed the country from them called Cantium, and now Kent.§§

The Trinobantes lay next to the Cantii; theſe inhabited the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, and ſome part of Surrey.‖‖

The Cattivellauni poſſeſſed the counties of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks. The name of this people is written ſeveral different ways; ſometimes they are called Catti, Caſſii, Catticuclani, Cattidudani, and Catticludane.*

† Baxter's Gloſſ. p. 190, & Camden's Brit.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. & Muſgrave's Belg. Brit. p. 42.
‖ Camden & Baxter, p. 40.
** Baxter, p. 27.
†† Ibid. p. 114.
‡‡ Camd. Brit.
§§ Ibid.
‖‖ Ibid. & Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 230.
* Camd. Brit.

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The Dobuni lay to the weſt of the Cattivellauni; they poſſeſſed Glouceſterſhire, and part of Oxfordſhire.

The Iceni were ſeated to the north of the Trinobantes, and inhabited the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.*

The Coritani, or Coriceni, poſſeſſed the counties now known by the names of Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire.†

The Cornavii inhabited Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire. Beſides the Cornavii, there was another tribe, or nation, of the Britons, ſeated in the above-mentioned counties; theſe were called the Wigantes, or Huicii.‡

The Silures; beſides the two Engliſh counties of Hereford and Monmouth, this people poſſeſſed Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, and Glamorganſhire, in South Wales.§

The Demetæ poſſeſſed the remaining part of South Wales, now divided into Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire.‖

The Ordovices were next to the Demetæ, and were ſituated in the counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint, all in North Wales.**

The Pariſi are thought to have poſſeſſed the whole Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire.††

The Brigantes poſſeſſed almoſt all Yorkſhire, alſo the counties of Durham, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland.‡‡

Before we go further into the north, it may be neceſſary to take notice of the Cangi, and the Attacotti, becauſe our antiquaries have been at a loſs to determine their real ſituation.

The Cangi are ſometimes called the Ceangi, or Cangani; and the moſt probable conjecture concerning them, is, that "they were not a diſtinct nation, ſeated in one particular place, but ſuch of the youth of many different nations, as were employed in feeding the flocks and herds of the reſpective tribes."§§

The Attacotti were probably ſome ancient northern nation,‖‖ becauſe they are repreſented as a very barbarous people, and joining with the Scots and Picts to forward the deſtruction of the ſouthern parts of Britain.***

The Otodini were ſeated in the counties now called Northumberland, Merſe, and Lothains.†††

* Camd. Brit.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid. & Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 88, 89, & 90.
§ Camd. Brit.
‖ Ibid
** Ibid.
†† Ibid.
‡‡ Ibid.
§§ Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 73, 74, 75, & 76.
‖‖ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. page 183.
*** Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. Hieronym. lib. ii. contra Jovianum.
††† Camd. Brit.

The Gadeni were ſeated to the north-weſt of the Otodini, and inhabited the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tiviotdale.*

The Selgovæ, ſeated to the weſt of the Gadeni, in the counties of Eſkdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale.†

The Novantæ inhabited the counties of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.‡

The Damnii lay further to the north, and the inhabitants were ſeated in the counties of Clydeſdale, Renfrew, Lenox, and Stirlingſhire.§

Theſe laſt five nations poſſeſſed the large tract of land between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius; they are ſometimes called by the ancient writers, as well Greek as Roman, by the general name of Maæatæ.

Thoſe which follow, are the nations to the north beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius.

The Epidii, or Pepidii, the ancient inhabitants of the peninſula of Cantire, and of ſome of the adjacent iſlands, as alſo part of Argyleſhire and Lorn.‖

The Cerones, thought to be the inhabitants of Lochabar, and part of Roſſe.**

The Carnonacæ poſſeſſed that part of Roſſe, called Aſſenſhire.††

The Carini, the inhabitants of Lochbey.‡‡

The Cornabii inhabited the moſt northern parts of Britain, called Strathnavern.§§

The Mertæ were ſeated ſomewhere about the north-weſt parts of Sutherland.‖‖

The Logi ſeem to have poſſeſſed the ſea-coaſt of Sutherland.**

The Cantæ, perhaps ſeated on the north ſide of the Tayne firth.†††

The Caledonii appear to have inhabited a very extenſive tract of country, reaching from Lochfern on the weſt, to the firth of Tayne on the eaſt, including Badenoch, Braidalbain, the inland parts of the ſhires of Murray, Bamf, Aberdeen, and Perth.‡‡‡

The ancient writers call all the northern nations, beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius, by the general name of the Caledonii; becauſe, perhaps, this tribe was by far the biggeſt, and the moſt powerful.

The Zexali inhabited the ſea-coaſts of Aberdeenſhire.§§§

* Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 126.
† Ibid. 215.
‡ Camd. Brit.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid.
** Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 368.
†† Ibid. 366. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol, I.
‡‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§§ Camd. Brit.
‖‖ Horſby, Brit. Rom. p. 372. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I.
** Ibid. Ibid.
††† Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 65.
‡‡‡ Dr. Henry, ut ſup.
§§§ Ibid. & Horſ. Brit. p. 369.

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The Vacomagi probably poſſeſſed part of Murray, Athol, Mearns, and Angus.*

The Horeſti moſt likely was a bordering nation, afterwards incorporated with the Vacomagi.†

The Venicontes were the ancient inhabitants of Fife.‡

CHAP. II.

Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of the Britons.

Britain originally a monarchical government, and the power of the kings.

IT is univerſally agreed upon, that Britain was under a monarchical government at the time of the Roman invaſion, and moſt likely had been ſo for a long time before. The kingdom was divided (as we have ſeen) into many ſmall nations, or tribes, every one of which had at leaſt one king, and often more. The extent of the power which each of theſe monarchs might poſſeſs in their ſeveral diſtricts, cannot at preſent be inveſtigated, but it is very certain that it was not unlimited; for the common people of Britain ſeem to have enjoyed more liberty than thoſe of Gaul,§ and having once a taſte of freedom, it could be no eaſy taſk to impoſe the yoke of deſpotiſm upon them; eſpecially when we conſider that they were a people inured to war, and ſought not the refinements of a luxurious or idle life. Beſides, another conſiderable check upon the power of the prince, was, the great authority of the druids; who not only officiated as the miniſters of the gods, in caſes of religion, but claimed a great ſhare alſo in the civil government. The power of raiſing forces for the proſecution of wars, it is true, ſeems to have been inveſted in the king; but at the ſame time, it does not appear that they declared a war, or undertook any great expedition, without previouſly conſulting their nobles, and the druids alſo: nor were the reſolutions of the chiefs in ſuch councils always conformable to the will of the ſovereign; on the contrary, ſometimes they appear to have carried the point againſt his declared opinion.‖ If then, when war and danger called for the aſſiſtance of their monarch, his power was ſo limited, we may juſtly conclude, that it was circumſcribed by ſtraiter bounds in time of peace, when there was no diſturbance to demand his protection. The

* Dr. Henry, ut ſup.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Dion. Caſſius, lib. lxxv.
‖ Agreeable to this, is the excuſe which Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a people of Gaul, made to Cæſar for having aſſaulted his camp, which he declared was not done by his order or conſent, but by the compulſion of the ſtate: for ſuch was the nature of his government, that the people had as much power over him as he had over his people. Cæſar's Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 23.

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†† Ibid. 366. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol, I.
‡‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§§ Camd. Brit.
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Britiſh kings of ſome nations are thought to have been more powerful and abſolute than others; thoſe in the north, and more uncultivated parts of Britain, were the princes who poſſeſſed the leaſt authority.

A general choſen from their kings, and when.

All thoſe tribes above-mentioned, with their monarchs, were quite independent of each other, and, incited by jealouſy or ambition, continually warring upon one another's territories: to this reſtleſs and jealous temper they owed their final ruin; for though (as their cuſtom was when any foreign danger threatened the general ſtate) they had upon Cæſar's arrival choſen a chief over them all,* yet ſo prevalent were their animoſities, that even the impending ruin which hung over the iſland could not keep them together in unanimity. This general, choſen from their monarchs on theſe important occaſions, only enjoyed his authority, at beſt, as long as the danger which they were fearful of continued to threaten the ſtate: ſo that there was no ſupremacy amongſt them. It is true, indeed, that ſometimes a prince might by marriage, or the fortune of war, obtain the dominion of two or more of theſe little kingdoms, yet after his death they were preſently divided amongſt his children. The rules of ſucceſſion were not always ſtrictly adhered to, but when a king died, and left a ſon old enough, and able to take the government upon him, he ſucceeded of courſe; but the father might diſinherit his children, if he was ſo inclined.† When a monarch died without any male iſſue, his wife or daughter ſucceeded him in the kingdom.‡ If he left two ſons, his poſſeſſions were generally divided betwixt them.§

The revenues of the Britiſh kings.

The revenues of the Britiſh kings are not ſo well known, or the ſources from whence they were derived: the king, without doubt, poſſeſſed the greateſt eſtate of any in his dominion; but beſides this, it is highly probable, that he might have the profits of certain lands, for the ſupport of his dignity, and maintainance of his followers. For carrying on the public buſineſs, taxes were levied upon the ſubjects, and every one obliged to pay his ſhare, the druids excepted, on whom no burthenſome impoſition could be laid;‖ and the Britons, all of them, contributed chearfully to theſe payments, ſo they were not too exorbitant and diſtreſſing.** What greatly contributed to the enriching of a king, was, the ſhare which he had in the ſpoils of war: and theſe chiefly conſiſted of rings and chains of gold, with great variety of maſſy ornaments of the ſame metal.††

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. & vide Tacitus, Vita Agricola.

† Thus Cunobellinus diſinherited and baniſhed his ſon Admimus. See page 12.

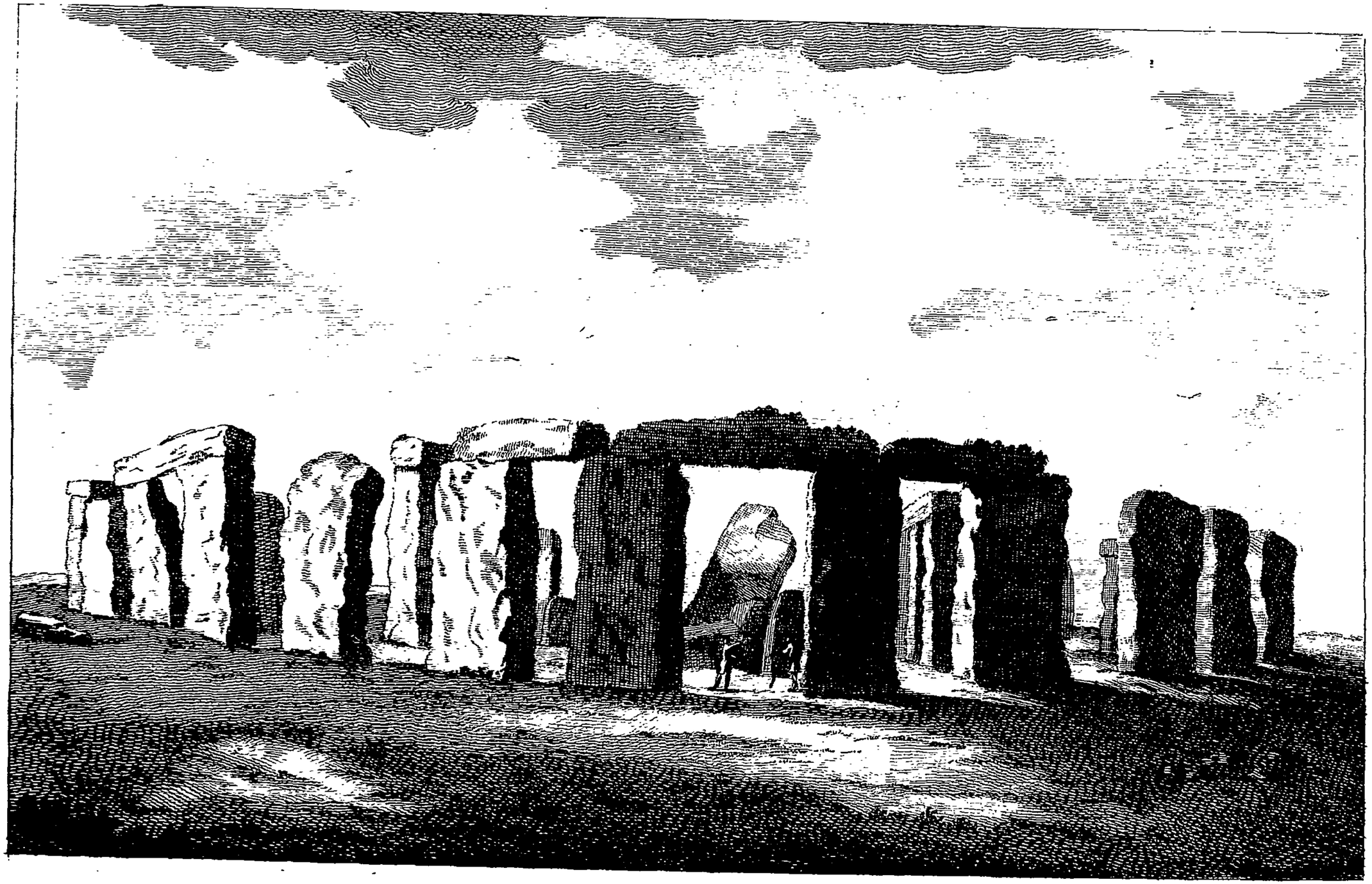
‡ This is plain from the caſes of Cartiſmandua and Boudicea. See the Chronicle, part I.

§ After the death of Cunobolin, his dominions were divided between his two ſons, &c. Vide page 13.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

** Tacit. Vita Agric.

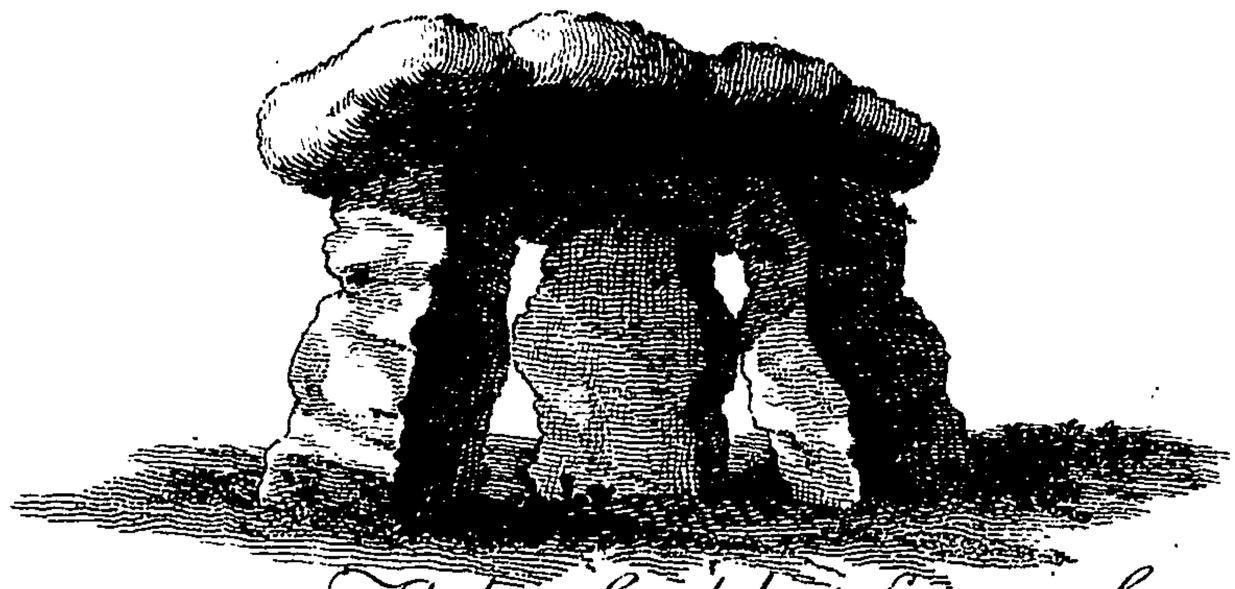
†† When Caractacus was carried before the emperor Claudius, the rings of gold, and other ornaments, which he had won from the neighbouring ſtates, were publicly expoſed. Vide page 18. And the riches of a Britiſh king are deſcribed by that ſame unfortunate monarch, in his famous ſpeech to Claudius. Ibid.



Rolrich the great circle of stones in Oxfordshire.



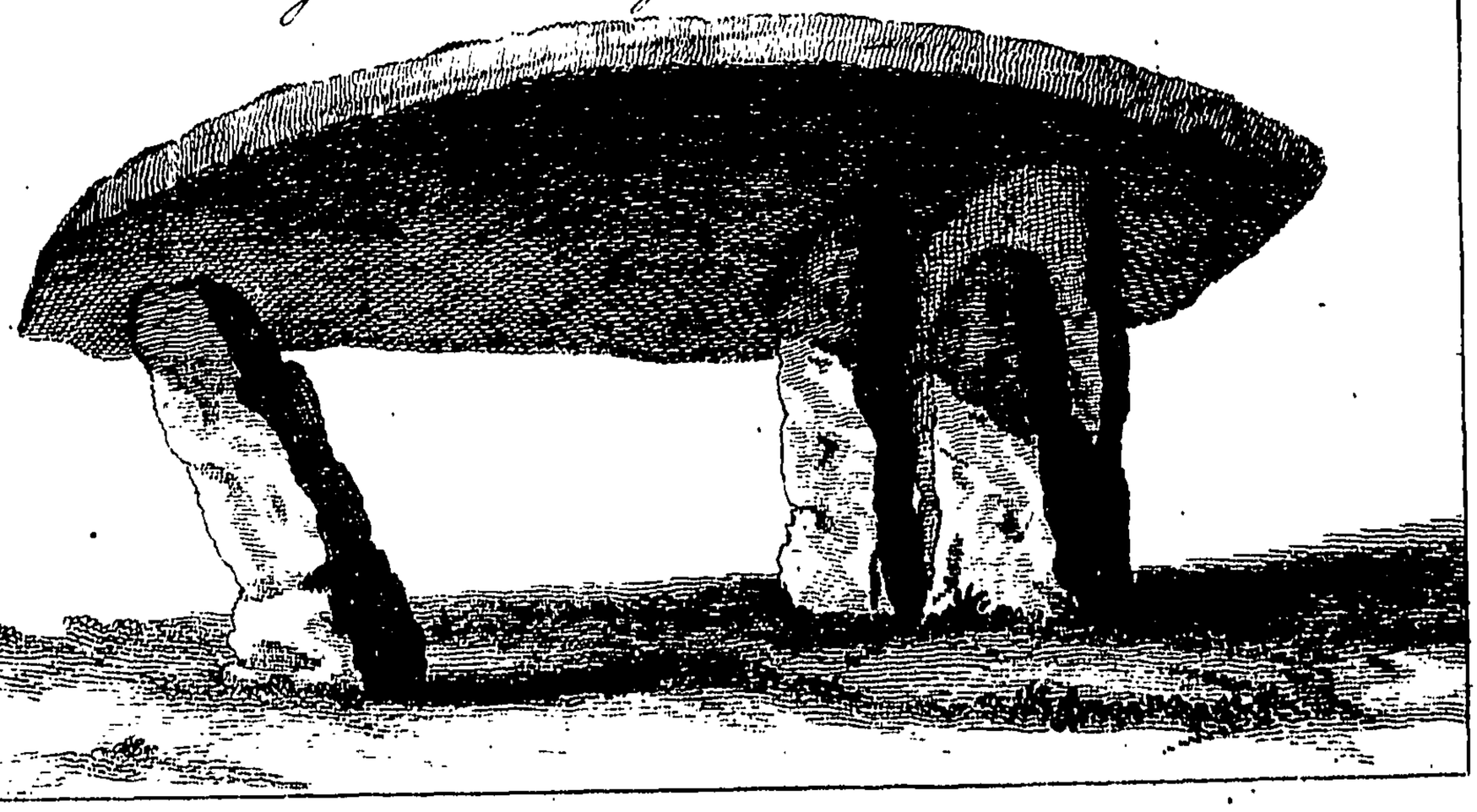
Kets Coity House in Kent the Monument of Catigern.



A Ruind Cromlech near Rolrich.



The large Cromlech at Lanyon in Cornwall.



The druids the only law-givers amongſt the Britons.

The kings of the Britons had no ſhare in the legiſlative part of the government; the druids poſſeſſed the ſole authority of making, explaining, and executing the laws: for they taught, that the laws were not to be conſidered as the decrees of princes, but the commands of their gods; therefore, the violation of the law could not be puniſhed as a crime againſt their king, or ſtate, but againſt Heaven; for this cauſe, when criminals were put to death, they were ſacrificed to the gods, and not to the juſtice of their country.* The druids had moſt likely a complete ſyſtem of laws; but as they were never committed to writing, and were only known in their full extent by thoſe prieſts themſelves, we have but very ſlender tracings of them remaining.

The druids the executors of juſtice.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice, the druids never required the aſſiſtance of the ſecular power; they executed all their ſentences by their own authority, whether they were to inflict ſtripes, or even take away the life of the offender. Their authority they ſupported by the fear of excommunication, which was inflicted on any who refuſed quietly to ſubmit to their judgments. Their courts of judicature they held in the open air, in places appointed for that purpoſe; and it is thought that there was one of theſe courts at leaſt in every ſtate.†

The grand meeting of the druids.

Such was the power of the druids; but it ſeems that delinquents might appeal to judgment of the arch-druid in any caſe which was difficult to be determined in the provincial courts: thus, once every year a general meeting was held at ſome appointed place, where the provincial druids did attend, and the proceedings of the year were examined and diſcuſſed before the arch-druid, who then pronounced the final ſentence.‡ In what part of Britain this grand aſſembly was held, cannot eaſily be aſcertained; but when any one ſhall behold the ancient ſtupendous ſtructure which yet remains upon Saliſbury Plains, called Stone Henge, he will inſtantly conclude that it was erected for ſome important purpoſe; and for what more likely than for this, built, as it is, upon an extenſive plain, where the ſurrounding multitude might eaſily be aſſembled together, and left open all around, that the judges might be ſeen by every one? If we grant this, then the leſſer circles of ſtones which abound in this kingdom may have been the places appointed for the provincial courts; ſuch an one, without doubt, was the circle of ſtones, now called Rolrich, in Oxfordſhire.§

Laws concerning marriage.

But to return:—The laws of marriage amongſt the Britons certainly were, that no man ſhould have more than one wife, or any woman more than one huſband;‖ yet it is ſaid, that their women were not ſo chaſte

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. l. v. Strabo, lib. iv. † Cæſ. ut ſup. ‡ Ibid.

§ That the reader may have the better idea of theſe ancient remains, we have ſubjoined two plates; the one repreſenting Stone Henge, and the other Rolrich. The reader is alſo referred to the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anȝel cȳnnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of England, page 13, where he will find this opinion ſtill more fully explained.

‖ This may be proved by the ſtory of Cartiſmandua, who brought herſelf into great diſgrace for violating her marriage-bed. Vide Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 9.

and

and ſcrupulous as they ought to be, for one of them would frequently cohabit with ten or twelve men, eſpecially if they were near relations to each other.* Huſbands and fathers had abſolute authority over the perſons of their wives and children, and might put them to death if they thought they deſerved it.† They alſo, doubtleſs, had particular laws for the ſucceſſion of their children, though at the preſent time they are not to be diſcovered.

Various laws.

Their penal laws, as well as the laws for the preſervation of their property, are not known; but in reſpect to the latter, as cattle were their chief wealth, no doubt ſevere puniſhments were inflicted on ſuch as ſtole, or hurt them. Their law of evidence is equally uncertain; oaths were common amongſt them, but they were of different forms, according to the different ſtates, the people of every nation having a method of taking an oath, peculiar to themſelves. In caſes of ſuſpicion, where proof could not be obtained, torture was uſed to make the delinquents confeſs their guilt.‡

Uncertain whether ordeals were amongſt the Britons.

Though we have no mention made of ordeals amongſt the druids, yet the appealing to Heaven for evidence was ſo very common with all nations, that we cannot but ſuppoſe the druids, who were for promoting every kind of ſuperſtition, and advancing every thing that could confirm their own authority, made uſe of ſuch applications to their deities, though their form and the manner of them is not to be diſcovered at preſent.

CHAP. III.

The Changes in the Britiſh Government occaſioned by the Romans.

No alteration in the government till the time of Claudius.

THE two expeditions of Julius Cæſar produced no change in the Britiſh ſtate, or government, which remained in its original form all over the iſland until the conqueſts of Claudius. The Romans

* Thus Cæſar reports, and his account is confirmed by an anecdote related by Dion Caſſius; but a modern author ſuſpects, that they may have been deceived by the appearance of things; "for, (ſays he) the "houſes of the Britons were not like ours "at preſent, nor the Romans in thoſe "times, divided into ſeveral apartments, "but conſiſted of one round circular room, "or hall, with a fire in the middle, around "which the whole family, men, women, "and children, all ſlept on the floor, on one "continued bed of ſtraw or ruſhes; this "excited unfavourable ſuſpicions in the "eyes of ſtrangers, accuſtomed to a more "decent way of living; but thoſe ſuſpi-"cions are moſt probably without founda-"foundation." Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. chap. vii. But if this is true, why do we hear of the chaſtity of the ancient Germans, from Cæſar, who lived in the ſame crouded manner? Why were they not liable to the ſame ſuſpicious cenſure as the Britons? But I doubt the accuſation was but too well grounded.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

‡ Ibid.

at

at firſt began to form an alliance with as many of the Britiſh ſtates as they could, in order to hinder the combination of the chiefs, which would have been very prejudicial to their deſigns; for this reaſon, they pretended the greateſt friendſhip for ſuch as eſpouſed their cauſe, and inſtead of decreaſing, added to their dominions: but at the ſame time, under the artful inſinuation of protecting them from the aſſaults of their enemies, and preſerving the peace of their ſtate, they deprived theſe unſuſpecting monarchs of all their real authority.*

Methods which the Romans took to ſecure their conqueſts.

As ſoon as they had obtained firm footing in the land, they planted colonies of veteran ſoldiers to ſecure their conqueſts, and be a conſtant check upon the inhabitants. The firſt colony which they eſtabliſhed here, was that at Camulodunam, which city had formerly been the chief ſeat of Cunobelinus. Alſo, to gain the favour of the multitude, they made free cities in Britain, the inhabitants of which were allowed the ſame privileges as the citizens of Rome: to theſe places flocked the chief part of the Britons, who were adherents and promoters of the deſigns of the Romans. Of this ſort were London and Verulam, at the time of the revolt under Boudicea, queen of the Icenians.†

The druids deſtroyed, and why.

The Romans ſoon found the difficulty, or perhaps the impoſſibility, of altering the courſe of the Britiſh government, or introducing their own laws amongſt the natives, whilſt the druids retained their power and authority; and the diſturbances which thoſe crafty prieſts were conſtantly fomenting, in order to ſupport their declining fame, obliged the conquerors, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, not only to deſtroy them, but to aboliſh by force the ſuperſtitious doctrines which they had inculcated, as contrary to the policy and government which they (the Romans) were deſirous of impoſing upon the Britons.‡

The Roman laws eſtabliſhed in Britain.

The druids removed from the ſtate, and deprived of all their authority, and the affections of the people weaned by degrees from their doctrines, the whole conſtitution and form of government amongſt the Britons underwent a total change, and the laws of the Romans were eſtabliſhed in every part of the iſland that was ſubjected to them.

The preſident, or governor of Britain.

The government of the Roman province in Britain was committed to the care of a preſident, or imperial legate, whoſe power was very extenſive; for the whole war, and management of the Roman troops, as well as full direction of all civil affairs, were committed to him. We often find theſe men abuſed their authority, and became offenſive to the natives: the emperor Hadrian being convinced of this evil in or about the year 131, by edict abridged the power of the preſidents of conquered provinces, and laid their conduct under ſeveral neceſſary reſtrictions.§

The imperial procurator.

There was yet another officer of great conſequence appointed in the Roman provinces, named the imperial procurator, who was in ſome

* Vide Tacit. Annal.
† Ibid. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
‡ Suet. in Vita Claud.
§ Hiſt. des Emp. par Tillemount, tom. II. page 214.

measure independent of the president; he had the chief direction in the collecting and managing of the imperial revenues; he also often acted as a spy upon the governor of the province, and informed the emperor if he found any thing amiss in his conduct. These two officers, when they agreed together, might not only plunder and distress the provincials, but even rob the emperor and the state of their proper revenues.*

The vicar of Britain.

These two continued for a long time to be the chief officers employed by the Romans in Britain; but Constantine the Great established a prefect in Gaul, under whom an officer, called the vicar of Britain, presided in this island, and his authority extended over all the Roman provinces here; his residence was chiefly at London, where he lived in great pomp; his court was composed of several officers for the transacting the business of his government; as a principal officer of the agents, a principal secretary, two chief auditors of accounts, a master of the prisons, a notary, a secretary for dispatches, an assistant, under assistants, clerks for appeals, serjeants, and inferior officers. Appeals might be made to him from the governors of the provinces, and from him to the prefect of Gaul. He bore the title of His Excellence;† the ensigns of his office were a book of instructions in a green cover, and five castles on the triangular form of the island, representing the five provinces under his jurisdiction.‡

Britain divided into provinces.

Until the days of Severus all the Roman possessions in Britain made but one province, which that emperor divided into two. In after times, when the authority of the Romans was extended by new conquests, and all that tract of country subjected to them which lay between the two walls, they divided the whole into five provinces, the names and extent of which are as follow:

Five provinces of Britain.

I. Flavia Cæsariensis; this province extended from the land's end in Cornwall, to the south foreland in Kent, and was bounded on the south by the English channel, on the north by the Bristol channel, the Severn, and the Thames. It comprehended these nations,—the Danmonii, Durotriges, Belgæ, Attrebatii, Regni, and Cantii; which are now Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.

II. Britannia Prima, the second province, was bounded on the south by the Thames, on the east by the British ocean, on the north by the

* It is of these two officers that the Britons are complaining in the Life of Agricola. "In time past (say they) we had "but a single king, we are now burthened "by two; one of these, the governor ge- "neral, who tyrannizes over our persons "and lives; and the other, the imperial "procurator, who embezzles our substance "and fortunes: both equally pernicious "to us, whether they are quarrelling "amongst themselves, or whether united "by good intelligence and unanimity." Against them the one employed his predatory bands, as did the other his centurions, and their men; and both exercised violence alike, both treated them with equal insults and contempt. Tacit. Vita Agricola.

† Spectabilis in orig.

‡ Notitia Imperii, cap. 49.

Humber, and on the weſt by the Severn. It comprehended the tribes of the Dobuni, Cattivellauni, Trinobantes, Iceni, and Coritani; which are now Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Hertfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire.

III. Britannia Secunda, the third province, was bounded on the ſouth by the Briſtol channel and the Severn, on the weſt by St. George's channel, on the north by the Iriſh ſea, and on the eaſt by Britannia Prima. This province contained the countries of the Cornavii, Silures, Demetæ, and Ordovices; which are now Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, Cheſhire, Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire, Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, Cardiganſhire, Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Denbighſhire, and Flintſhire.

IV. Maxima Cæſarienſis, the fourth province, was bounded on the ſouth by the Humber, on the eaſt by the German ocean, on the weſt by the Iriſh ſea, and on the north by the wall of Severus. This province contained two nations, the Pariſi and the Brigantes; which now make the counties of York, Durham, Lancaſter, Cumberland, and Northumberland.

V. Valentia was the fifth, and moſt northern province of Britain; it was erected A. D. 369, by Theodoſius, and called by this name in honour of the emperor Valens. This province contained all that country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, and was inhabited by ſeveral Britiſh nations, called by the general name of Maæatæ.*

The governors of the provinces.

Theſe five provinces of Britain had each of them its governor, and a court compoſed of proper officers for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The governors of the two moſt northern provinces, Valentia and Maxima Cæſarienſis, were of conſular degree; but thoſe of the other three were only ſtiled preſidents. By the vicar of Britain, and theſe five governors of the provinces, all civil affairs were regulated, juſtice adminiſtered, and the taxes and public revenues of all kinds collected.†

The policy of the Romans.

After the Romans had ſubdued the Britons, in order to proceed with the greater ſecurity, they took their arms from them; alſo, they impreſſed ſuch of their youth as were ſtrong, and able to bear the fatigues of a camp, and ſent them over to the continent, where they might be ſerviceable to the Roman ſtate; by this means the force of the provincials was conſtantly kept within bounds, and their conquerors had nothing to fear from their diſcontents: another method, and the moſt natural one, which the Romans took to ſecure their conqueſts, was, to erect a multitude of forts and ſtrong-holds in the moſt advantageous parts of the iſland, in which were placed garriſons of ſoldiers, for they kept a conſtant

* Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. fol. 231 & 232.

† Notitia Imperii, cap. 49. Heineccius Antiq. Rom. tom. IV. page 258.

ſtanding army, which was a great burthen to the Britons; but at the ſame time, theſe political meaſures prevented their frequent breaking out into open rebellions, and gave occaſion quickly to ſubdue them when they did ſo. At the time in which the Romans held the five provinces in Britain, they are ſuppoſed to have had an army conſiſting of nineteen thouſand two hundred foot, and one thouſand ſeven hundred horſe; but as the inteſtine diſcords in the empire required aſſiſtance, theſe were by degrees diminiſhed, and at laſt they all forſook the iſland.*

Taxes laid upon the Britons.

The conqueſt of South Britain effected, and the Romans having made their footing firm, the chief cauſe of their undertaking was next attended to, and this was the levying of taxes; which ſeems to have belonged to the office of procurator to overſee. Theſe, whilſt they were collected with equity, were chearfully complied with by the provincials.

Taxes on corn, &c.

The Britons were obliged to pay a tax of their grain, which alſo they were conſtrained to carry to a conſiderable diſtance, that it might be lodged in the places appointed for its reception; this was a great grievance to them, but it was remitted by Agricola in the very firſt year of his government.† It is thought, that of the corn, as much as might be neceſſary for the army was taken in kind; for the remainder the huſbandman paid a certain ſtipulated ſum. A tax was laid upon their orchards, which was heavier than the former, becauſe there was not much trouble attending their cultivation; a fifth part of their produce is what was generally exacted.

Taxes on paſtures, &c.

Another tax, called Scriptura, and levied on the paſture grounds; this exaction was very oppreſſive: when the huſbandmen could not raiſe coin enough to anſwer the demand, they were obliged to ſell their cattle, or elſe borrow money of the wealthy Romans, to defray it. Seneca alone is reported to have lent the Britons, on ſome ſuch occaſion, the aſtoniſhing ſum of three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, which being rigorouſly demanded, at a time when they were unable to pay, was one of the grand cauſes of the revolt under Boudicea. Beſides this tax, it is highly probable that certain paſture lands were ſet apart for the forage of the horſes belonging to the Roman ſoldiers.

Various other taxes.

A tax was likewiſe levied upon the cattle of the Britons: this was moſt likely taken in kind, for the ſupport of the ſoldiers, Mines were taxed according to the value of their produce; alſo every kind of merchandize in proportion to its worth. A poll tax, or a certain payment exacted from every individual, was impoſed; and another payment when any perſon died, before the dead corpſe could be buried.‡ The exact ſums

* Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ Boudicea, in her famous ſpeech to the Britons before the battle with Suetonius, takes notice of theſe two taxes in particular: ſpeaking of the Romans, "Have they "not deprived us (ſays ſhe) of our moſt "valuable poſſeſſions, and do we not pay "grievous taxes for what is left? Beſides "all thoſe heavy impoſitions on our eſtates "and goods, are not our perſons taxed? "Do we not pay for the very heads on our "ſhoulders?

ſums which were gathered from theſe taxations are not to be diſcovered; however, we learn, from various paſſages of hiſtory, that they were very oppreſſive to the inhabitants. Beſides the impoſitions already mentioned, the Romans had a great variety of other taxes, with which they burthened their provinces; ſuch as thoſe laid on houſes, pillars, hearths, animals of ſeveral kinds, urine, and the like, which at ſome time or other moſt likely were forced upon the Britons; for we muſt not imagine that all theſe impoſitions were laid upon their backs immediately upon the ſubduing of this people, nor yet all of them at one time.

The ſtate of the Britons when the Romans left them.

This is a ſhort ſketch of the Roman policy and government in Britain, which overturned the former cuſtoms of the natives, and alſo ended in their ruin; for by this means we find them brought up in ignorance of the uſe of arms, deprived of their youth, and ſuch as were able to protect the ſtate from their foes, ſo that when the Romans took their leave of the iſland, they left the provincials in a much more deplorable condition than even their former ſervitude had been. Every man was now fearful of the approaching danger, and without regard of others, followed the dictates of his own inordinate deſires, ſo that the whole community were involved in a dreadful and pernicious anarchy. It is true, their common miſeries ſoon obliged them, in ſome ſort, to reſtore their former mode of government; accordingly they elected kings, but were either ſo unfortunate in their choice, or capricious in their reſolutions, that they ſoon dethroned them again, and ſet up others ſtill worſe than the former: this was their condition when the total ſubverſion of their ſtate was threatened by the northern inſurgents. This cauſed them to ſummon a general council, in which Vortigern ſeems to have borne the chief ſway, who, by his inadvertent advice, completed the ruin of the wretched Britons.*

CHAP. IV.

The State of Architecture amongſt the Britons.

Gradual improvents in architecture.

TO trace the origin of this art from its firſt commencement, we ought to take a view of mankind in a ſtate of nature, when their wants were only ſuch as were dictated by inſtinct, for the preſervation of life. Food was the firſt object of their purſuit, and probably the very

" ſhoulders? Why dwell I on theſe exactions " from thoſe that are living? Even the " dead are burthened with taxes! You all " well know that we are obliged to pay " for the bodies of our deceaſed friends." Xiphil. ex Dion. in Nerone.

* Gildas Hiſt. & vide page 60, of this volume.

next

next that of ſeeking ſome retreat from the inclemency of the ſeaſons. In the winter they retired to the holes and caverns of the earth, from whence iſſuing forth in the ſummer, the ſhade of large trees and thickets, or ſuch like habitations leſs ſecure, might ſuffice. Their firſt attempt at architecture would be naturally the erecting ſmall huts, compoſed of ſtakes driven into the earth, and interwoven with wattles, or pliant branches of trees; this homely cot they covered with green boughs, to defend them from the rain. The idea of a dwelling ſuggeſted, their next ſtep might be to plaiſter over the wattles with clay, to prevent the penetration of the wind, and to make the dwelling warmer. Such is the ſtate in which we find the habitations of the ancient Germans, in the earlieſt accounts which are handed down to us; and even at that unpoliſhed period we find them not a little proud of procuring ſuch clay as was of a gloſſy nature, to make their walls withal; and by mixing a variety of colours together, produced a kind of pictures upon them.* On the other hand, the Britons are ſaid to have affected a plain colour; for this cauſe they white-waſhed the clay after it was dry with chalk. The next improvement that they made in their habitations, was to thatch them with reeds, or ſtraw, as better fence againſt the rain than the boughs which they ſucceeded. After this, they ſet about more ſubſtantial buildings, making a frame of wood, inſtead of the wattles. In this ſtate the domeſtic ſtructures were in Britain about the time of Cæſar's arrival; all of them built in a circular form, and the roof thatched up round like a cone;† in the middle of which an aperture was left for the ſmoke to iſſue out: this was the conſtruction of the common houſes; thoſe of the better ſort are ſaid to have been of ſtone.‡

Towns of the Britons, how conſtructed.

At this time the Britons had no idea of building houſes contiguous with each other, ſo as to form regular ſtreets in what were called their towns; but they were built at ſome diſtance one from the other. Their habitations were generally near the banks of a river, for the convenience of water, or in the woods and foreſts, where abundance of forage might be found for their cattle: the moſt convenient of theſe places was choſen by the prince, who there appointed his reſidence; and his followers and dependants made their habitations as near as they could conveniently to that of their ſovereign, and alſo erected ſtalls for their cattle within the ſame limit.§ A town or city thus made, they fortified all round with a ditch, and mound of earth, or rampart; and if any danger was feared, they blocked up all the entrances with trees cut down, and heaped one on the other, without having the branches lopped from them.‖ Other towns were of ſlighter conſtruction, and only fortified with trees felled around, wherein haſty huts were made for the occupiers, and others for their herds; theſe were not intended for long continu-

* Tacit. de Morib. German.
† Diod. Sic. lib. v.
‡ Rowland's Mona Antiqua.
§ Diod. Sic.
‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

ance,

ance, being chiefly inhabited by the inland Britons, whose living depended only on their cattle, and so were under the necessity of being continually removing for the benefit of pasturage.* All this must be understood of the southern division of the island; for when the Romans had settled here, and advanced the arts to a considerable degree, the northern Britons were still in a state of barbarity, and dwelt in holes and caverns amongst the mountains, or at best in a sort of rude huts or tents.†

Stone Henge considered.

When one considers the low state of the arts, even in the southern parts of Britain, at the time of Cæsar's arrival, and the ignorance of the natives in the improvement of architecture, we can but admire that curious remaining proof of their indefatigable labours, Stone Henge; and we are naturally struck with wonder at beholding those vast stones set up in so much order, by a people who scarcely afforded time to build even tolerable dwellings for themselves. But we must look upon this as a place constructed for some great and important purpose, which was most likely planned out and executed under the immediate direction of the druids, who were the only masters of the arts and sciences at that time. Spirited up by the advice of the priests, they might willingly assist in the forwarding such an edifice, whether it was intended as a temple for their gods, or a place of public judicature.‡

The Romans introduce the art of architecture very early.

The Romans, immediately they had got footing upon the island, made haste to improve the dwellings of those provincials who had espoused their cause, and formed their towns into regular cities. Thus, as early as the year of our Lord 61, when the Roman colony of Camulodunam was destroyed by Boudicea and her army, it appears to have been a large well-built town, in which there was a temple adorned with statues, a theatre, and other public edifices.§ At the same time also, we find that London and Verulam were large, populous, and beautiful cities.‖

The Britons learn this art of the Romans.

All these improvements, it is true, were performed by the Romans themselves; but by degrees the knowledge of architecture diffused itself amongst the native Britons, who began to have a taste for peace and repose; and these favourable inclinations the crafty conquerors sought not to check, but, on the contrary, forwarded as much as lay in their power, exhorting and assisting them in building temples to the honour of the gods, houses for themselves, and places for public assemblies, and commended their diligence in such pursuits; because by this means their affections for liberty were lulled asleep, and they submitted with the greater readiness to the yoke which was imposed upon them; for having

* Strabo, lib. iii.

† Herodian, lib. iii.

‡ See the Hoɲda Angel cynnan, or the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of England, vol. I.

§ Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10. Xiphil. ex Dion. Nic. in Neron.

‖ Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.

once

once a taſte of ſplendour and luxury, the love of freedom was forgot, their minds were effeminated, and the heroic ardour of their anceſtors ceaſed to glow in their breaſts.*

Britain famous for artificers.

This was the ſtate of the arts in the ſouthern parts of Britain during the government of Julius Agricola; and the provincials profited ſo much from the inſtructions of their preceptors, that when Conſtantius Chlorus rebuilt the city of Antun, in Gaul, about the year 296, the chief workmen whom he employed were ſent from Britain, which at that time abounded with the beſt artificers.†

The decline of architecture amongſt the Britons.

In the beginning of the fourth century the art of architecture was in its zenith in Britain; from that period it loſt ground apace, ſo that before the final departure of the Romans the Britons were ſuch miſerable artificers, that they were obliged to repair the wall of Antoninus Pius with turfs, not having any workmen amongſt them, who underſtood enough of maſonry, to repair it with ſtone.‡ If this was true, we muſt recollect at the ſame time, that it could be only applicable to the inhabitants of the very northern province of Valentia; and in theſe parts the arts never flouriſhed to that degree which they did in the ſouth, where, no doubt, even at this very time, ſome faint traces of their ancient ſkill remained.

The Romans leaving Britain the ruin of this art.

The Romans taking their final leave, the architecture of the Britons fell at once into decay; for the ferocious plunderers, the Scots and Picts, breaking out from their retreats where they had hid themſelves, over-run a great part of the kingdom, and the unhappy provincials flying before them, left their cities to their mercy, who beat down and deſtroyed the principal places wherever they came: and after this, the arrival of the Saxons determined their fate; for that fierce people taking poſſeſſion of what remained to the ſouthern Britons, thoſe miſerable beings were driven again to their caves and dens, which had been poſſeſſed before by their barbarous progenitors.§

The arts of carpentry and maſonry.

To what height the knowledge of carpentry and maſonry were carried before the arrival of the Romans, cannot be determined; yet their houſes and utenſils of huſbandry, as ploughs, harrows, and the like, alſo all their neceſſary implements for the manufacture of cloth, required the hand of the carpenter to complete; but the greateſt proof of their ſkill in this art, is, the chariots that they uſed in war, which muſt have been very neatly and ſtrongly put together, to ſuſtain ſo many violent motions as we are told they did, and yet to run ſo lightly, and be ſo eaſily turned from place to place.‖ That the Britons had more than a mean ſkill in maſonry, Stone Henge may clearly prove; and alſo, that they were well acquainted with various mathematical engines, neceſſary

* Tacit. Vita Agric.
† Eumenii Panegyr. viii.
‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12.
§ Vide page 56 of this volume, & infra.
‖ Vide Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv.

to

for the moving and raiſing prodigious weights.* By the Romans theſe arts were improved, and on their final departure they ſunk again with the ruined ſtate of Britain.

CHAP. V.

The Art of War, and Military Diſcipline of the Britons.

The Britons well acquainted with the art of war.

THE natural propenſity to arms, and the reſtleſs tempers of the Britons, led them frequently to the field: jealouſies and diſputes amongſt neighbouring nations, which were continually breaking out, kept up a conſtant internal war with each other; and this martial ſpirit was diffuſed throughout the whole iſland, ſo that all the inhabitants, the druids alone excepted, were trained up to war, and taught betimes the uſe of arms.†

The armies of the Britons, how compoſed.

The armies of the Britons were not divided equally into diſtinct corps, containing each of them a fixed and certain number of ſoldiers, like thoſe of the Romans and more poliſhed nations; but every clan or family fought in a diſtinct band, under the command of the head of that clan;‡ the advantage ariſing from this method of arrangement, was, that the family bands were united by the ſtrongeſt ties of love and friendſhip, as well as the moſt ſolemn oaths; and it is natural to imagine they would fight with the greater alacrity, whilſt on the valour of each individual depended in ſome meaſure the life of his father, his brother, his ſon, or his neareſt relations. All the ſeveral clans which compoſed a nation, fought under the conduct of the king of that nation; and when a public war required a combination of the forces of ſeveral nations, one of the kings, moſt famous for his valour and military conduct, was choſen from the reſt, as chief general, and inveſted with the ſupreme command.§ This found policy, had it been well attended to, would have protracted, if not entirely prevented, the Roman conqueſt. What gave the conquerors ſuch ſpeedy poſſeſſion in the iſland, was, the diviſions and diſcords amongſt the natives themſelves; for, inſtead of continuing firm in their combinations, and unanimous in their reſolutions and conduct, every chief was jealous of his fellow, and whole communities diſſenting from each other, divided their forces, and fell an eaſy prey into the hands of their more politic enemies.‖

* Stukeley's Stone Henge, and Borlaſe's Hiſt. of Cornwall.
† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.
‡ Tacit. Vita Agric.
§ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8. Xiphil. ex Dion. in Neron.
‖ Tacit. Vita Agric.

Three kinds of Britiſh troops.

The Britiſh troops conſiſted of three kinds of ſoldiers; as their infantry, their cavalry, and thoſe that fought from the war chariots.

The infantry, their arms and habit.

The infantry conſtituted the moſt material part of the army of the Britons;* thoſe of the more ſouthern and improved parts of the iſland were habited like the Belgic Gauls, with whom they were very converſant; their dreſs conſiſted of a woollen tunic, thickly wove with coarſe harſh wool, over which they wore a kind of caſſock or cloak,† reaching down a little below the hips; their legs and thighs were covered with cloſe garments, called Bracæ; on their heads they wore helmets of braſs, ornamented at top with horns of the ſame metal, or elſe with birds or beaſts, rudely carved out; ſome had iron breaſt-plates, full of hooks, others again fought without; they wore a long ſword or ſpatha, hanging obliquely croſs their right thighs, and ſuſpended from a girdle by chains of iron or braſs. They alſo bore in their hand a large dart, whoſe ſhaft of iron was a cubit in length, and near as broad as two hands put together,‡ and ſhield proportioned according to the ſtature and ſtrength of the bearer, which was commonly ornamented with various rude figures.§ The foot ſoldiers amongſt the inland Britons were more lightly armed, wearing garments made of the ſkins of beaſts,‖ and bound round their middles, carrying ſmall ſhields on their left arms; their chief offenſive weapon was a ſpear; beſides which, it is likely they might bear ſwords, either of iron or braſs.** The Calidonians, and other northern nations, uſually fought naked, having neither breaſt-plates, helmets, or any other defenſive armour, except a ſmall light ſhield, or target; and their offenſive weapons were long broad pointleſs ſwords, ſuſpended by iron chains; and ſhort ſpears, with round balls of braſs at the end, with which they uſed to make a noiſe before an engagement, to frighten the horſes of their enemies;†† In this ſtate were they found, when Severus entered their territories, A. D. 207. To make amends for their want of armour, they were ſwift of foot, and very expert in all their motions; and the chief reaſon for their going naked, was, that garments and heavy accoutrements would have been burthenſome to them in their marches; for, in their retreats they would paſs the bogs and fens, and ſwim over deep waters with ſurprizing alertneſs, ſo that it was impoſſible for thoſe who were heavy armed to overtake, or even purſue them.‡‡

The cavalry of the Britons.

The cavalry of the Britons were mounted upon ſmall, but hardy, mettleſome horſes, which they managed with the utmoſt dexterity; their arms, offenſive and defenſive, were chiefly the ſame with thoſe of

* Tacit. Vita Agric.

† Τάγοις ῥαβδωτοῖς, caſſocks of rods. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‡ See this ſoldier delineated, plate V. of this volume.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v. & Strabo, lib. iv. &c.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal.

** See this ſoldier, plate V. the middle figure in the plate.

†† See a delineation of this Briton alſo, plate V.

‡‡ Tacit. Vita Agric. Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever. Herodian, lib. iii.

the infantry, for they would often diſmount from their horſes, and fight on foot.

Thoſe who fought from the war chariots ſeem to have been compoſed of the chief people, and very flower of their youth; they were ſo expert by long cuſtom, that they could manage their horſes at their pleaſure, drive them full ſpeed down ſteep hills, turn them in the ſhorteſt compaſs, run upon the pole of the chariot, and with the greateſt nimbleneſs return to their ſeat.* The moſt honourable perſon amongſt them took the reins, and guided the chariot; and under his conduct his friends or followers fought.† The chariot fighters.

The war chariots of the Britons were of three ſorts, all different; as the Covinus, the Rheda, and the Eſſedum.‡ The firſt of theſe was armed with hooks and ſcythes;§ this is thought to have been a light kind of chariot, made upon ſuch a conſtruction as only to contain the charioteer; for their principal uſe depended upon their force and rapidity, as all the execution was done with the ſharp hooks and ſcythes which were made faſt about it: the others, the Rheda and the Eſſedum, are ſuppoſed to have been larger than the Covinus, and without hooks; theſe, beſides the charioteer, contained ſome few warriors, armed with lances, which they threw at the enemy with great ſkill as the chariots paſſed rapidly by.‖ The charioteers would drive upon their opponents, and by the ſudden ſhock break the ranks, and put an army into confuſion; when they were entangled amongſt a troop of horſe, the warriors, leaping from the chariots, would fight on foot; mean time the charioteer, watching diligently all their motions, placed himſelf to ſuch advantage, that if they ſhould be oppreſſed by numbers, they might ſecure their retreat to the chariots, and elude the purſuits of the foe.** We may eaſily conceive that the number of war chariots in Britain muſt have been immenſe, when we conſider that Caſibellanus, after he had diſbanded the greater part of his army, retained ſtill four thouſand of them; and at the ſame time we may obſerve, that the uſe of them was univerſal amongſt all the nations of the Britons.†† Different ſorts of war chariots.

When they drew their forces up in order of battle, they uſually placed their infantry in the center, in diſtinct lines; and as they always choſe a

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. Tacit. Annal. & Vita Agric. Xiphil. ex Dion. in Neron. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6, &c. &c.

§ Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6.

‖ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol I.

** Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv.

†† Ibid. lib. v. It may here be added, that Tacitus writing a conſiderable time after Julius Cæſar, ſays only, "That ſome "of the nations of the Britons uſed to "fight in chariots." We may remember, that at the time in which Tacitus lived, the Romans had ſecured their conqueſts in the ſouthern parts of Britain, and that Julius Agricola, father-in-law to that hiſtorian, as he himſelf declares, had introduced the Roman uſages with great ſucceſs; ſo that no wonder he ſpeaks only of ſome of them, namely, thoſe who inhabited the north, ſince in his time the ſouthern Britons had declined their uſe. Vide Tacit. in Vita Agricola.

Manner of arranging the armies uſed by the Britons.

riſing ground for the field of battle, theſe lines were placed one above another, each at a little diſtance from the former, ſo that the whole of their army might be ſeen, and their appearance be more formidable to the enemy.* Each diſtinct corps conſiſted of the warriors of a clan, and were commanded by their own chief. The cavalry and chariots were placed on the wings on either ſide, or elſe in the front of the army, where in flying parties they drove up and down the field, and began the engagement by repeated ſkirmiſhes. On their rear were placed their waggons and baggage, which ſerved as a kind of blockade, to prevent the enemy's attacking them in that quarter; and frequently in their waggons their wives and children were placed, to be ſpectators of the bravery of their protectors; and they, on their parts, with repeated cries and yells, inſpired the warriors with freſh ſpirit, and conſtantly put them in mind that the lives and ſafety of their deareſt friends muſt depend on their valour.†

Speeches before the battle was begun.

Before the engagement was begun, the general always went from place to place, and harangued his army with a moving ſpeech, exhorting them all to fight glorioufly for their lives and liberty; the chiefs of the ſeveral bands alſo encouraged their followers, and endeavoured to infuſe into their ſouls an ardent deſire of ſignalizing their name, and reſiſting nobly all attempts to enſlave them. Theſe ſpeeches, we generally find, were received with the greateſt marks of approbation by the ſoldiers, which was ſignified by loud repeated ſhouts, and clatter of their arms.‡ There can be no doubt made, but that every one of theſe bands had their different enſign, or ſtandard, to which they might repair, and without which great confuſion muſt have happened in the time of battle. It does not appear that they had any inſtruments of martial muſic, to encourage the living, or drown the cries of the maimed; loud ſhouts, and repeated noiſes, made by themſelves, appear to have been all the arts they made uſe of on ſuch occaſions.§

Stratagems of war.

As the art of war was ſo familiar to the Britons, we can ſcarcely doubt of their uſing various ſtratagems to deceive the enemy, and gain advantage to themſelves. The artful conduct of Caſibellanus, when purſued by Cæſar, in a great variety of particulars, the feigned flights of the Britons to draw the Romans into ambuſhes, the endeavouring to ſurround their armies in engagements, and a great variety of ſchemes put in practice by the Britiſh generals, not only redound to their laſting honour, but alſo prove their knowledge and addreſs in the great requiſites of military conduct.‖

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8. & Vita Agric.

† Ibid. ibid.

‡ Ibid. ibid. & Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10. Xiphil. ex Dion. in Neron. & vide pages 17, 24, & 31, of this volume.

§ The Gauls indeed, we are told by Diodorus Siculus, uſed a ſort of war trumpet, "Barbaricis etiam pro ſuo more tubis "utuntur quæ horridum & bellico terrori "convenientum reddunt mugitum inflatæ." Perhaps the Britons might do the ſame, though it is not noticed by the hiſtorian. Vide Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‖ Cæſar, Bel. Gal. lib. iv. & v. Tacit. Annal. ut ſup. & Vita Agric.

Fortifications

Fortifications they either never attended to, or elſe knew not how to make; for their ſtrongeſt places were only ſurrounded by a ditch, and valum of earth; and the entrances blocked up with trees cut down, and laid acroſs them;* or inſtead of the valum, a rude wall of great looſe ſtones, without mortar or cement;† indeed it was but ſeldom that they threw up entrenchments about their camps, their carts and waggons placed in a circle round them, was all the guard they cared for; nor is this much to be wondered at, when we conſider the fiery and ungoverned tempers of the Britons, who were always too eager for the battle, to raiſe up works about them, which might protract the time, or be troubleſome to perform.

Britons ignorant of making fortifications.

The Romans when they had once gained ground in Britain, with their uſual policy, introduced a love for luxury and idleneſs amongſt the provincial natives; and by that means cauſed a univerſal decay of military diſcipline: after their departure, the unhappy Britons ſoon found by woeful experience, that the knowledge which they had gained, was but ill compenſated for the loſs of national courage, and the power of ſelf defence.‡

The Romans the ruin of military diſcipline in Britain.

CHAP. VI.

Agriculture and dependent Arts.

IT is the firſt conſideration of mankind, to procure food, without which they know they cannot long ſubſiſt. In the earlier ages, the ſpontaneous roots of the earth, and fruits of the trees, might be firſt eaten; ſoon after the fleſh of animals, was found to be a more ſubſtantial nouriſhment; this naturally introduced hunting into the world, the knowledge of which was quickly attained by every nation, however barbarous. The Britons were well acquainted with hunting; and even ſo late as the beginning of the third century, it was the chief method by which all the inhabitants beyond the wall of Hadrian, ſupplied themſelves with food: for though their coaſts abounded with fiſh, yet they were ignorant of the art of taking them; not perhaps from their want of invention, but inclination; for they would not eat them when caught.§

Hunting when general in Britain.

In the ſouth of Britain, where the natives were more civilized, hunting was only followed as an amuſement, and not to ſupply their neceſſary wants; therefore we find the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts,

State of agriculture on Cæſar's arrival.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.
† Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8.
‡ Gildas Hiſt.
§ Xiphil. ex Dio. in Sever.

oppoſite to Gaul, had in the days of Cæſar already made great advancements in the neceſſary arts to render life comfortable and pleaſing :* and the more inland natives, were but a ſtep behind them; theſe latter ſubſiſted entirely by paſturage; they never ſowed any lands, but fed upon the milk, and fleſh of their cattle, which was all the wealth they boaſted :† but their ſouthern neighbours, manured and cultivated their ground, and ſowed corn, which being reaped in proper time, was laid up in the ears in ſubterraneous caves and granaries; from whence they took as much as was neceſſary for the day, and having dried the ears, they beat the grain from them, which they bruiſed, and made into a ſort of bread for preſent uſe.‡

The Romans improve this art.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the Romans in Britain, agriculture was greatly improved, for the veteran ſoldiers who were planted in colonies, amongſt the natives, were as expert in this art, as they were in the battle; from them, the Britons ſoon took example, and purſued the readieſt methods to improve their lands; and by this means, more ground was cultivated, and the produce encreaſed; ſo that the provincials not only procured corn enough for their conſumption at home, but a conſiderable overplus was conſtantly exported to the continent for the uſe of the Romans there, and that in prodigious quantities.§ The great manure of the Britons was marle, a fat clay or earth, which they held in high eſteem.‖

Gardening firſt taught by the Romans.

The Britons were ignorant of gardening until the arrival of the Romans,** who planted orchards immediately upon their coming into the iſland; and they ſoon found that the ſoil was fit for moſt kind of trees and vegetables; at the firſt it was thought that vines and olives†† would not flouriſh here; but as thoſe conquerors became better acquainted with the land, they found it was alſo very proper for the growth of vines; accordingly leave was obtained of Probus the emperor of Rome, to plant vineyards and make wine.‡‡ All the various branches

* Diod. Siculus, lib. v. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

‡ Diod. Siculus, lib. v. Some veſtiges of this antient way of dreſſing of corn was diſcovered not long ago in ſeveral of the iſlands of Scotland. "This method "is called Graddan, from the Iriſh word "Grad, which ſignifies *quick*. A woman "ſitting down, takes a handful of corn, "holding it by the ſtalks in the left hand, "and then ſets fire to the ears, which "are preſently in a flame; ſhe has a "ſtick in her right hand, which ſhe ma-"nages very dexterouſly, beating out the "grain at the inſtant the huſk is quite "burnt, for if ſhe miſs of that ſhe muſt "uſe the kiln; but experience has taught "them this art to perfection, The corn "may be ſo dreſſed, winnowed, ground, "and baked within an hour." Martin's Deſcrip. of the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, p. 204.

§ Amm. Marcel. lib. xviii. cap. 22. Zoſimi Hiſt. lib. iii.

‖ Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvii. cap. 6.

** Strabo. lib. iv.

†† Tacit. Vit. Agric.

‡‡ Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. page 942.

of

of agriculture were ſoon made known to the ſouthern Britons; yet theſe improvements advanced but gradually into the north, for in the time of Severus, we are aſſured, that the Maæatæ and Caledonians, who inhabited beyond the wall of Hadrian, lived in barren mountains, and that they had no walled towns or cultivated lands, but lived on the milk and fleſh of their flocks and herds, or on the fruits of the trees, or elſe on what they got by plunder and hunting:* but the emperor Severus by levelling a great part of the country, and by draining the marſhes, made it more fit for cultivation: from this time perhaps they might by degrees have applied themſelves to huſbandry; and the Chriſtians who fled from the perſecution of Dioclefian, and took refuge amongſt this people, without doubt inſtructed them in the arts of huſbandry, as well as in the doctrine of Chriſtianity.†

The departure of the Romans occaſions the ruin of agriculture.

After the departure of the Romans, ſuch a ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs enſued in the ſouthern parts of Britain, that little attention could be paid to the neceſſary affairs of the people; and huſbandry amongſt the reſt was neglected; by which means cruel famines, added to the misfortunes of the Britons, operated almoſt as powerfully as the ſwords of their enemies in their deſtruction.

Wheel carriages of the Britons.

The Britons were not at a loſs for carts and waggons to convey their corn from place to place, or to ſerve every neceſſary purpoſe of agriculture; theſe we find they had in uſe, long before the arrival of the Romans;‡ nor can we wonder at it, when we recollect the chariots of war (a far more perfect kind of wheeled carriages than theſe were required to be) were univerſally uſed in Britain, when Cæſar made his firſt invaſion:§ beſides common carts and waggons, if we may believe ſome authors, they had alſo other ſorts of carriages, which were uſed by the principal people for pleaſure, to convey them to and fro; theſe were of two ſorts, the Benna, and the Petoritum; which differed from each other, the firſt ſuppoſed to have only two wheels, and the latter four: the common waggon as above mentioned, is uſually called Carrus or Currus, by the antient authors.‖

* Xiphil. ex Dio. Nicæo. in Sever.

† St. Jerome reproaches Celeſtius a Scotchman, "that his belly was ſwelled "or diſtended with Scot's pottage or haſty "puddy." St. Hieron. Comment. in Jeremiah. Which is a proof at leaſt, that in the beginning of the fifth century the Scots or Weſtern Calidonians lived partly upon this meal, to which they had been abſolute ſtrangers two hundred years before when invaded by Severus. Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. i. p. 317.

‡ Diod. Siculus, lib. v.

§ Vide page 259 of this volume.

‖ Aylett. Sammes. Antiq. Anc. Brit. p. 120 and 121.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Commerce and Navigation of the Britons.

The Phœnicians the firſt traders with the Britons.

THE firſt people who viſited Britain on account of trade were the Phœnicians; their coming was very early, though the exact time is not known; for a long time they kept the ſituation of the iſland ſecret, leſt the Greeks ſhould purſue the ſame rout, and ſhare their trade:* the moſt conſiderable commodities that the Phœnicians exported from the Scilly iſlands and bordering continent of Britain, were tin, lead and ſkins of beaſts,† amongſt which laſt no doubt the Britiſh wool may be included. In return for theſe articles, it does not appear that the merchants ever paid the Britons in gold or ſilver coin; the principle things which they imported were ſalt, earthen-ware, and trinkets made of braſs;‡ as bracelets for the arms, chains for the neck, rings and the like, all of which the Britons greatly affected.

The Greeks diſcover Britain.

Nothwithſtanding all the precautions uſed by the Phœnicians, to keep the ſituation of Britain from the knowledge of the Greeks, that people at length diſcovered it; and as early (it is thought) as three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra.§ The arrival of the Greeks greatly extended the trade of the Britons, and by the frequent intercourſe with the merchants, all the inhabitants of Britain on the ſea-coaſts, oppoſite to Gaul, became more civilized; though it does not appear that either the Phœnicians or the Greeks, attempted to plant any colonies upon the iſland. As the Greeks encreaſed their trade, they ſhortened their ſea voyages; and the tin which was got upon the continent of Britain, after being refined, and melted down into ſmall ingots, was by the native Britons conveyed in carts and waggons, at low water, over into the Iſle of Wight; and there ſold to the Greek merchants, who exported it from thence to the continent of Gaul, and ſo it was carried by land on horſes, to the mouth of the Rhone, from whence it was ſent to all parts of the world, where thoſe merchants traded.‖

Taxes impoſed on the Britiſh merchandiſe.

This ſeems to have been the ſtate of commerce in Britain, when Julius Cæſar invaded the iſland: he impoſed a tribute upon the natives on his departure, and though it was never paid by them, yet it afforded a handle to the ſucceeding emperors, to make demands upon them. Auguſtus drew great profits from the Britons, without any expence or

* Herodotus makes mention of the Caſiterides or Scilly iſlands, from whence the Phœnicians fetched their tin, but declares he could not diſcover their ſituation.

† Strabo, lib. iii. ſub fine.

‡ Ibid.

§ Vide Sammes Brit. chap. vi. & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

‖ Diod. Siculus, lib. v.

trouble;

trouble; partly by preſents, which were made him by ſuch of the Britiſh princes as courted his favour; and partly by taxes laid upon goods, imported from the continent to Britain, or exported from Britain to the continent; and as thoſe duties were in general very reaſonable, the Britiſh merchants did not complain, but carrried on their trade quietly under the protection of the Romans.*

Merchandize of the Britons.

After the Romans became acquainted with the Britons, beſides the uſual merchandize of tin, lead, and ſkins, other valuable things were found, which extended the commerce of the latter, and the revenues of the former; theſe were gold, ſilver, iron, corn, cattle, ſlaves, and dogs for hunting;† with various precious ſtones, and pearls:‡ chalk, lime and marle, are alſo to be reckoned amongſt the Britiſh exports at this period:§ amongſt theſe we muſt not omit baſkets made of wicker,‖ which were manufactured in Britain, with ſuch niceneſs, that they bore a great price, and were uſed at Rome: amidſt a great variety of goods which the Romans imported in lieu of theſe articles we find the following trinkets enumerated: ivory bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, and drinking glaſſes;** theſe are ſome few, and perhaps the moſt valuable commodities, for theſe could only be intended for the kings, and chief nobles amongſt the Britons; the more common ſort of people were doubtleſs contented with things of leſs worth: but we may reaſonably conclude, that as the natives grew more refined by their intercourſe with the Romans, a vaſt multitude of other things, of ſtill more conſequence, were required, and theſe baubles ceaſed to conſtitute any conſiderable part of the foreign imports.

* Strabo. lib. iv.

† Ibid.

‡ Concerning the pearls of Britain, Tacitus ſays, they "are of a dark and "livid hue," Vit. Agric. and Pliny to the ſame purpoſe: "In Britain ſome pearls do "grow, but they are ſmall and dim, not "clear and bright:" he after adds, "Julius Cæſar did not deny that the breaſt-"plate which he dedicated to Venus Mo-"ther, within her temple, was made of "Britiſh pearls." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. ix. cap. 35.

§ The following remarkable inſcription, which was found with many others near Zeland A. D. 1647, makes it appear that chalk was exported from Britain to the continent in very antient times; and that this trade was carried on by a claſs of men who were called Britiſh chalk merchants:

DEAE NEHALENNIAE
OB MERCES RECTE CONSER
VATAS SECVND: SILVANVS
NEGO+ TOR CRETARIVS
BRITANNICIANUS
V. S· L· M
To the goddeſs Nehalennia,
For his goods well preſerved,
Secundas Silvanus,
A chalk merchant
Of Britain,
Willingly performed his merited vow.

This proves at leaſt, that the chalk trade was carried on before Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in Britain. Vid. Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. i.

‖ Of theſe Martial ſpeaks, lib. xiv. c. 99.

Barbara depictis venit baſcauda Britannis,
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma ſuam.
A baſket I, by painted Britons wrought,
And now to Rome's imperial city brought.

** Strabo. lib. iv.

Trading towns in Britain.

The chief trading towns, during the government of the Romans, are thought to have been Clauſentum or Old Southampton, and Rutupæ or Richborough;* beſides there is little doubt, but that London was a place of great conſequence as a commercial town; for as early as the year 60, we find it famous for its wealth and the reſort of merchants, though it was not then diſtinguiſhed by the title of a colony.†

The ſhipping of the Britons.

Whilſt the trade with Britain was carried on by the Phœnicians and the Greeks, the Britons had no need of ſhips; whatever they wanted was ſupplied by the merchants, in exchange for the commodities which abounded in the iſland; but after, as they traded to the continent of Gaul, it is highly probable they were furniſhed with veſſels, to carry their goods over thither, and bring back what they obtained in exchange. The accounts which are left us concerning their veſſels, only make mention of ſmall boats, which were either made of wicker, and covered over with hides of oxen;‡ or in the more perfect ſtate, the keels and ribs were conſtructed of a ſtrong light frame of timber, which like the former, was covered with leather; and in theſe boats, the inhabitants of Ireland and Calidonia, in the ſummer, would paſs the ſea which flows between Britain and Ireland,§ and is often very rough and boiſterous. In the ſouthern parts of Britain alſo, the ſame ſort of boats were made uſe of, chiefly perhaps to paſs rivers and deep waters which were not fordable, and to tranſport their merchandize from place to place.

Reaſons why the Britons are ſuppoſed to have large ſhips.

Yet it is highly probable, that beſides theſe little boats, the Britons had larger veſſels, built of more ſolid materials; and we have great reaſon to believe this, when we find ſhips of a much compleater conſtruction made uſe of by the Gauls, and in thoſe very parts that traded with the Britons. Beſides, when the Veneti, inhabitants of the promontory of Gaul, now called Britanny, were preparing to attack the forces of Cæſar by ſea, they ſent into Britain for aſſiſtance, which was granted them:‖ and we may eaſily conceive, that ſmall wicker boats could have been of no uſe againſt ſhips and galleys built on the Roman conſtruction: there is little doubt to be made, but that thoſe of the Britons were nearly, if not exactly the ſame, with thoſe of the Veneti; which were built with their keels flatter than the Roman veſſels, that they might lie more conveniently in the ſhallows; their prows were very erect, and their ſterns alſo adapted to the violence of the waves in a ſtorm: theſe ſhips were entirely conſtructed of oak, ſo that they were not eaſily broken, or hurt, by the ſharp irons in the prows of the Roman gallies: the ſeats for the rowers were made of beams a

* Muſgrave, Bel. Brit. et Battely Antiq. Rutup.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 49.

‡ Lucan. lib. i. & Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 16.

§ Solinus, lib. iii.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iii. cap. 9.

foot broad, and faſtened with iron pins an inch thick: the anchors were faſtened with iron chains, inſtead of cables; and the ſails were made of hides, or tanned leather cut thin:* ſuch ſubſtantial veſſels as theſe might be ſerviceable to the Gauls, in the engagement with the Romans, which ſoon after followed; this ſea-fight was decided on the coaſt of Arimorica, now Britanny; the united forces of the Gauls and Britons, conſiſted of two hundred and twenty large ſhips, which were almoſt all of them deſtroyed in the conflict. This unhappy adventure entirely ruined the naval force of the Gauls and Britons, which is the reaſon by ſome aſſigned, why the Britons did not oppoſe Cæſar by ſea, when he invaded them the year following.†

Britons do not make long voyages.

The Britons do not appear to have ever undertaken any long voyages, either in their little boats, or their larger veſſels; we read indeed, that in the former, they uſed frequently to go to an iſland ſix days ſail diſtant from Britain;‡ but there is reaſon to believe, that in the latter, they never proceeded further to the ſouth, than the mouth of the river Garronne in Gaul.§

The Romans encreaſe the number of ſhips in Britain.

The Romans improved the Britiſh ſhipping; the emperor Claudius, beſtowed ſeveral privileges by law, on thoſe who built ſhips for trade,‖ ſo that their number was preſently encreaſed: about the year 359, we find no leſs than eight hundred ſhips, employed in the exportation of corn from Britain to Gaul. Beſides the merchant veſſels, the Romans alſo had a fleet of ſhips of war, to ſecure the coaſt, and protect the trade; this fleet was commanded by an officer of great rank and diſtinction; his title was high admiral of the Britiſh ſeas:** this important office, was filled by Sejus Saturnius, in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: alſo, we may recollect, how very formidable the fleet was under Carauſius and Alectus, the two uſurping tyrants, who aſſumed the purple in Britain, the former about the year 286, the latter A. D. 293.††

The Roman fleet in Britain kept againſt the pirates.

Soon after the death of Alectus, the Saxon pirates, who had before infeſted the ſea-coaſts, began again their uſual ravages; plundering the inhabitants near the ſea-ſhore, and ſeizing upon the merchant ſhips, which were proceeding on their voyages; theſe inſults obliged the Ro-

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iii. cap. 13.

† Selden's Mare Clauſam. lib. ii. cap. 2, &c.

‡ Pliny ex Timæus. See Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 16. When one conſiders this paſſage, one knows not what to make of the account given by Solinus, "That the Britiſh ſailors when they began a voyage, always abſtained from food until it was compleated."

§ Strabo, lib. iv.

‖ Sueton. in Claud. cap. 18 & 19. But theſe privileges were confined to thoſe who built ſhips capable of carrying ten thouſand Roman modia, or about three hundred and twelve quarters of Engliſh corn. By this we may form ſome idea of their ſize at this period. Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

** Archigubernus Claſſis Britannicæ.

†† Vide page 41 and 42 of this vol.

mans to keep a ſtrong fleet upon the Britiſh ſeas; and to render themſelves more ſecure, they erected ſeveral forts upon the coaſts, where the pirates uſually landed; and theſe were put under the command of an officer of conſiderable rank, called the Count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain.*

The Romans take their ſhipping with them.

When the Romans took their leave of Britain, they made uſe of their fleet to tranſport them into Gual; ſo that the hapleſs Britons were left open and defenceleſs on all ſides, their inland terrtories were oppreſſed with the continual outrages of the Scots and Picts, and their ſea-coaſts were plundered by the barbarous ſea-rovers and pirates.

CHAP. VIII.

Working of Metals and Coinage of the Britons.

The Britons anciently underſtood the working of metals.

THAT the Britons underſtood the art of working of metals in antient times, may be proved from a great number of ſharp inſtruments which they had, as axes, ſpear and arrow heads, ſwords, and the like, made of various metals. Tin, in all probability, was the firſt metal which they underſtood the nature of, and this they uſed to dig up and refine, long before they were diſcovered by the Romans; eſpecially thoſe who dwelt towards the land's end, who by frequent intercourſe with foreign nations, were much more civilized: theſe dug the tin ore out of their mines, and refined it with great dexterity and art; after which they melted it, and caſt it into ſmall blocks or ingots, of a ſquare form like dice, which they conveyed in carts and

* Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam---and the nine forts under his command were, 1 Branodunum, *Brancaſter*; 2 Garionnonum, *Burg Caſtle*, near Yarmouth, both on the Norfolk coaſt; 3 Othona, *Ithancaſter*, near Maldon in Eſſex, now over flowed by the ſea, though at low water ſome of the foundation is yet to be diſcovered; 4 Regulbium, *Reculver*; 5 Rutupæ, *Richborough*; 6 Dubris, *Dover*; 7 Lemanæ, *Lime*; all theſe laſt four are on the coaſt of Kent; 8 Anderida, *Haſtings*, or *Eaſtbourn*, in Suſſex; 9 Portus Adurnus, *Portſmouth*, in Hampſhire. Horſl. Brit. Rom. p. 471. Theſe nine forts were garriſoned by two thouſand two hundred foot, and two hundred horſe. Ibid. The enſigns of the count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain, were a ſmall book of inſtructions, and the figures of nine caſtles, repreſenting the nine forts under his command: his court was compoſed of the following officers; the principal officer from the court of the maſter of the foot, two auditors from the ſame court, and a maſter of the priſons alſo from the ſame court, a ſecretary, an aſſiſtant, an under aſſiſtant, a regiſter, clerks of appeal, ſerjeants, and other under officers. Notitia Imperii, cap. 52.

waggons

waggons to the Isle of Wight, where it was sold to the merchants, who came thither on purpose to traffic with the natives.*

Had knowledge of lead in early times.

Lead also they dug out of their mines. and refined; this metal was one of the chief commodities which the Phœnicians and Greeks, exported from Britain;† and we cannot doubt their being very early acquainted with the use of it, because the ore is said to have been found very near the surface of the earth, and in such prodigious abundance, that the natives were by a law forbid to take up more than a fixed quantity annually for exportation.‡

Copper and brass imported into Britain.

Copper and brass were imported into Britain by the Phœnicians, who exchanged those metals for tin and lead:§ yet when the emperor Severus invaded the northern parts of Britain, the Maæatæ and the Calidonians seem to have had some knowledge of working the last of these metals, by the round balls of brass which were fastened at the end of their spears. Probably they received them from their neighbours in the south, for which, perhaps, they paid cattle, or some such consideration.‖

Other metals of the Britons.

The Britons had iron, but it was so very scarce, that their money was made of it, and trinkets to adorn their persons: the general usage of this excellent metal was first introduced by the Romans, who erected foundaries, and set up forges, in several parts of the kingdom for the manufacturing of arms, tools, and utensils of every kind. Gold and silver were not known to be in the island at the time of Cæsar's arrival;** but a short time after, both these metals were discovered;†† the art of refining and working them, the Britons might learn from their neighbours, the Gauls, who understood both extremely well.

The Britons ignorant of the potter's art.

The earthen vessels, which constituted a part of the merchandize that the Phœnicians brought into Britain,‡‡ may plainly prove that the natives themselves were not expert in the manufacturing of them; though, without doubt, they could not be ignorant of some method of forming vessels of clay, and to dry them in the sun, in order to hold liquids: this we may conclude from the early want which every people must find of such necessary utensils, and which were so easy to be made. However this may be, when the Romans came into the island they had no longer any need to have them imported from abroad; those ingenious people made all sorts of earthen ware in the greatest perfection, and without doubt instructed the Britons in their art.

No coined money in Britain when Cæsar invaded it.

When Cæsar invaded Britain the natives were ignorant of the use of coin: their treasures consisted of rings and tallies of iron, which they gave in exchange for such merchandize as they wanted.§§ Coined mo-

* Diod. Sic. lib. v.
† Strabo, lib. iii. sub fine.
‡ Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17.
§ Strabo, ut sup.
‖ Xiphil. ex Dion. Nic. in Severus.
** Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. v.
†† Tacit. Vita Agricolæ.
‡‡ Strabo, lib. iii. sub fine.
§§ "Utuntur, aut ære, aut annulis "ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis "pro nummo." Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 9.

ney; it is thought, was firſt introduced into Britain by the Gauliſh merchants ſoon after the departure of Julius Cæſar; and from them alſo the Britons learnt the art of coinage.*

When money was firſt coined in Britain, and by whom.

How early coined pieces were made uſe of in Britain has long been a matter of great diſpute amongſt the learned; but thoſe opinions ſeem moſt likely to be true, which fix the æra of coinage in the reign of Auguſtus, and make Cunobelinus the firſt Britiſh prince who ſtruck money in Britain;† and he muſt have coined to a conſiderable amount, for no leſs than forty coins of gold, ſilver, and copper, of this prince, have been diſcovered, all of them of different dies and ſtamps, ſo that he muſt have made at leaſt forty different coinages;‡ and as there is great reaſon to conclude that other kings of the Britons followed the example of this prince, a prodigious quantity of money muſt ſoon have been produced.

The Romans forbid the currency of Britiſh money.

After the Roman conqueſt there was no more Britiſh money coined; for thoſe conquerors not only forbid the making of a new coinage, but put a ſtop to the circulation of what was already ſtruck, and inflicted ſevere penalties on any who gave or received ſuch coin in barter for merchandize, ſo that the Roman money was ſoon made current amongſt the provincial Britons; and as the Romans increaſed the commerce of the inhabitants, there is no doubt but by that means they added to their wealth, ſo that a vaſt quantity of real ſpecie muſt have been circulated in the ſouthern parts of Britain whilſt the Roman government was in a flouriſhing condition.

The decline of the wealth of the Britons.

The wealth of the Britons declined about fifty years before the final retreat of the Romans from Britain, owing, in great meaſure, to the deſtructive ravages of the Picts and Scots in the northern parts of the provinces, and of the Franks and Saxons in the ſouth upon the ſea-coaſts, who barbarouſly deſtroyed every place wherever they came. Beſides this, the two unfortunate expeditions of Maximus and Conſtantine, (the firſt happening A. D. 381, and the laſt A. D. 408) gave a fatal blow to the declining wealth of the provincials; for theſe two adventurers collected and carried off all the money that they could get, in order to ſupport their cauſe, and pay their army.§

* Pegge's Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobelinus.

† Ibid.

‡ Mr. Pegge very properly arranges the coins of this prince in the following claſſes:

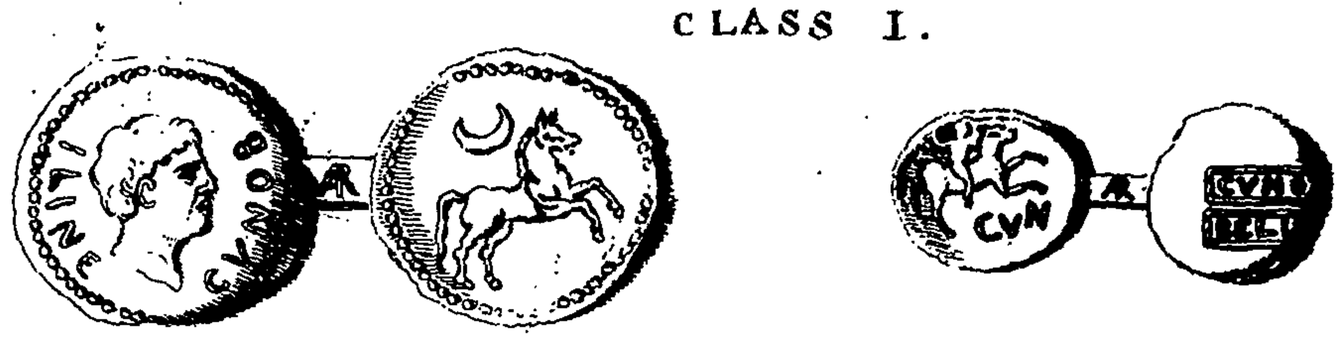
1. Thoſe with the king's head and name, or ſome abbreviation of it.
2. Thoſe with the king's name, and place of coinage.
3. Thoſe with the king's name, and the word Taſcia.
4. Thoſe with the king's name, the word Taſcia, and the place of coinage.
5. Thoſe with the word Taſcia only.
6. Thoſe with the word Taſcia, and the place of coinage. See ſpecimens of all theſe claſſes, plate IV.

The word Taſcia has been variouſly accounted for; but Mr. Pegge ſuſpects, that it may have been the name of the mint-maſter of Cunobelinus. See Pegge's Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobelinus.

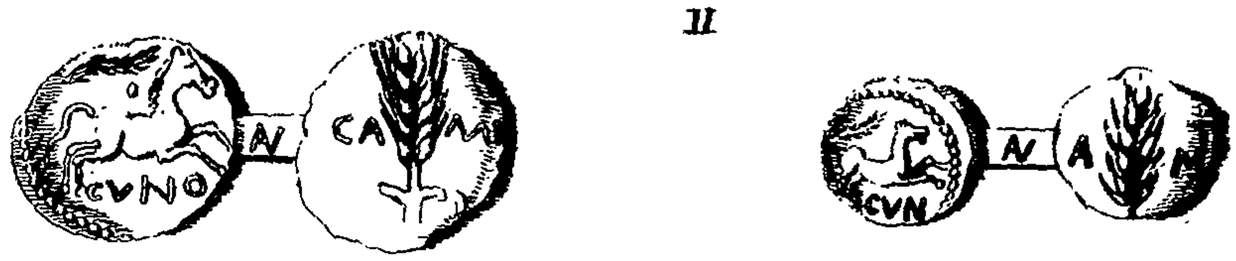
§ Vide pages 49, 50, & 52, of this vol.

Shortly

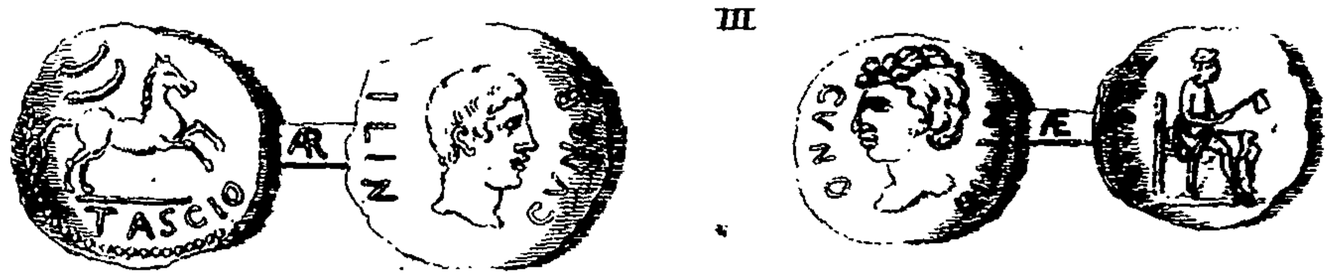
CLASS I.



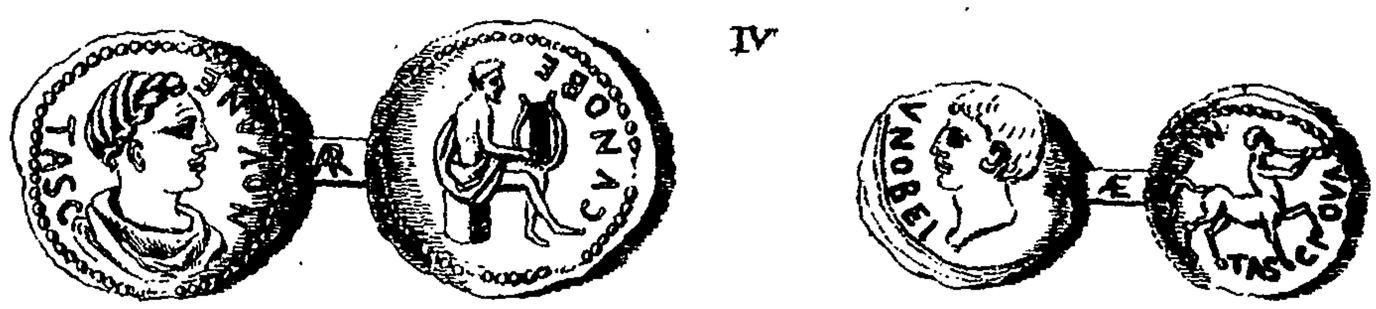
II



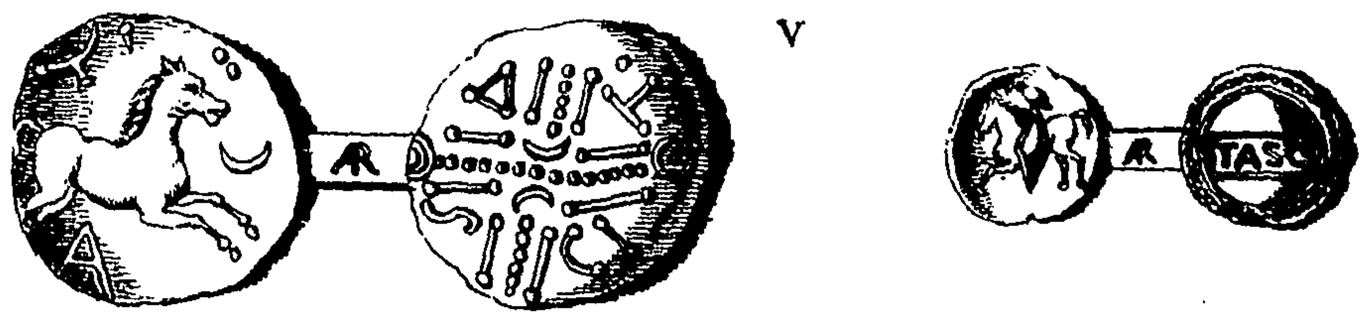
III



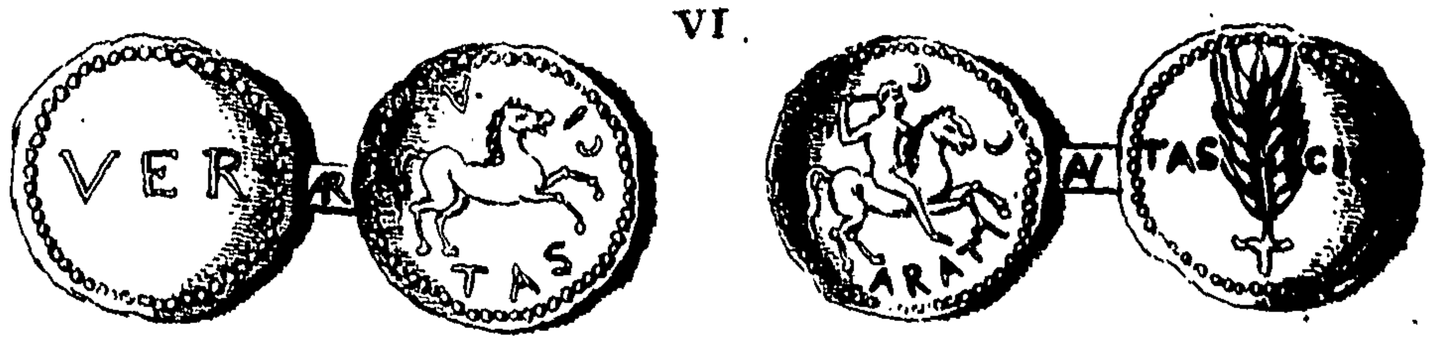
IV



V



VI.



Shortly after this, the Romans left the Britons to themſelves, and their troubles fell ſo ſucceſſively upon them, that they had no leiſure to make freſh coinages, or even to make uſe of what little money they had left.

The miſeries of the Britons.

In the early times, the want of ſolid roads and bridges muſt have been a great hindrance to the Britons in conveying their goods from one place to another: all theſe inconveniencies were alſo remedied by the Romans, who made four great roads through the ſouthern parts of Britain, and bridges over rivers, ſo that all ſorts of merchandize might be carried from one part of the iſland to the other with the greateſt eaſe and expedition. Theſe improvements were ſoon broke in upon by the calamities which followed upon their departure.

The Romans make roads and bridges in Britain.

CHAP. IX.

The Cloathing Arts, and Habits of the Britons.

WHEN men had provided themſelves with food, and were in the poſſeſſion of habitations to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, their next thoughts were in general employed in furniſhing themſelves with cloaths for the covering of their nakedneſs. After they had ſlain the beaſts of the field for their food, the appropriating their ſkins for garments ſeems to be a circumſtance ſo natural, and likely to follow, we may eaſily conclude that ſuch were the habits of men in the very ancient ages; and that ſuch was the habit of the inland Britons, when Cæſar invaded their iſland, we have ſufficient teſtimony to prove.*

Clothing, an early conſideration.

We have alſo the greateſt reaſon to believe, that the inhabitants of South Britain were acquainted with the arts of dreſſing, ſpinning, and weaving both flax and wool before the arrival of the Romans, becauſe their neighbours, the Gauls, had long underſtood them; and, as a proof, we may add, that the inhabitants of the Caſſiterides, or Scilly iſlands, were then clothed, and their perſonal appearance was as follows:—A long black tunic reaching down to their ancles, and bound round the waiſt with a girdle; they wore their beards long, and hanging on each ſide of their mouths like wings.† Beſides, we are aſſured that the inhabitants of Kent, and the ſea-coaſts, were by far more civilized than the inland Britons;‡ therefore, it almoſt amounts to a proof of their having garments, though they are not particularly deſcribed.

Reaſons for thinking the Britons were acquainted with the arts of clothing.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

† Strabo, lib. iii. See this figure delineated, plate V. of this volume, the ſecond figure from the left hand ſide of the plate.

‡ Cæſar, ut ſup.

The

Various cloths made by the Gauls.

The Gauls made ſeveral ſorts of cloth; the firſt and moſt valuable was manufactured of fine wool of different tints, which being ſpun into yarn, was woven chequer-wiſe, ſo as it might fall into ſmall ſquares of various colours.* Another garment they made of coarſer wool, which was very thickly woven; this cloth was uſed by the Romans themſelves in cold weather:† alſo a very thick kind of cloth they uſed to make, of wool driven tightly together, without ſpinning or weaving, which, if worked up with vinegar, was ſo hard and impenetrable, that it was eſteemed a good guard againſt the edge or point of a ſword; and what was ſheared off, and came from it, (when taken out of the coppers and leads where it was dreſſed) made excellent flocks, which were uſed in ſtuffing matraſſes.‡ Thus much for their woollen manufactory. They were equally famous for their linen, which they wove with great dexterity, as alſo cloths to make ſails for ſhips; theſe were ſold to various nations, and conſtituted a great part of their trade.§

Ancient method of bleaching linen.

When they had compleated their linen in the loom, they proceeded to uſe ſeveral arts to make it more ſoft and beautiful, and to bleach it; the whole proceſs, as well as the whiting the flax before it went to the loom, was as follows:—The unſpun yarn was put into a great mortar, where it was pounded and beaten in water; when it was come to a certain whiteneſs, it was ſent to the weaver; and when it was received again from him made into cloth, it was laid upon a large ſmooth ſtone, and well beaten with broad-headed cudgels: the more frequently it was beaten, and the more labour was beſtowed, the ſofter and whiter the cloth always proved; but very frequently they would mingle the juice of poppies with the water which they uſed on theſe occaſions, and that was thought to contribute conſiderably to the making the linen more white and beautiful.‖ Sometimes they uſed ſoap to ſcour their cloths, which they made of the fat of animals, and the aſhes of certain vegetables; nay, even the invention of this valuable article is attributed to them.**

The art of dying.

Now we are ſpeaking of their linen and woollen manufactories, we muſt not forget their ſkill in the art of dying their cloth of various colours, which they performed in a very ſkilful manner; for they found means to counterfeit the purple of Tyrus, the ſcarlet, and the violet in grain. In ſhort, they were able to make all ſorts of colours that can be thought of, and that with the juice of herbs only.††

Firſt garments of the Britons.

When the Britons became a little more civilized, and began to wear garments, the mantle, or plaid, was the firſt they adopted, which was ſo made as to cover all the trunk of the body, before and behind, and

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. Pliny's Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 48.

† Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Pliny's Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 48.

§ Ibid. lib. xx, cap. 1.

‖ Ibid. lib. xix. cap. 1.

** Ibid. lib. xxviii. cap. 12.

†† Ibid. lib. xxii. cap. 2. From the ſame ſame author we may gather ſeveral of the herbs uſed for the commoner colours, as woad for blue, the hyacinth for light reds, and the like.

was



was faſtened upon the breaſt with a claſp; or, for want of that, with a thorn.* Theſe mantles are thought to have been all of one colour, and ſmooth on the inſide, with long hair on the outſide, like the common rugs which are laid on the beds by way of coverlets:† and in early times theſe rude garments were eſteemed a luxury, and worn by none but the kings and nobles; but as the habits were improved, perſons of that high rank provided themſelves with a better ſort, and the rug deſcended to the common people.

The habit of a Belgic Gaul, which was alſo adopted by the ſouthern Britons, from unqueſtionable authority, was as follows:—A tunic, ornamented with various flowers; cloſe garments, called bracæ, which covered their legs and thighs; over their tunic they wore a caſſock, or cloak of chequer-work, joined together with laces on the inſide, ſo as to form the appearance of flowers; this laſt garment was made thicker and more maſſy for winter, and thinner for the ſummer. Some wore belts over their tunics, adorned with gold or ſilver, from which hung their ſwords, ſuſpended by chains of braſs or iron; on their heads they wore helmets of braſs, ornamented with horns of the ſame metal; about their necks and about their wriſts they wore chains and bracelets of gold,‡ as alſo large golden rings upon their fingers.§ This was the dreſs of a warrior, and moſt likely of a chief nobleman.‖ Others again we find without the tunic, and wearing a woollen robe with ſleeves, which reached down to their hips.** The habit of a Belgic Gaul.

Next to theſe we may juſtly place the ancient inhabitants of the Caſiterides, who wore long black garments, as was before obſerved, and walked about from place to place with ſtaves in their hands.†† And after theſe again ſhould be added the inland inhabitants of Britain, who were cloathed in ſkins:‡‡ and theſe were the habits of all the natives who poſſeſſed the ſouthern diviſion of Britain at the time of Cæſar's arrival. Habits of the Britons.

The Maæatæ and Calidonians were not at this time diſcovered to the Romans; and even when they were by Julius Agricola,§§ all that we can learn concerning them, is, that they were in a ſtate of barbarity; and this we may be well aſſured of, for when we meet with a more particular account of them, ſo late as the reign of the emperor Severus, we find them ſtill naked, wearing about their necks and bellies large rings, and chains of iron, which they looked upon as great ornaments, and prized them as highly as other nations do ſilver or gold. Yet it ſhould ſeem that this nakedneſs did not proceed from the abſolute want of garments, but from pride; for they painted their bodies with various co- The barbarity of the northern nations.

* Pelloutier Hiſt. Celt. lib. i. p. 301.
† Strabo, lib. iv.
‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.
§ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxiii. cap. 1.
‖ See plate V. of this volume.
** Strabo, lib. iv.
†† Ibid, lib. iii. See plate V.
‡‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. See plate V. of this volume.
§§ Tacit. Vita Agricola.

lours, and made thereon the repreſentation of animals, and they were fearful if they were cloathed all theſe delightful ornaments would be hid;* they either knew not the uſe of ſhoes, or did not care to wear them.†

The dreſs of the druids, and of the women.

The habits of the druids differed from thoſe of the laity, and, if not always, upon their ſolemn feſtivals and ſacrifices were white, and very probably of linen for diſtinction's ſake.‡ How the women were habited at this early period we are not ſo well informed; only we find, that they let their hair hang looſe upon their ſhoulders, and being turned back before, fell down behind, without tying or braiding; a conſtant attention was paid to make it of a yellow hue by art, if it was not ſo naturally; and even where it was, it was thought more beautiful if the tint could be heightened.§ The women alſo wore maſſy chains of gold about their necks, great bracelets upon their arms, and rings upon their fingers.‖

The habit of Boudicea deſcribed.

The habit of Boudicea, the famous Britiſh heroine, is very luckily preſerved, as well as a perfect deſcription of her perſon: She was a large well-made woman, of a ſevere preſence, and her voice was loud and ſhrill; her hair, which was of a deep yellow, and very long, hung down to the bottom of her back, and on her neck ſhe wore a maſſy chain of gold; ſhe was habited in a tunic, wrought and interwoven with various colours, over which was a looſer robe of coarſer make, and bound round her with a girdle, faſtened with buckles. This was her uſual habit; but as ſhe was now upon the point of giving battle to the Romans, ſhe bore a ſpear alſo in her hand.**

Head coverings, and ſhoes.

What covering the Britons or Gauls had for their heads when they did not wear their helmets or accoutrements of war cannot be diſcovered, but perhaps none at all; for whenever their dreſs is deſcribed we meet not with any mention made of them: or, if they had any, it is likely they were only caps made of the ſkins of beaſts, with the hair turned outwards. In like manner might their ſhoes be made of ſkins, with the hairy ſide outermoſt, and bound round the inſtep with a cord or thong. We may be well aſſured that the more civilized Britons had ſome ſort of ſhoes,

* Herodian. in Vita Severus, lib. iii. cap. 46. & Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever. Iſidorus writes us, that the name of the Picts, (which was given latterly to the Maæatæ) correſponded well with the appearance of their bodies: for (adds he) they ſqueeze the juice of certain herbs into figures made on their bodies with the points of needles, and ſo carry the badge of their nobility upon their ſpotted ſkins. Iſidorus Orig. lib. xix. cap. 23. So alſo Solinus ſays, as this operation was done with ſharp needles, and was very painful to them, thoſe were eſteemed the braveſt who bore it with the greateſt fortitude, and received the deepeſt punctures to imbibe the greateſt quantities of paint. Solin. lib. xxxv. ſub finem.

† The reaſon why they wore no ſhoes, might be becauſe they thought they would prevent their running ſo ſwift; ſo alſo, they would wear no armour becauſe it was cumberſome to them when they paſſed the bogs and fens. Herodian, ut ſup. See one of theſe Britons repreſented plate V. of this volume.

‡ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‖ Ibid. & Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiii. c. 1.

** Xiphil. ex Dion. in Nerone. See this figure delineated, plate V.

for

for a particular ſtreſs is laid upon the barbarity of the Maæatæ and Calidonians from their being unſhod.*

The habits of the Britons particularized.

We will now take a ſhort review of the habits which we ſuppoſe to have been worn by the civiler Britons, and which we have ſeen by undoubted authority was the attire of the ancient Gauls. The firſt is the robe, or cloak; whether it be made of the baſket, or chequer-work, or whether made of woollen cut ſmooth on the inſide, and the hair left long on the outſide like a rug, both theſe ſorts were worn by the Gauls, and one of them had ſleeves.† The ſecond part of their dreſs was the tunic.‡ The third part, and the moſt remarkable, the bracæ,§ which were a ſort of garments not unlike the trowſers of our ſailors in the preſent day, ſaveing only that they came down to the ancles, and were there tied round cloſe to the ſhoe. Theſe habits, which were certainly worn by all the Celtic nations, may be ſeen frequent enough in many figures on the Trajan and Antonine columns; and the authorities quoted below may perhaps amount to a proof, that theſe were alſo the habits of the Britons who dwelt upon the ſea-coaſts oppoſite to Gaul.

Ornaments worn by the Britons.

The perſonal ornaments which the Gauls affected moſt, were large chains of gold; theſe they wore round their necks; maſſy bracelets for their arms, and rings for the fingers, of the ſame metal; all which were univerſally uſed by both ſexes. And we are well aſſured that the South Britons adorned themſelves in the ſame manner;‖ nay, ſo generally was this taſte diffuſed throughout the iſland, (which proves it of long ſtanding) that in the north, where gold was not to be procured, the natives made chains, rings, and bracelets, of iron; of which, alſo, they were not a little proud.**

The change made in dreſs by the Romans.

It was ſome time after the Romans had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Britain before the natives were prevailed upon to quit their ancient habits. Julius Agricola, who, in all his proceedings, diſcovered his prudence as a commander and as a governor, by lenitive meaſures led them by degrees from one ſtep of luxury to another; and it is under his adminiſtration that we firſt find them wearing the Roman apparel, which before they had ſhewn great diſlike to. As they now began to learn the Roman language, to build temples, places of aſſembly, and imitating the cu-

* Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever.

† Varro informs us, that the Britons uſed to wear a garment called a *Gaunacum*, which was of divers colours woven together, making a gaudy ſhew. This garment anſwers well to the deſcription of the above robe, or cloak, as given before, page 258 of this volume.

‡ The tunic, Strabo expreſsly declares, was worn by the inhabitants of the Caſſiterides, before deſcribed; the tunic of various colours makes a part of the habit of Boudicea, as before declared.

§ That the Britons alſo wore the bracæ, let Martial bear witneſs, "Quam veteres "brachæ Britonis pauperis, &c."

‖ This may be proved from the great variety of rings, and chains of gold, which were carried before Caractacus in triumph, when he was led before the emperor Claudius: theſe he had taken in his wars from the monarchs of kingdoms neighbouring to his own.

** See the authority quoted before.

ſtoms of their conquerors in all their proceedings,* the habits above-deſcribed were no longer uſed, but the gown of the Romans, and other garments more convenient, or perhaps, at leaſt, more agreeable.

The Romans improve the clothing art.

The Romans, ſoon after they had brought the natives to conform to their cuſtoms and habits, improved the art of making cloth, and there was an imperial manufactory eſtabliſhed at Venta Belgarum, now Winchester, where all ſorts of woollen and linen cloth was made for the uſe of the Roman army in Britain.† As the Romans improved this art, ſo alſo at their departure it declined; for the miſeries which followed in Britain prevented a proper attention being paid to it.

CHAP. X.

Learning, and the State of the polite Arts amongſt the ancient Britons.

The druids the only people of learning amongſt the Britons.

THE druids were the only perſons of learning in Britain before, and even ſome time after, the arrival of the Romans; and to theſe men the natives paid the higheſt honours, for they were both prieſts and philoſophers. It was cuſtomary with the Britons never to perform any ſacred rite without their aſſiſtance, for they believed them to be well acquainted with the will of the gods; and for that reaſon were the moſt proper perſons to offer up their prayers and thankſgivings.‡ Theſe prieſts, as we have ſeen before, were divided into three claſſes, the bards, the vates, and the druids;§ the firſt were poets and muſicians; the ſecond were prieſts and phyſiologiſts; and the laſt added to the ſtudy of phyſiology, that of moral philoſophy.‖

The druids improved the Britons.

Theſe prieſts poliſhed, and brought their ſcholars into a more rational way of living, and taught them ſome branches of uſeful learning. The vates, by their reſearches into the order of things, endeavoured to lay open the hidden ſecrets of nature; whilſt the druids were men of a more ſublime and penetrating ſpirit, and acquired the higheſt renown by their ſpeculations, which were at once both ſubtile and lofty.**

The phyſiology of the druids.

It is true, at this diſtance of time, there is no poſſibility of giving a clear and diſtinct account of the learning of the druids; all that we can gather, muſt be from the ſlight hints which are to be met with in the ancient authors, and which can only lead us to ſome few particulars. One of their phyſiological opinions concerning the univerſe, was, that it

* Tacit. Vita Agricol.
† Camd. Brit. in Hampſhire.
‡ Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 31.
§ Vide page 191 of this volume.
‖ Ammian. Marcel.
** Ibid.

ſhould

ſhould never be entirely deſtroyed, or annihilated, but that it ſhould ſuffer a ſucceſſion of violent changes and revolutions, which would be produced, ſometimes by the predominating power of fire, and ſometimes by that of water.* All the reſt of their various enquiries into the origin, nature, laws, and properties, of material objects, are unhappily loſt; and this misfortune, moſt likely, we chiefly owe to their refuſing to commit their opinions to writing.

Aſtrology and aſtronomy of the druids.

The druids (who were employed in matters of the higheſt ſpeculation) we find inſtructing their ſcholars concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, and treating of the power and might of the gods.† There is little doubt to be made, but that the druids alſo pretended to a knowledge of aſtrology; becauſe, of all ſuperſtitions, this ſeems the moſt likely to lay faſt hold upon the minds of men; and when moſt of the reſt were aboliſhed as abſurd, this held its conſequence, and was not utterly rejected till very latter days: however this may be, it is certain that they were aſtronomers, though we know but little of their opinions upon this ſubject; nor can we in the leaſt pretend to inveſtigate their ideas of the mundane ſyſtem. Their time they computed by nights;‡ they had alſo the diviſion of months and years;§ both which they are ſaid to have begun from the full of the moon: but if they reckoned only twelve moons in their year, their computation muſt have fallen conſiderably ſhort of the ſolar year, and would have ſoon called for an alteration; yet by what means they rectified the deficiency is not known. It is certain that they paid great regard to the age of the moon whenever they proceeded on any buſineſs of importance; and the time that there was a new moon, or that ſhe was at the full, was always eſteemed the moſt auſpicious.‖

Arithmetic, geometry, and geography of the druids.

From a great variety of circumſtances we may be led to conclude, that the druids were ſkilled in the art of arithmetic, which muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary in all their computations, as well as in their public and private accounts. Their knowledge of the Greek alphabet is thought to have been two ways ſerviceable to them; firſt, as letters; and ſecondly, as figures. With reſpect to geometry; to what extent their knowledge of this ſcience was carried, we can by no means determine; yet it ſeems they were acquainted with it, becauſe they determined the bounds and limits of all eſtates which were diſputed; and we find them engaged in the more ſublime ſpeculations of geometry, as meaſuring the magnitude of the earth, nay, of the world itſelf. Geography again it ſeems reaſonable that they ſhould have ſome ſkill in, becauſe when annual diſputes were referred to the arch-druid, and the provincial druids delivered in their determinations upon ſuch matters as might relate to eſtates and landed poſſeſſions, this muſt be ſettled by the aſcertaining in ſome meaſure the extent of ſuch poſſeſſions.**

* Strabo, lib. iv.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. & Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2.

‡ Cæſ. ut ſup.

§ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

‖ Ibid.

** Vide Borlaſe's Hiſtory of Cornwall, and Stukeley's Stone Henge.

The

Mechanical knowledge of the druids.

The Druids were certainly well verſed in mechanical knowledge; this may be eaſily proved, when we recollect that Stone Henge, and a great variety of other ponderous ſtructures, are the laſting remains of their ſkill; for it muſt require no mean dexterity, to convey ſuch immenſe ſtones from place to place, and to raiſe them to ſuch heights as we now find them.*

The knowledge that the druids had of phyſic.

The druids alſo were the only phyſicians amongſt the Gauls and Britons; † which people were the more particularly inclined to make application to them for relief, becauſe they thought that all internal diſeaſes proceeded from the anger of the gods, and therefore none could be ſo proper to make interceſſion for them, as the prieſt of thoſe very deities from whom their afflictions came; for this cauſe alſo they offered ſacrifices, when ſick; and if dangerouſly ill, the better to prevail upon the gods to reſtore them to health, a man was ſlain, and ſacrificed upon their altars; and this belief alſo gave the ſuppoſed power to charms and incantations, ſo frequently practiſed in thoſe times of ſuperſtition, to drive away evil ſpirits, and to heal diſeaſes.‡

The anatomy and ſurgery of the druids.

What knowledge they had in the anatomy of the human body cannot be aſcertained, yet is it highly probable that they had ſome general ideas of the muſcles, nerves, great blood veſſels, and other external parts of the body; and alſo of the chief inteſtines; and this they might have learned from a long courſe of human ſacrifices. Modern authors indeed, have enlarged greatly upon this ſubject, and attributed to them, a much more extenſive knowledge of anatomy; but as what they have advanced is meerly conjectural, we have neither ſpace nor leiſure to inſert their various opinions.§ The druidical practice of ſurgery, without doubt, extended to the healing of wounds, ſetting of broken bones, the reducing of diſlocations, and ſuch obvious branches of the art. Yet all this was not done in a plain ready way; but the ſimplicity of their practice was concealed, and numberleſs charms, ſpells, and incantations made uſe of, to deceive the patient, and encreaſe their own conſequence.

Botany of the druids.

Since the chief of their medicines were compoſed of the juice and decoctions of various herbs, we may be well aſſured, that botany was not the leaſt of their ſtudies. The miſletoe, and the ceremonies uſed in cutting it from the tree whereon it was found growing, as alſo the manner of gathering‖ the herb Samulos, as well as their medicinal vir-

* Vide Borlaſs's Hiſt. Cornwall & Stukeley's Stone Henge.

† Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

‡ There is no perſon that makes any doubt, ſays Pliny, but that magic derived its origin from medicine, and that by its flattering and deluſive powers, it came to be eſteemed the moſt ſublime and ſacred part of the art of healing. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. ut ſup.

§ See Stukeley's Stone Henge, Borlaſs's Ant. of Cornwall, Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. &c.

‖ Vide page 196 of this volume.

tues,

tues, have been before declared.* To theſe we may add, the Selago, a kind of hedge hyſop, which was greatly admired by the druids; the perſon who gathered it was to be cloathed in a white garment, and to offer a ſacrifice of bread and wine before he proceeded to take it; when he had done this, he was to cover his right hand with the ſkirt of his robe, and with a hook, made of more precious metal than iron, cut up the herb, which he was carefully to place in a clean cloth; thus gathered, the herb poſſeſſed various wonderful qualities, and was a powerful charm and preſervative from misfortunes, and ſudden accidents of all kinds.† Vervaine alſo was in great eſteem with the druids, and many extraordinary virtues attributed to it. Beſides theſe, a multitude of others might be found; but as their virtues depended on fond ceremonies, which all bordered upon the ſame ſuperſtition, it will be needleſs as well as tireſome, to proceed in the deſcription of them.

The Anguinum or ſerpent's egg.

One thing ought not to be omitted here, which is, ſome account of the Anguinum or ſerpent's egg, which the druids had in high eſteem; and it was formed, as they pretended, by a great multitude of ſerpents cloſe intwined together, from the frothy ſaliva proceeding from their throats; when it was made, it was raiſed up in the air by their combined hiſſing; and to render it efficacious, it was to be caught in a clean white cloth, before it could fall to the ground; the perſon who performed this office, was obliged inſtantly to mount a ſwift horſe, and ride away full ſpeed, to avoid the purſuits of the ſerpents, who followed him with great rage, until they were ſtopped by ſome river. Having thus obtained the wonderful egg, he proceeded in the next place to try whether it was genuine or not; which was done by enchaſing it in gold, and throwing it into a river; if it ſwam againſt the ſtream, its virtue was indiſputable; and thoſe who carried it about them, ſhould, by its powerful influence, be ſuperior to their adverſaries in all diſputes; it would alſo procure them the favour and friendſhip of great men.‡ But all this is, in general, looked upon as a fable of the druids, in order to procure the greater price for theſe eggs, which they ſold at a high rate to the credulous people; it is true indeed, various opinions have been delivered upon this ſubject, yet none of them founded upon any certain facts.§

Preparation of medicine.

Feint is the light thrown upon the methods purſued by the druids in preparing their medicines; ſome few hints, it is true, we meet with, of their extracting the juice of herbs, their bruiſing and ſteeping them in water, infuſing them in wine, boiling them, and making fumes from them,‖ and the like; it alſo appears, that they were not ignorant of making ſalves and ointments, from vegetables.

* Vide page 196 of this volume.
† Pliny, lib. xxiv. cap. 11.
‡ Ibid. lib. xxix. cap. 3.
§ See Borlaſe ut ſup. &c.
‖ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44. lib. xxiv. cap. 11. lib. xxv. cap. 9. et alia.

Eloquence of the druids.

When we remember the opportunities which the druids had of diſplaying their eloquence, we ſhall not ſo much wonder at the effect their ſpeeches frequently had upon their hearers. They taught their pupils, and harangued to them concerning their doctrines; they made public ſpeeches to the people, and inſtructed them in morality; they pleaded in courts of juſtice, and in great councils of the ſtate declared their opinions; and either by inviting diſcourſes, perſuaded the chiefs to peace, or elſe in powerful declamations, uſed every incentive to provoke them to war; and we find their ſpeeches were never in vain, for the greateſt attention was always paid to their inſtructions and advice.* The kings and leaders of the Britons who were inſtructed by the druids, partook of their eloquence; for always before an engagement, they harangued their army, and endeavoured to fire the minds of their ſoldiers with the hopes of glory and conqueſt, and to raiſe in them a contempt of death and danger. Though thoſe elegant ſpeeches which are handed down to us, by the Roman authors, of ſeveral Britiſh chiefs, are not entirely genuine, yet the effect which their exhortations are ſaid to have produced upon their troops, may plainly prove the force and energy with which they were delivered.†

The druids accuſed of magic.

The druids have lain under very grievous accuſations, on account of their magical juggles; but in Britain theſe deluſions ſeem to have been carried to a more extraordinary length, and with greater ſucceſs, than in any other Celtic nation; for they practiſed ſo many ceremonies and magical rites, that they were ſaid to have exceeded even the Perſians themſelves;‡ and by this art they pretended to diſcover the deſigns of the gods, and foretel future events.§ The Eubate or Vates, alſo inveſtigated the moſt ſublime ſecrets of nature, and by auſpices and ſacrifices delivered out prophetic ſpeeches.‖ Yet after all, what were theſe more than a ſort of religious juggles, which were

* The Gauls, and moſt likely the Britons, alſo had a god, named Ogmius, which in their language ſignified eloquence; they pictured him out as an old man, ſurrounded by a great multitude of people, all of whom were held by ſmall chains, which came from his tongue to their ears; and the multitude were not diſpleaſed with their bondage, but on the contrary, looked with admiration upon him. Lucian (who tells this ſtory) ſeeming to be ſurpriſed at this ſtrange repreſentation, was anſwered by a Gauliſh druid, in the following manner: You will not wonder when I inform you, that contrary to the Greeks, we make Hercules (whom we call Ogmius) the god of eloquence, whereas they attribute that honour to Mercury, who is far inferior to Hercules in power and ſtrength. We make him an old man, becauſe eloquence is never ſo forcible as when it proceeds from the mouth of the aged; and the relation that the mouth has to the ear, juſtifies that part of the picture which you wonder at, the ſlender chains reaching from the tongue of the deity, to the ears of the multitude, by which he holds them faſt; nor is it any diſgrace to repreſent Hercules in this faſhion, for it was by his eloquence that he ſucceeded in every thing, and ſubdued the hearts of all men. Lucian in Hercules Gallicus.

† Vide page 17, 24 and 32 of this vol.

‡ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

§ Mela, lib iii. cap. 2.

‖ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 19.

practiſed

practiſed by the heatheniſh prieſts in all ages, and of almoſt all nations.

It ſeems certain that the druids knew the uſe of letters, becauſe their public and private accounts were always kept in writing.* The knowledge of the Greek alphabet, thoſe of Gaul received from the Greek merchants at Marſailles, who had fixed themſelves there for the convenience of carrying on their trade with the Britons; for the merchandiſe from Britain was carried by land thither, and from thence ſent to the different nations, where thoſe merchants traded:† the druids of Britain, either had the ſame alphabet from their neighbours the Gauls, or elſe might learn it from the Greek merchants, who came frequently into the iſland. Letters known to the druids and how.

The ſchools and ſeminaries of learning amongſt the druids, were held in the deep receſſes of groves and foreſts, and the caverns of the earth; in thoſe places they inſtructed the youth ‡ who were committed to their charge, in the knowledge that was neceſſary for them, according to the ſtation of life which it was intended they ſhould fill. The coming of the Romans made a great alteration in the modes of learning amongſt the Britons: Julius Agricola is the firſt we find who paid any attention to the inſtruction of the provincials; he, we are aſſured, took great care to have the ſons of the chief Britons taught the liberal ſciences; and ſuch was the ſucceſs, that they who had before deſpiſed the Roman language, now became deſirous of acquiring it, and made a rapid progreſs in learning and eloquence.§ After the converſion of the Britons to chriſtianity, the learning was chiefly confined to the prieſts and religious profeſſors, and by degrees the monaſteries became the great ſeminaries of learning. Schools and ſeminaries of learning.

The ſculptures and images of the Britons are all of them loſt. The Gauls uſed to ornament their ſhields with images of beaſts made of braſs, and upon their helmets they placed horns of braſs, figures of birds, or the faces of four-footed beaſts;‖ and it is highly probable, that this art of embelliſhing their ſhields and helmets, was not unknown to the Britons; for every warlike people, ſeem to have taken great pride in the beauty of their arms; which they either traced with figures, or poliſhed with extraordinary care. The Romans who carried the art of ſculpture to great perfection, improved the ſtate of it in Britain, a great variety of their baſs-reliefs and images, have been found in various parts of the kingdom; and it was very ſoon after their firſt arrival, that they began to manifeſt proofs of their ſkill, for as early as the year 61, not twenty years from the inva- Art of ſculpture.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.
† Strabo, lib. iv.
‡ Mela, ut ſup.
§ Tacit. Vit. Agric.
‖ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

sion under Claudius Cæsar, we find a statue of Victory in the city of Camulodunum.*

Art of painting.

We know but little of the state of painting, and the art of colouring amongst the Britons, before the arrival of the Romas; we read indeed, of their painting their bodies. The southern Britons when they went to war stained themselves all over with woad, which made them of a blue colour;† and this they did to appear more formibable to their enemies. Again at their public feasts and solemn festivals, all of them, whether men, women, or children, were stripped naked, and stained over with woad, to such a degree, that they appeared like Ethiopians:‡ yet this was but a kind of wash, or plain colour, uniformly laid all over them. In the north the art of painting, or staining their skins, was carried to greater perfection; for there we find them picturing upon their bodies the representation of herbs, flowers, trees, and animals of all kinds.§

The Romans improve the art of painting.

The Romans, who were also well acquainted with the arts of design and colouring, without doubt, instructed the Britons in the same; and this we may be partly assured of, from the pictures and delineations of their Gods, which remained upon the walls of their cities in the days of Gildas Badonicus; yet because they might be either greatly defaced by time, or the work of ruder hands; they are said, by that pious author, to have been hideous and ugly; but the prejudices which he might have conceived against them, as the reliques of idolatry, may have caused him to look upon them in this frightful light;‖ or perhaps many of them may have beeen intended to represent satyrs and sylvan gods, who are always drawn as deformed and ugly.

The art of poetry the bards excel in.

Their remarkable fondness for poetry, may be easily conceived, from their laws and doctrines, whether religious or moral, being all in verse; the whole employment of the bards, was poetry of one kind or other; their compositions were various; the actions of great men they celebrated in heroic poems,** which they sung to the sweet sounds of the lyre;†† again they would compose satirical poems, in which they censured the vices and immoralities of the age;‡‡ and such was the power and harmony of their numbers, when they touched upon the pathetic, and strove to move the imaginations of men, that they would

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
† Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 10.
‡ Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. xxii. cap. 1.
§ Herodian, lib iii. cap. 46.
‖ The words of Gildas describing these pictures of their gods, are as follows: "quorum nonnulla, lineamentis ad huc deformibus intra vel extra deserta mœnia solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur." Gild. Hist. cap. 2.
** Diod. Sic. lib. v.
†† Possidonius of Apamea informs us, that it was a custom common amongst the Celtic princes, when they went to war, to carry a certain number of poets with them, who eat at their tables, and sang their praises to the people, who gathered round them in crouds. Athenæas, lib. vi. cap. 12.
‡‡ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

run

run in between two armies, juſt upon the point of engaging in battle, and by their ſongs overcome the paſſions of the rough warriors, and make them throw down their arms;* on the contrary, no doubt, when they were deſirous of blowing up the flames of war and ſedition in the minds of their hearers, they had other ſongs to raiſe their courage, and let looſe the fury of reſentment in their breaſts.

The muſic of the bards.

Muſic ſeems always to have been happily united with the flights of poetry by the Britiſh bards; their poems they conſtantly ſung to the harp; and their taſte in muſic, as well as in the expreſſion of their words, is plainly proved, by the wonderful effect it had upon the ſurrounding multitude, who liſtened to their ſtrains.

The lyre by whom invented.

The harp or lyre, is ſaid to have been invented by the Scythians, and it was uſed by all the Celtic nations; in its primitive ſtate, it had only four or five ſtrings or thongs, which were made of an ox's hide; and it was uſually played upon with a plectrum, made of the jaw-bone of a goat;† but by degrees it was improved, and became a very excellent inſtrument; the form of thoſe uſed by the Britiſh bards, as well as the number of ſtrings wherewith they were ſtrung, or how they were played upon, are circumſtances we have no means left to diſcover.

The decreaſe of learning amongſt the Britons.

Learning, and every other polite art, gradually loſt ground, ſome time before the departure of the Romans from Britain; and after they had finally taken their leave, they ſunk entirely to the ground: all their records of antient times were loſt or deſtroyed,‡ ſo that the bare outlines of the people, and the tranſactions of this important period is all we could trace out, from the curſory mention we meet with of them in the Roman authors.

* Diod. Sic. ut ſup.

† Pelloutier, Hiſt. Celt. cap. 9. p. 360. note 30. & vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. v. I.

‡ Gildas Sapiens, himſelf a Briton, declares himſelf unſatisfied, whether the ancient Britons ever had any records or writings, to tranſmit their hiſtory and original to poſterity; and therefore plainly confeſſes, "that he took all his hiſtory "out of foreign writers, and not out of "any writings or records left by his own "countrymen, which were either loſt or "burnt by the enemy at home, or car-"ried by exiles into foreign countries." Gild. Hiſt. And Ninnius in the preface to his Hiſtory of Britain, complains, that the greateſt ſcholars amongſt theBritons had but little learning, and that they had left no memorials; and confeſſes, that whatever he had written, was collected out of the annals and chronicles of the holy fathers. Pref. Ninn. Hiſt. Brit.

CHAP. XI.

Deſcription of the Britons, and their particular Manners.

The face of the country in ancient times.

GREAT Britain, which is now ſo fair and flouriſhing, was in the times we are treating of, little better than a wild deſart, covered with woods, and full of bogs, fens, and marſhes; except perhaps ſome few countries in the ſouthern parts, which lay near the ſea-ſhore, where the inhabitants being more civilized, had begun to cultivate the land, and ſow corn. Many of theſe marſhes were drained by the Romans, who made ſolid roads through them, from one part of their poſſeſſions in the iſland to another; they alſo built bridges, and did every thing neceſſary for the improvement of the country. In Calidonia, where theſe conquerors ſeldom went, ſuch improvements did not take place; for when the emperor Severus, A. D. 207, with his army, invaded the northern nations, he met with almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles, from the wild and uncultivated ſtate of the country; ſo that in order to proſecute his march, he was obliged to cut down whole foreſts, dry up moraſſes, build bridges, and fill up the bogs; till at laſt his troops were ſo wearied, and harraſſed with a continual ſucceſſion of difficulties, that many, unable to proceed any further, begged of their companions to kill them, leſt they ſhould fall alive into the hands of their enemies. It is ſaid, that the emperor loſt no fewer than fifty thouſand of his troops in this unprofitable expedition.*

The perſons of the Britons.

The Britons, in general, appear to have been a tall,† ſtrong, nimble, and comely people; though they were not all alike, for the Calidonians are deſcribed as the ſtrongeſt built, and the beſt able to endure hardſhips; for they were accuſtomed, from the nature of their climate, to fatigues of all kinds; they could endure hunger and cold with great patience, and would remain for ſeveral days in the fens and moraſſes, up to the neck in water, without touching food of any kind:‡ theſe men, from their large limbs, and red hair, were thought to have come originally from Germany. The Silures, were remarkable for their ſwarthy complexions, and their hair, which was generally curled: theſe have been thought to have come from Spain, whilſt thoſe who poſſeſſed the ſea-coaſts oppoſite to Gaul, are univerſally agreed to have been like the Gauls, and moſt likely ſprung from them.§ As the Celtic

* Xipil. ex Dio. Nicæo. in Sever.

† Strabo ſays, that he ſaw certain Britiſh youths at Rome, who were one foot and a half higher than the talleſt perſon there: he remarks that they were fairer in perſon than the Gauls, but did not ſtand very ſtraight upon their legs; nor had they any very fine features, or elegance of ſhape or limbs. Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Xiphil. ex Dio. in Sever.

§ Tacit. Vit. Agric.

nations

nations in general are ſaid to have been remarkable for their blue eyes, we may fairly judge that thoſe of the Britons were the ſame. As the Britons were a people of good conſtitutions, and lived in a ſimple manner, we need not wonder that they ſhould arrive at great ages. Some of them are ſaid to have exceeded one hundred years.*

The general character of the Britons.

In genius the Britons excelled the Gauls, who were an acute and ready people.† In their tempers they were proud and haſty, contemning danger, and ſwift to revenge; they were brave and valiant in the field of battle, but cruel and bloody to the enemies whom they had conquered.‡ Curioſity, credulity, and fickleneſs, were the national foibles both of the Gauls and Britons; and to all theſe, at times, were owing the misfortunes of both theſe people.§ On the other hand, the Britons were open, generous, grateful, and docile; being perfectly ſimple and honeſt in all their dealings,‖ they ſubmitted with pleaſure to what was mild and legal, but were impatient of reſtraint, and oppoſed couragiouſly all tyranny, and attempts to enſlave them; but of all others, this was the ſtrongeſt characteriſtic of the Calidonians, many of whom put their wives and children to death with their own hands, rather than they ſhould fall into the power of the Romans;** they alſo were equally remarkable for their ſocial affection and duty towards their parents.

The hoſpitality of the Britons, and their exceſſes.

Another remarkable part of the character of the ancient Britons, was their hoſpitality to ſtrangers; towards whom they always behaved with the greateſt kindneſs, and received them with joy and feſtivity, holding nothing too good for them that their houſe afforded.†† With reſpect to

* Plutarch declares that ſome of them lived to one hundred and twenty years. Vide Camden, in his Preface to his Brit.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ This one may find by their behaviour to the Roman captives, whom they took in the famous revolt under Boudicea, queen of the Icenians, ſee page 23, of this volume. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both inform us that the Gauls uſed to cut off the heads of their enemies whom they had ſlain in battle; and ſuch as were of a high rank they anointed with a certain mixture, to preſerve them, and kept them in their houſes to ſhew to ſtrangers, to whom they boaſted of their own great acts, or the valour of their predeceſſors; and ſhewed thoſe heads as proof of the truth of their aſſertions. There ſeems but little doubt to be made of the Britons doing the ſame, ſince in moſt other matters they followed the Gauls ſo cloſely. Diod. Sic. lib v. Strabo, lib. iv.

§ Cæſar informs us that it was the cuſtom with the Gauls to oblige travellers to ſtop, even againſt their wills, and they would enquire of them the news of the time, what they had heard, or might know, concerning any matter; and the common people would croud round the merchants in the towns, and oblige them to inform them from what country they came, and what news they have there. Influenced by ſuch reports and informations, they would credulouſly determine matters of the greateſt moment, and frequently to their great diſadvantage; ſince they gave credit to every doubtful report, and many impoſed on them things invented to pleaſe them. Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 5.

‖ Diodorus Siculus ſays of the Britons, that their manners were plain and ſimple, and that they were abſolute ſtrangers to the pernicious cunning and diſſimulation of the generality of people in his time. Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 21.

** Tacit. Vita Agric.

†† Diod. Sic. lib. v.

their

their chaſtity, it ſeems their ideas were groſs and unpoliſhed.* As they had not wherewithal to live luxurioufly, ſo their frugality is not to be commended, for they were very eaſily drawn into all kinds of exceſs,† and drunkenneſs was a vice they frequently gave way to; they would often drink until they were entirely overcome with the liquor, or inflamed with a kind of madneſs; and the bad effects of this vice was, that thereby ſudden quarrels happened amongſt them; for when they had drank freely, they would ſtart up and fight furiouſly, without the leaſt regard to their lives or ſafety.‡ Another blemiſh in their character, was, their proneneſs to public robberies, eſpecially in the north; for the Maæatæ and Calidonians ſupported themſelves in great meaſure by plunder and ſpoils, which they took from their neighbours in the ſouth, whom they frequently diſtreſſed to the greateſt degree in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner.§

Ranks of men amongſt the Britons.

Of the ranks of men amongſt both the Gauls and Britons we find but two ſorts, that enjoyed any conſiderable honours, and theſe were the druids and the nobles: concerning the druids, enough has been ſaid already; the nobles, or heads of clans, as many of them as formed a community, or ſtate, were obliged, when any war broke out, to join in the proſecution of it; and as any one of theſe were ſuperior either in quality or power, ſo he had more retainers about him, and in this his honour chiefly conſiſted. The common people were looked upon almoſt in the light of ſlaves, and could do nothing of their own accord; neither were they admitted to any councils, moſt of them being oppreſſed with debt, the weight of taxes, or the injuſtice of the great, ſubmitted themſelves to the vaſſalage of the nobles, who had the ſame power over them as if they were ſlaves;‖ and indeed they were frequently abuſed, and ſold as ſuch.**

Behaviour of the Britons towards the fair-ſex.

We have the greateſt reaſon to believe that the Britons behaved with all becoming decency and reſpect towards the fair-ſex. We find that the brutal carriage of the Romans towards the daughters of Boudicea, and the affronts which they put upon her, were great incentives to that deſtructive revolt that broke out ſoon after.†† What their ceremonies of marriage were, or what the particular employment of their wives, is not known;‡‡ but without doubt it was their charge to overlook the affairs of the houſe, and pay attention to ſuch buſineſs as more properly belongs to women than men; and had the care of their children until they were of

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. & vide page 248 of this volume.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ Diod. Sic. ut ſup.

§ See the firſt part of the Chronicle.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

** Strabo, lib. iv.

†† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.

‡‡ Cæſar relates a remarkable circumſtance relative to the marriage dowers amongſt the Gauls. "Whatever ſum "the huſbands receive with their wives, "by way of dower, (ſays he) ſo much "of their own poſſeſſions (a calculation "being made) they join to that for-"tune; a clear account is kept of this "money, and its intereſt preſerved, and "the longeſt liver of the two inherits the "whole." Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 17.

fit

fit age to be put under the tuition of the druids. Their houſhold furniture we can by no means pretend to diſplay; their beds, indeed, might be nothing more than ſkins of beaſts, ſpread upon the floor within their little cots.

Diet of the Britons.

The original diet of the Britons was plain and ſimple, nor do they ſeem to have had any idea of luxury in food before the arrival of the Romans. Some of the northern nations lie under the horrid accuſation of eating their fellow-creatures;* but this heavy charge is thought by modern authors to have been groundleſs, and only to have ariſen from miſtake, or wrong information; which opinion (as every one ought to think as charitably as poſſible) is not without a tolerable foundation.†

Plenty of proviſions in the ſouth of Britain.

The ſouthern Britons had great plenty, as well as variety of proviſions, though they ſuperſtitiouſly abſtained from eating hares, hens, and geeſe;‡ however, a bird, named Chenerotes, (ſuppoſed to be a kind of wild fowl) was in the higheſt eſteem amongſt them.§ They had alſo a great plenty of veniſon, beſides their tame cattle, as oxen, ſheep, and goats, which they drove about from place to place, and which, indeed, conſtituted the chief wealth of the inland Britons; all theſe, it ſeems, they killed and dreſſed for their uſe, as their neceſſity required them.

Manner of dreſſing their food, &c.

It is remarked of the Celtic nations in general, that they eat very little bread at their entertainments, but a great deal of fleſh, which they either boiled in water, or broiled upon the coals, or roaſted on ſpits; and of the Gauls, in particular, it is ſaid, that near the place where they intended to make an entertainment they uſually kindled great fires, whereon they placed pots, and near them ſpits, on which they roaſted large joints of meat of various kinds.‖ The Gauls and Britons had ſalt, with which they uſed to ſalt their proviſions, and preſerve them. In ancient time ſalt was a part of the commodities which the Britons received from the Phœnicians, in exchange for their tin and lead;** but, ſome time after, they learned a method of making it themſelves, inſtructed, perhaps, by the Gauls, who purſued the following proceſs:—They raiſed a pile of trees, chiefly of oaks and hazels, and having ſet it on fire, burnt it to charcoal, and whilſt it was red hot, they poured ſalt water upon it, which produced a kind of ſalt of a blackiſh hue.††

Scarcity of proviſions in the north, and why.

Their cattle afforded them milk, and amongſt the more civilized Britons perhaps the art of making cheeſe and butter might not be unknown;‡‡ but we are aſſured that the more northern nations were totally

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 32. & Hieron. adver. Soven. lib. ii.

† Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. pages 478 & 479.

‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

§ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. x. cap. 22.

‖ Poſſidonius, & Diod. Sic. lib. v.

** Strabo, lib. iv.

†† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. ſub fine. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxi. cap. 7.

‡‡ For it is thought that the words of Strabo, declaring "that ſome of the ancient Britons were ſo very ignorant, "that though they had great quantities "of milk, yet they knew not how to make "cheeſe, &c." ought not to be taken in a general ſenſe, as regarding the whole iſland, but only that part of it that was moſt unpoliſhed. Vide Strabo, lib. iv.

ignorant

ignorant of it; nor had they ſuch variety of food as was produced in the ſouth, for they inhabited the barren mountains, and their country was full of moraſſes and marſhes; neither had they any cultivated lands, ſo that their whole proviſion conſiſted of milk and fleſh, either of their tame cattle, or ſuch as they got by hunting, or wild fruits and roots; for we are aſſured they would not eat fiſh, though their rivers abounded with them: if they ever fed upon greater dainties than ſuch as are juſt mentioned, thoſe were only the ſpoils which they had taken from their ſouthern neighbours.*

The drinks uſual amongſt the Britons.

The drinks of the Gauls and Britons were chiefly ale, or mead; the latter made of honey, diluted with water, and fermented; and the former, which ſeems to have been their more common drink, was uſually made of barley; the grain being ſteeped in water, was made to germinate, by which its ſpirit was excited, and ſet at liberty; it was then dried and ground, and after infuſed into a certain quantity of water, and being fermented, became a warm, ſtrengthening, and intoxicating liquor:† when they found a deficiency of barley, ſeveral other grains were ſubſtituted in its ſtead, as wheat, rye, oats, and millet. Wine they had but ſmall quantities of, which was imported by the merchants who traded with them, but they were moſt immoderately fond of it; and when they had it in their poſſeſſion, would ſeldom leave it till they had either drank it all out, or ſo far inebriated themſelves as to be deprived of all ſenſibility.‡

Manner of ſitting at meat.

When they ſat at meat, it was not upon ſeats or benches, but upon the ground; whereon, inſtead of carpets, they ſpread the ſkins of wolves, or dogs. The gueſts all of them ſat round about, and the food was placed before them, and every one took his part; they were waited upon by the younger people of both ſexes.§ Such as had not ſkins were content with a little hay or ſtraw, which was laid under them.

Exerciſes of the Britons.

The exerciſes of the Britons were robuſt and manly; they practiſed, without doubt, like other barbarous nations, feats of war, and ſtrove to make themſelves expert in the uſe of arms. They do not ſeem to have

* Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever.

† Iſidorus Orig. lib. xx. cap. 2. To the ſame purpoſe Diodorus Siculus, "The "Gauls made a ſtrong liquor of barley, "which they call Zithus; they alſo made a "a drink of honey, diluted with water." lib. v.

‡ Ibid. In the Scottiſh iſlands (where many of the old Britiſh cuſtoms are ſtill preſerved) "The manner of drinking (ſays Martin) uſed by the chief men, is called in their language *Streak*, i. e. *around*, for the company ſat in a circle, and the cup-bearer filled round to them, and all was drank out, whatever liquor it was, whether weak or ſtrong. They continued drinking ſometimes twenty-four, and ſometimes forty-eight hours. It was reckoned a piece of manhood to drink until they were drunk, and there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on ſuch occaſions. They ſtood at the door until ſome became drunk, and they carried them upon the barrow to bed, and returned again to their poſt as long as any continued freſh; and ſo carried off the whole company one by one as they became drunk." Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſlands, p. 106.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

dedicated

dedicated their leiſure hours to conſtant idleneſs, or diſſipation, as the Germans were wont to do, but attended to recreations of various ſorts. Of their ſurpriſing agility and alertneſs we have many proofs; they were ſwift of foot, and incomparable ſwimmers.*

Funerals of the Britons.

The Gauls and Britons burned the bodies of their dead; and their funerals, according to the quality of the perſon, were grand and magnificent: around the pile the friends and relations of the deceaſed were aſſembled, and threw into the flames whatever he thought valuable in his life-time; particularly his arms, and ſuch animals as were favourites. In ancient times it had been cuſtomary alſo to burn his ſlaves and ſervants with him, eſpecially if he were of high quality,† that he might not go unattended into the other world; and, for the ſame reaſon, frequently his deareſt friends would ruſh voluntarily into the fire, in order to accompany their departed companion to his ſtation in the future life.‡ When the aſhes were gathered up, with them was buried the bonds and contracts for money, that were made during the life-time of the deceaſed, that he might ſhew them in the other world, and exact the money of his debtors, which was due to him.§

Monuments of the ancient Britons.

The dead body being burned, and the aſhes collected together, the laſt ſad office of the friends of the deceaſed was to lay them in ſome place of reſt. The common ſort of people moſt likely had their aſhes laid in a hole dug in the earth, near where the funeral had been performed, and over the grave might be raiſed a little hillock of earth, or turfs. Thoſe of more conſequence were put into the ſtone cheſt, or kiſt vean, a rude monument, frequently found in various parts of Britain, and was uſually compoſed of five large flat ſtones; four of them made the ſides, the fifth ſerved by way of cover; ſometimes theſe were placed on the top of a high hillock, or barrow; at other times a hill was made over them: the barrows were uſually made of earth, though often ornamented with large ſtones ſet round about them, or with a little trench. Kings and nobles had more obvious monuments raiſed over their aſhes: theſe are called Cromlêh's ſtone tables, and are uſually formed by one large flat ſtone, laid on three or four other ſtones, which are ſet upright, or poſt-ways, to ſuſtain it.‖

* Thus Boudicea, in her famous ſpeech to the Britons, remonſtrates, "If we fly, "we are ſo ſwift of foot, that the Romans "cannot overtake us; if they fly, they "cannot eſcape our purſuit. We can "paſs rivers by ſwimming which they can "hardly paſs in boats." Xiphil. ex Dio. in Nerone.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

‡ Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2.

§ Ibid.

‖ Some authors, inſtead of Cromlêh, write Cromlech. See two of theſe ancient monuments, plate III. For a further account of them, the reader is referred to the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anȝel cynnan, or View of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of England, page 61.

CHAP. XII.

Military Conduct and Fortifications of the Romans.

BEFORE we conclude this part of the Chronicle, it may not be amiſs to explain the manner and nature of the Roman fortifications, that we may be able, in the future volumes, to determine which of the various entrenchments remaining in Britain may, or ought to be aſcribed to that people. To ſet the whole in as clear a light as poſſible, the following extract from Polybius is given, which ſhews in what manner the armies of the Romans were conſtituted, and how encamped.*

Roman tribunes, how choſen.

" After the Romans have elected their conſuls, they create military tribunes; they chuſe fourteen out of thoſe who have been five years in the war, and ten more of thoſe that have carried their arms ten years: for all their citizens muſt bear arms till the forty-ſixth year of their age. The horſe muſt ſerve ten years, and the foot ſixteen; except thoſe who are worth above ſeventy livres, and thoſe they reſerve for the marine. But if the commonwealth have an extraordinary occaſion, the foot are bound to ſerve twenty years.

The manner of election.

" None can exerciſe the office of a magiſtrate that has not ſerved ten campaigns. When the conſuls have occaſion to raiſe ſoldiers, they cauſe proclamation to be made, that all that are able to bear arms ſhall aſſemble together at ſuch a time; and this they do once a year. When the day is come, and the Romans who are able to go to war are aſſembled at the capitol, the youngeſt of the military tribunes divide them into four bodies, according to the order of the people, or of the generals of the army, becauſe they firſt divide their troops into four legions, and the four tribunes who were firſt choſen are ordered into the firſt legion, the three next for the ſecond, the four next after for the third, and the laſt for the fourth. In the firſt legion are two of the oldeſt made tribunes, in the ſecond are the three next, in the third the two next after them, and in the fourth the three laſt.

Legions, how choſen.

" After the legions were thus choſen, and divided into ſuch ſort, that every legion has the ſame number of leaders, the tribunes of each legion being ſet at a diſtance, draw the tribus (wherein the names were contained) by lot. They are called as they are drawn, and afterward they chuſe four young men of the ſame age and ſtature. The tribunes of the firſt legion chuſe firſt, thoſe of the ſecond, the ſecond, and ſo of the reſt; except the number of the triarii, which never changes. The youngeſt are obliged to wear a ſword, and carry a ſmall javelin, with a target; the target is firm, being made for that purpoſe, and big enough to defend him that carries it, for it is round, and a foot and a

* Polybius, lib. vi.

half

half in diameter. Beſides this, the velites wear a light head-piece, on the top of which they commonly put a wolf's paw, or ſomething like it, which ſerves both for a covering, and a mark for the captains, to know them upon occaſion. The javelin of the velites is of wood, and commonly about two cubits long, and finger thick; it is armed with iron about half a foot, and at the point ſo fine, that it bends at the firſt blow, ſo that when they lance againſt their enemies they cannot uſe the ſame weapon again, otherwiſe it would ſerve both, and he that lanceth would find his enemies weapons to fight againſt himſelf.

" The next to the velites are the haſtati, and they are appointed to carry the arms which they keep in their houſes, and chiefly the buckler. Its ſuperfices, bending outwards, are two feet and a half, and four feet long, or at fartheſt does not exceed half a foot more. It is made of two boards glewed together, covered with thick cloth glewed in like manner, and over all the reſt a calf's ſkin; round it there is a border of iron, to defend it againſt all cutting ſtrokes, and give it ſhape; in the midſt there is an iron ſhell, or boſs, to ſuſtain the blow of a ſtone, or the puſh of a lance, or any other arms whatſoever. The ſpearmen have, beſide the buckler, a Spaniſh ſword, which they wear on their right ſide, fit either for thruſting or cutting, with an edge on both ſides, made of a ſtrong well-tempered blade. Beſide all this, they carry two great javelins, a braſs helmet, and armour to cover their thighs and legs; ſome of theſe javelins are thicker, ſome more ſlender: of the largeſt ſort, the round ones were of four fingers diameter, and the others as much on the ſides; the leſſer ſort reſembles our common darts. Theſe every ſoldier carries with the arms above-mentioned. The ſhaft of theſe javelins is three yards long, with iron in form of a hook, and pointed at the end, of an equal length of the ſhaft. This iron, which reaches as far as the middle of the ſhaft, is firmly ſecured, and riveted with nails, to prevent its being looſened, or breaking by any accident where it is joined. On the top of their helmet is faſtened a ſmall coronet, or circle of iron, with three feathers, red or black, in the midſt, a foot and a half in length, which towering ſo far above the head, make thoſe who wear them appear big and terrible to their enemies. The ordinary ſoldiers wear on their breaſts a plate, twelve inches on all ſides; but thoſe who are worth more than one hundred and fifty pounds eſtate, wear a coat of mail inſtead of this breaſt-plate.

The haſtati, how appointed, and their arms.

" The principes and the triarii bear the ſame arms, except that the triarii, inſtead of javelins, carry a ſort of half-pike. Out of theſe fighting-men, except the youngeſt, which were the velites, are choſen ten commanders, all experienced in the art of war; and after this, by a ſecond election, ten more. All theſe officers have the title of captains, with power to nominate ten ſerjeants in their diviſions. Next, according to their ſeveral ages, the whole body is divided into ten parts, excluſive of the velites, and each diviſion hath two commanders, and two ſerjeants out of

The principes and the triarii, their arms, and rank.

thoſe before choſen. The velites are equally diſtributed to each party, and each part have the name of a band, company or colours given to it, and the captains are called centurions. Theſe chuſe each in their reſpective companies two enſigns, the moſt robuſt and brave fellows they can find. Doubtleſs it is a very prudent method to place two commanders to each diviſion; for, conſidering all uncertainties, how either may behave themſelves, and the riſques of war, it may not be ſafe to ſuffer companies to hazard the want of a commander. The eldeſt of theſe captains, or he who is firſt choſen, leads the right, and the other on the left, and either in the abſence of his partner, leads the whole body. The qualities which the Romans deſire in a commander, are not ſo much adventurous boldneſs, as ſkill in military affairs, good conduct, and counſel: nor do they ever ſet ſo high a value on thoſe who are forward to engage and expoſe themſelves freely, as thoſe who reſiſt an enemy when he preſſes them, and rather die than quit their poſt.

Their cavalry, how divided.

"In the ſame manner they divide their cavalry, into ten parts, each of which has three captains, who chuſe three lieutenants of their troops. The eldeſt, or firſt elect, command the troops, and the others are but decurions, or commanders of ten. In the abſence of the eldeſt captain, the ſecond acts in his place. The armour of the horſe is the ſame with the Greeks; formerly they did not wear cuiraſſes, but a ſort of breeches; by this means they were lighter, and could diſmount more readily, but fighting thus unarmed, were more expoſed to danger. Their javelins were uſeleſs to them for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe ſlender, and bending with their weight, they were ſubject to be broken by the agitation of the horſe; the ſecond, becauſe being armed with iron at one end only, they were only proper for a ſingle blow, and being broken on one ſide, were rendered uſeleſs. They bore a buckler made of an ox's hide, which reſembled certain loaves ſtuck through, as is uſed in ſacrifices; and theſe being not firm enough to make any great oppoſition, were of little uſe at beſt; but if they happened to be thorough wet by a good ſhower of rain, became wholly unſerviceable. For this reaſon they laid all theſe things aſide, introducing the Greek arms, by which they were able to ſecure their blow, the javelin being firm, and capable of being uſed on either ſide. The Romans finding by experience how convenient theſe arms were, ſoon embraced them, no people being more docile, or apt to change, when in the ſtead of their ancient cuſtoms they can introduce better.

Other particular cuſtoms.

"When the tribunes of the army have finiſhed the diviſion, and diſpoſed their affairs as above, they diſmiſs the ſoldiers till the time arrives, upon which they are ſworn to meet at the place nominated by the conſul. It happens ordinarily, that each conſul aſſigns a different rendezvous, and orders a ſeparate meeting of their legions, each conſul having a moiety of the auxiliary forces of the allies, and two Roman legions at his diſpoſal. All who are liſted meet without fail at the time and place appointed;

pointed; nor are any who were ſworn admitted to offer any excuſe for their abſence, without ſome extraordinary accident or impoſſibility. At this meeting of the allies and Roman forces, twelve provoſts, commiſſioned by the conſuls, have the direction of all matters, and aſſign to each man his duty; but in the firſt place they proceed to chuſe out of the allies who are preſent, divers horſe and foot, who are to be near the perſon of the conſul on all occaſions which may require an approved courage, and theſe are called extraordinaries. In all other reſpects the infantry of the allies is equal in number to the Roman legions, but their cavalry is double; out of which are uſually employed for extraordinaries of horſe, the third, and of foot, the fifth part; the remainder is divided, and called, one the right, the other the left wing. In the next place, the tribunes take the legions with their auxiliaries, and encamp them, which they perpetually do in the ſame manner and form. Wherefore, I ſhall proceed in the next place to ſhew the manner of marching, encamping, and diſpoſing their troops in battle; and here I cannot doubt but all thoſe who have any curioſity for any commendable knowledge, will give juſt attention to a matter which is ſo memorable, and ſo well deſerves their notice.

Method of encamping.

"This, then, is their manner of encamping:—Having choſen out a proper ground, they erect the prætorium, or general's pavilion, in the moſt convenient place, to obſerve what paſſes, and give orders. After they have planted the ſtandard in the place of the pavilion, they proceed to ſet out a ſquare of two acres of land, each face being one hundred feet diſtant from the ſtandard; the Roman legions are poſted on that ſide which appears moſt proper for forage and water. There are ſix tribunes in each legion, as was before recited; and each conſul having two legions with him, it is evident there muſt be twelve tribunes in both armies. The tents of the tribunes are erected in a right line, all parts of which an equal diſtance of fifty feet from the ſide of the ſquare appointed for them; and this ſpace is large enough to receive their horſes, their other beaſts of burthen, and the reſt of their baggage: their tents extend all the back of the ſquare, looking outwards.

Different parts of the army, how lodged.

"And here the reader muſt obſerve, that this is the front of the whole figure, and that we ſhall hereafter call it ſo. The tents of tribunes are equally diſtant from each other, and make in their tract a ſpace equal in extent to that of the Roman legions in depth. After this, they meaſure out a ſpace in front, directly oppoſite to theſe tents, and draw a right line of equal length with that on which the tribunes' tents are erected, and parallel to it; here they begin to lodge the legions, which is done in the following manner: they divide the former line in the midſt, then draw a ſtrait line from the point of ſection, and lodge on both ſides of this line the cavalry of the two legions oppoſite to each other, leaving between an empty ſpace, or way, fifty feet broad, through the midſt of which the former line paſſes. The tents of the in-

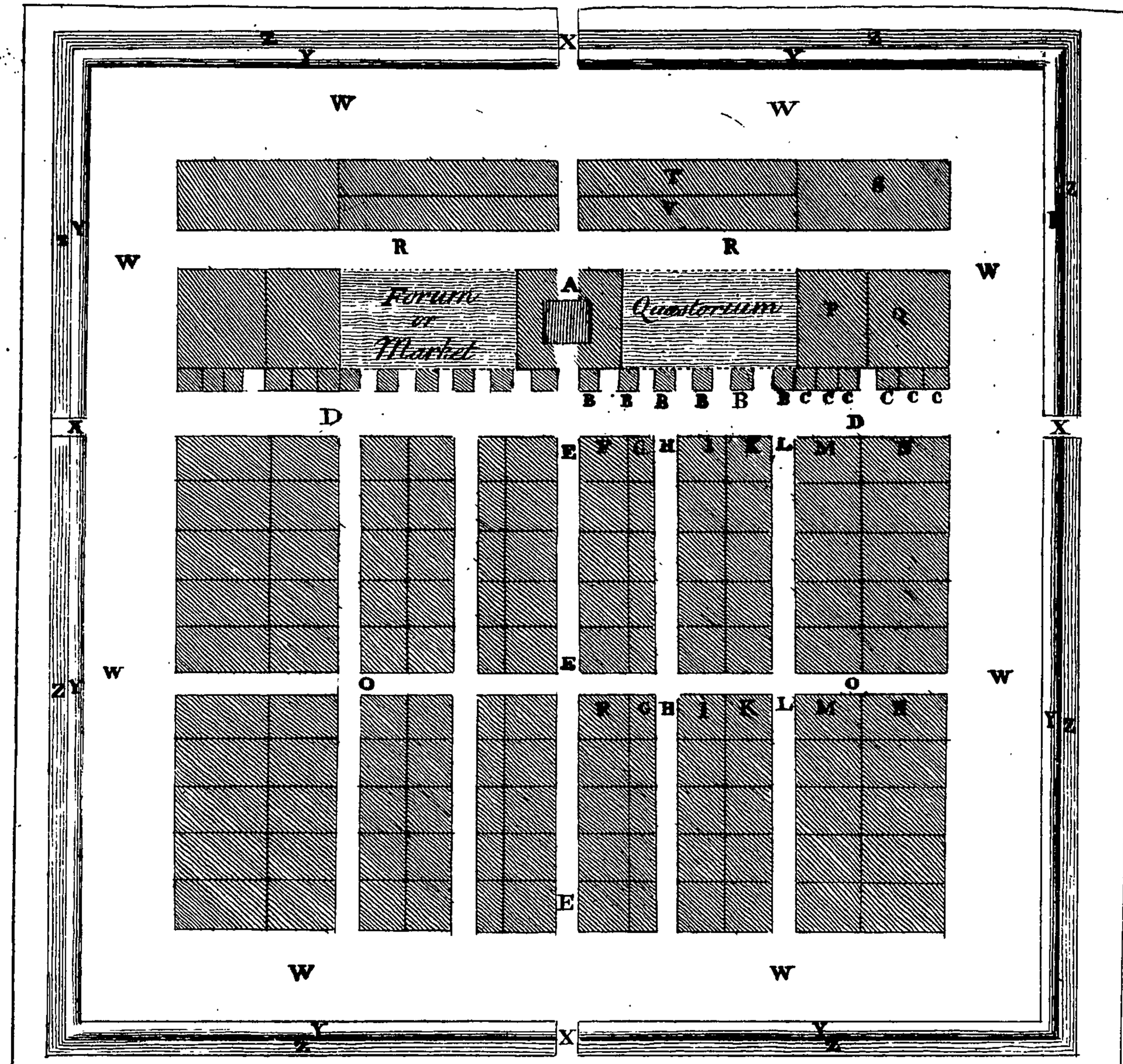
fantry and cavalry are diſpoſed in the ſame manner; the figure of the ground which both occupy making a ſquare. This looks towards the ways, or ſtreets, between both, and its length, which is a hundred feet, is the length of the way; and for the moſt it is ſo contrived, that the depth and wideneſs have the ſame meaſure, except the lodgment of the allies. But when that armies are greater, they increaſe the dimenſions. But the tents of the horſe terminating exactly in the midſt of the tents of the tribunes, there is a way which traverſes the right line before-mentioned, and the ſpace before the tribunes' tents. For the reſt, all paſſages are diſpoſed in ſuch manner they reſemble ſtreets, or rows, part foot, part horſe, being extended along each ſide.

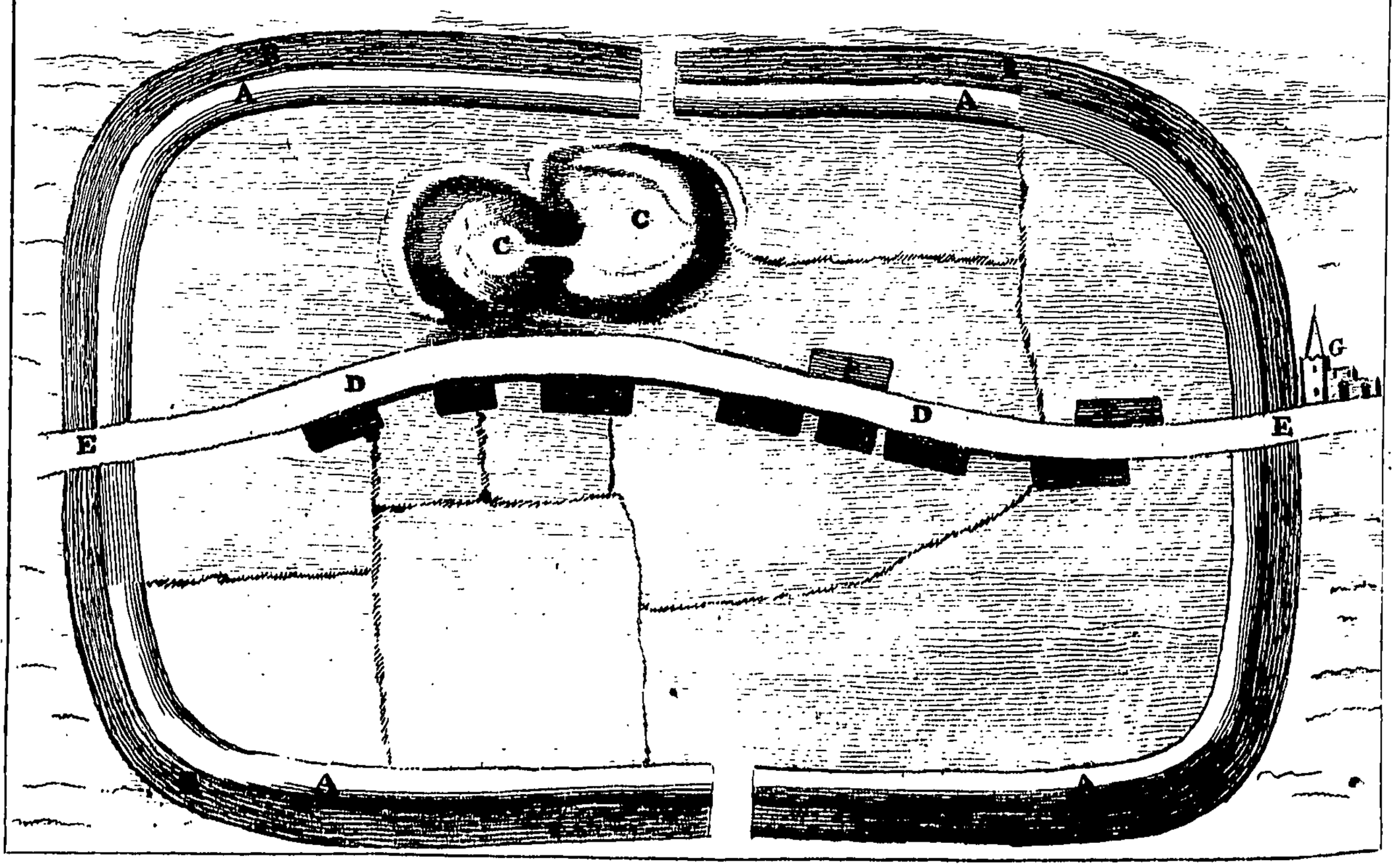
The triarvi, how lodged in the camp.

" The triarvi of the two legions are poſted behind the cavalry, of which we have been ſpeaking, each company anſwering to the other in the ſame figure, in ſuch manner, that although they touch each other on the back, the triarvi face thoſe of the oppoſite ſide, and the breadth of the way where each band of the triarvi is poſted, does not exceed half its length, theſe being for the moſt part one half leſs than the other. For this reaſon, though the number of men be not always equal, and the ſpace in which they are poſted be different, yet the length is equal. The principes are poſted oppoſite to the triarvi, with a way of fifty paces between them; and in going from hence, to the ſpace which I before mentioned by the tribunes' tents, there are two other banks or rows, which begin at the ſame ſtraight line with the horſe, that is, at the ſpace of a hundred feet, before the tribunes' lodgment, and terminate at the other end of the camp, which we before called the front of the whole figure.

The haſtati, how lodged.

" The haſtati or ſpear-men, are poſted near the principes, but on their back, like the triarvi, facing the horſe on the oppoſite ſide. Now having obſerved, that each legion conſiſts of ten companies, according to the diviſion before made. All theſe alleys or ſtreets, are of the ſame length, and end in the front of the camp, and it is on that ſide all the laſt companies are poſted. In the back of the haſtati, at the diſtance of fifty feet, are planted the cavalry of the allies, beginning in the ſame line, and ending in the ſame ſtraight line with them. The infantry of the allies is equal in number to the Romans, but it is leſſened a third part by taking away the extraordinaries. And for this reaſon, in encamping they encreaſe the breadth, to equal them in length to the Roman legions. After the ſtreets or rows are marked out, which never exceed five, the lodgments of the foot of the allies is next ſet out, who are planted on the back of the horſe, but the depth is increaſed in proportion; for the reſt, this infantry looks towards the retrenchment of camp on both ſides; but the captains of each company take the principal lodgments on each ſide. But in diſpoſing the cavalry in this manner, the ſixth company is ſeparated from the fifth, by an interval of fifty feet; and the ſame thing is obſerved in the infantry. By this


Forum or Market
Quæstorium
A
R
T
V
S
P
Q
B
C
D
E
F
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H
J
K
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M
N
O
W
X
Y
Z


A
C
D
E
G

this means a way is formed which croſſes all other rows, and makes a line parallel to the range of the tribunes' tents. The Romans give it the name of the fifth, becauſe it runs the whole length of each fifth range of lodgments. As for the void ſpace behind the tribunes' tents on each ſide the prætorium, the one ſide is allotted for the markets, and the other is occupied by the quæſtor and the ammunition. On each ſide the tribunes towards their utmoſt tent, a little falling back, are volunteers, who came into the army out of reſpect to the conſul. Theſe are planted the whole length of the camp, ſome on the quæſtor's ſide, others on the ſide of the market. In all other reſpects theſe are not poſted there, but when the army marched, or in any action, they guard the conſul and quæſtor, being ever near their perſons.

Other diviſions of the camp.

" With theſe they join the flower of the foot, on the ſide of the entrenchment, whoſe office is the ſame with the horſe before-mentioned: after them is left a ſpace of fifty feet broad, parallel to the tribunes' tents, which extending the length of the market, prætorium, and the quæſtor's apartment, is continued from the retrenchment on one ſide, and to that on the other. On the upper ſide of the way the extraordinary horſe of the allies are planted, oppoſite to the market, the prætorium, and the quæſtor's quarters; but in midſt of the tents a way of fifty feet broad is left, paſſing before the prætorium, which croſſing the other way in that place, traverſes the camp, making a ſtraight line from one entrenchment to the other. Behind theſe horſe, are lodged the extraordinary foot of the allies, which looks towards the entrenchments and the laſt ſide of the camp. The remaining void ſpace on each ſide, is allotted for the reception of foreigners, or allies, whoſe occaſions may bring them into the camp. All theſe things thus diſpoſed, the form of the camp is a ſquare of equal ſides, and the regular poſition of the ſtreets, tents, and all other things, make it very much reemble a town. On every ſide between the entrenchment and the tents, is a vacant ſpace of two hundred paces, very commodious for receiving a multitude of different things; here they kept their own cattle, and thoſe they have taken from the enemy, in the night-time; and this ſpace is very uſeful, the enemy not being able, in caſe they make an attack by night, to fling either darts, or fire, unleſs by a great chance, and then cannot do any conſiderable damage, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the diſtance, and the tents which are about it.*

Thus

* That the reader may the better underſtand the whole form of the Roman camp, according to the deſcription of Polybius, we have ſubjoined plate VI. where, at the top, a plan is accurately drawn out. The references may be made as follow: A, the prætorium, or ſquare, for the general's tent, two hundred feet every way: in this reference we have marked but one ſide all through, the other exactly correſponded with it. BBBBBB, ſix of the tribunes' tents, the other ſix are oppoſite on the other ſide of the prætorium; each of theſe ſquares are fifty feet every way. On one ſide of the prætorium is the market, two hundred feet broad, and three hundred and fifty feet

The form of the camp when two armies were joined.

"Thus it is easy to know how spacious the camp is, and what number it is able to receive, whether a legion consisting of four or five thousand men, since I have shewn the dimension of every part, its streets, and other particulars; but if the number of the allies be greater, whether they come first or after with their troops, as necessity or occasion requires, they are lodged on one side of the prætorium, and the market is removed to the quæstor's apartment, or, if the number of those be great, who begin to march; when the army is too big, a row is added on each side of the Roman legions, towards the side of the camp. But if the two consuls and the four legions join in one camp, you must fancy them after the manner of two armies, joined back to back, dispersed as before described, and in the place where their extraordinaries are posted. Thus the figure will be oblong, the ground twice as spacious, and the circuit once and a half greater. In short, whenever the two consuls are in the same camp, they order every thing in the same manner as when their camps are separate, except that the quæstor, the market, and the prætorium, are then in the middle between both armies.

The administration of the oath.

"After the encampment is made, all the tribunes meet, and administer an oath to every man in the legion, as well freemen as slaves, who all one after another swear, That they will not rob in camp; and in case any one finds any thing by chance, he shall acquaint the tribunes with it. Next, two companies of the principes and hastati of each legion are appointed

feet in length; opposite to this, on the other side of the prætorium, is the quæstor's lodging, of equal length and breath with the forum. CCCCCC, squares fifty feet every way, the lodging of the præfecti. DD, the *via principalis*, or principal street, one hundred feet in width. EEEE, another street, dividing the lodgings in the midst, and passing from each gate to the prætorium. F F, two long divisions, each one hundred feet broad, and five hundred long, divided into ten squares; in these were lodged the ten companies of cavalry. G G, two other divisions of equal length, only fifty feet wide; these are the lodgings for ten companies of the triarvi. H H, a street fifty feet broad. I I, two long divisions, one hundred feet wide, and of equal length with the former, containing ten squares, for the lodging of the ten companies of the principes. K K, two other divisions, equal in length and breadth with the former, the lodgings of the ten companies of the hastati, or spear-men. L L, another street, fifty feet wide. M M, two other long divisions, one hundred and fifty feet wide, but of equal length with the former; these are the lodgings for the auxiliary cavalry. N N, other divisions, two hundred feet wide, but of equal length with the former, the lodgings of the auxiliary infantry. O O, a transverse street. P, the lodging for the select voluntary cavalry. Q, the select voluntary foot; these, with the former, occupied a space three hundred and fifty feet long, and two hundred broad. R R, another transverse street, one hundred feet broad. S, the lodgings of the foreigners and allies, occupying a space of three hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and fifty broad. T, the extraordinary infantry. V, the extraordinary cavalry; these together occupied a space of four hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and fifty broad. W W W W, &c. a void space all around the whole camp, two hundred feet broad. X X X X, the four principal entrances, each fifty feet wide. Y Y Y Y, &c. the vallum. Z Z Z Z, &c. the fosse, or ditch. The reader will observe, that this camp is composed of two legions, and their auxiliaries, who are lodged exactly in the same manner, one legion on one side the street, E E E E, and the other on the other.

appointed to guard the tribunes' tents, the Romans ſometimes ſpending whole days in that ſpace, for which reaſon they are extremely curious in keeping it clean. As for the other eighteen companies, each tribune draws three by lot, for there is in each diviſion which are made of them the ſame number of haſtati, principes, and ſix military tribunes; out of each company of theſe, three ſerve the tribunes alternately in the following manner:—When the camp is marked out, theſe companies pitch their tents, erect them, and making the ground level, ſecuring the baggage; if occaſion requires, they keep two watches of four centinels, one of which is kept before the tents, the other behind, near the horſes. Now each tribune having three companies under his command, and each company conſiſting of a hundred men, excluſive of the triarvi and velites, who are not obliged to theſe offices; this charge is not very heavy, they only being in waiting once in four days: this proviſion is made for the eaſe of the tribunes, and for ſupporting their authority, credit, and conveniency. The companies of the triarvi are exempt from all the duties which the reſt perform to the tribunes, but each is obliged to ſend every day four ſoldiers to the troops of horſe, to watch near the companies behind them. They ſet a ſpecial guard on the horſe, to prevent them from embarraſſing each other, to ſee that they preſerve the ranks, or, by falling foul on one another, they do not cauſe any diſorder or alarm in the camp. To conclude, one company every day ſtand centry at the general's tent, to prevent any treachery and ambuſcade, as well as for the grandeur of his office.

"In the laſt place, the allies have orders given to ſecure by a trench and palliſado two ſides of the camp, and the two remaining are ſecured by the Romans, each legion having one committed to its care. Now all ſides thus diſtributed, the captains, who are preſent to overſee the work, take care that every thing be done by their companies, and two tribunes inſpect each ſide in general. The camp, how ſecured.

"As to what relates to the Roman way of decamping and marching, it is after this manner:—At the firſt ſounding of the trumpet the tents are taken down, and the baggage packed up; but here it muſt be underſtood the general's and tribunes' are always ſent firſt. At the ſecond ſounding they load the horſes, and on the third they muſt begin their march. For the moſt part the volunteers are in the front; then follow the right wing of the auxiliaries, with their baggage; after which marches, the firſt Roman legion with its baggage likewiſe; and laſtly, the left wing of the auxiliaries, with its baggage, brings up the rear. As for the horſe, they ſometimes march in the rear of all, and ſometimes flank the baggage, for better ſecurity of it. Whenever they have any apprehenſion of the enemies attacking them in their rear, they do not change their order, but only cauſe the volunteers to march thither forthwith; the legions and auxiliaries march thin, that they may all equally have a ſhare in the forage and water. The method of decamping, as practiſed by the Romans.

"The Romans have another kind of march, when they are in any fear of the enemy, and are in an open country: they cauſe the haſtati, prin- Order of the Roman march.

cipii, and triarii, to be divided into three battalions, and to march at equal diſtance one from another. Firſt, they place the enſigns and colours in the front with their baggage, then the haſtati with their baggage, next the principii and their baggage, and laſtly, the triarii with theirs, in a manner that, the army being thus diſpoſed, whatever happens, either on the right or left, by a half-turn they may be upon their guard; the firſt thing they do is to remove the ſtandards from that ſide where the enemy appears, ſo that in an inſtant, and with one motion, the army can be in a poſture of defence. By theſe means the baggage, and all thoſe who follow the army, will be found in the rear, and conſequently ſecured from danger.

Who are ſent to mark out the ground for an encampment.

"When the army is near the place where they are to encamp, the tribunes and captains, whom it is cuſtomary to chuſe upon ſuch an occaſion, go before and mark out the ground for the prætorium, as likewiſe conſider where it is moſt proper for the legions to pitch their tents. After this, they meaſure out the circumference of the prætorium, and then draw from thence one ſtrait line, where are raiſed the tents of the tribunes, and on the other hand, where are pitched the tents of the legions. The ſame lines are drawn out on the other ſide of the prætorium, according to the deſcription we have already given. This being done, for the laying out of the ground is no way difficult, the diſtances being eaſily known, they plant a ſtandard, firſt where the prætorium is to ſtand, and next in the other places marked out. Here it muſt be obſerved, that the conſul's ſtandard is always white, and all the others red. Afterwards they proceed to meaſure out the ſtreets, in every one of which they plant a javelin. By theſe means, as ſoon as ever the army arrives, they know immediately where to place themſelves, and every one can go directly to his quarters by the ſtandard of the general.

Difference between the Roman and Greek methods of fortification.

"In their encampments the Romans act quite contrary to the Greeks; for whenever the latter deſign to pitch their camp, they always chuſe places well fortified by nature, and this becauſe they would avoid the trouble of entrenching themſelves; and moreover, they never truſted ſo much to ſuch fortifications, as to thoſe preſented by nature. Hence it happens, that as they are obliged to have their camp conformable to the ground they have pitched upon, ſo alſo their quarters muſt differ according to the nature of the place, and conſequently their lodging be always uncertain; but, on the other hand, the Romans chearfully underwent all manner of fatigue and labour, that they might encamp more commodiouſly."

General obſervations on the various fortifications in Britain.

Thus far Polybius;* and from this excellent deſcription we not only learn the outward form of the earth-work of the camp, but we ſee the diſpoſition of the army itſelf; which was all done in ſuch juſt order, that we cannot but admire the prudence and ſkill of the Romans. Yet we

* This extract from Polybius is according to the tranſlation of that author, publiſhed by Sheer.

are

are not to imagine that this people conſtantly made their camps exactly ſquare: the inequality of the ground which they might ſometimes be obliged to pitch upon, might frequently cauſe various alterations; but we may depend upon it that thoſe were as trifling as poſſible, and that the form of their camps were conſtantly as near to the ſquare, or in caſe of additional force, to the long ſquare, as it was convenient to make them. But ſome time after Polybius they made a ſlight alteration in the figure of their camp, by juſt rounding off the corners; and of this form are the greater part of the Roman camps diſcovered in England.* Having thus ſeen the ſize and faſhion of a Roman camp, we ſhall preſently exclude all thoſe circular entrenchments upon the tops of hills, and places of natural ſtrength, ſo frequently diſcovered in this kingdom, from any ſhare in the performances of the Romans. Can any idea be more natural, than that the Britons, a people who were too volatile to attend to the making regular fortifications, and places of proper defence, and flying before a ſtrong band of veteran troops, who well underſtood the manœuvres of military diſcipline, ſhould have recourſe to places by nature ſtrong, and difficult to be forced? And this, we find, was the conſtant cuſtom with them. After the Britons, the Saxons alſo may claim a great ſhare in theſe circular hill-entrenchments; and beſides theſe, the Danes themſelves alſo made choice of hills, and places by nature ſtrong, for their temporary ſtations. It muſt be our buſineſs, in the ſucceeding parts, to point out, if poſſible, what is Saxon, and what Daniſh; and when this is done, we may conclude, that what does not belong to either of theſe people, nor to the Romans, muſt be Britiſh.

Walled towns of the Romans.

All this diſcourſe has hitherto been concerning the temporary camps of the Romans; we now come to their more conſequential ſtations, and the which we can with more certainty inſiſt upon, namely, their walled cities. One of the moſt perfect of theſe is upon the very utmoſt borders of Hampſhire, towards Berkſhire; it was the ancient Vindomis of that people, but in the preſent day it is called Silcheſter: this venerable antiquity has the walls now ſtanding all around it, and its circuit, by an actual meaſurement, is found to be near an Engliſh mile and a half; it contains within the walls corn fields to the amount of one hundred acres; the wall on the ſouth ſide, where it is moſt perfect, is in ſome

* See a camp of this form, plate VI, which is at Pluſhey, in Eſſex; it is a full Engliſh mile in circumference; the valum, or bank, which ſurrounds it, where it is moſt perfect is fourteen feet high from the bottom of the ditch, which is in general about ten yards over. The figure of the camp is not far wide of the long ſquare, with the corners gently rounded off; it ſtands upon the Roman road, which probably went from thence to Cæſaromagus, ſituated either at Chelmsford, or Writtle. This, perhaps, was the *Villam Fauſtini*, which better anſwers to the given diſtances in the Itinerary of Antoninus, than Dunmow, where there is not the leaſt veſtige of a Roman ſtation. The explanation of the figures upon the plate are as follow:—A A A A, is the bank, or valum. B B B B, the foſſe, or ditch. C C, the remains of a Norman caſtle. D D, the ſtreet through the village. E E E E, the four entrances into the entrenchment. F F F F, &c. houſes that form the village. G, the pariſh church.

places near twenty feet high, but its height in general runs from ſixteen to eighteen feet.*

Silcheſter deſcribed.

The firſt foundation of the wall, which is here and there to be diſcovered on the north and north-eaſt ſides of the city, appears to have been made with large flag ſtones, from two to four feet, and four feet and a half in length, and of unequal thickneſs, as ſometimes ſix, ſeven, eight, and nine inches; their depth could not be aſcertained, becauſe they yet remain firmly fixed in the wall. Upon theſe ſtones was laid a ſtratum of rubble ſtone, or large cragged flints, large pebbles, and the like, filled up, and held together with a ſtrong cement; this was continued to the height of about two feet and a half, and then ſucceeded another layer of large flat ſtones, though not ſo big as the former; for the largeſt of theſe ſeldom exceeded three feet in length, and oftener were not ſo long; they ran in general from four to ſix inches in thickneſs;† many of theſe ſtones, which were broken out of the wall, were carefully meaſured, and few exceeded eighteen and twenty inches in width. This courſe, or layer of flat ſtones, runs round the whole city, and may eaſily be diſcovered in any part of the wall, and its bottom is almoſt always level with the ground. Upon this layer again was another ſtratum of the rubble ſtone, which, according to the meaſurements on the ſouth ſide, was in height three feet; then ſucceeded another layer of ſmaller flat ſtones, made as near as poſſible to the ſhape of the Roman brick, but larger and thicker, ſo that the thickneſs of the ſtone, interſperſed with the cement, amounted to four inches. On this layer of flat ſtones was raiſed another ſtratum of rubble ſtones, compoſed of ſmaller flints, and laid in more order than the former; this ſtratum was about two feet and a half in height: then followed a double row of flat ſtones, in ſhape and thickneſs exactly the ſame with thoſe before-deſcribed; this double row took up the ſpace of eight inches. On theſe again was raiſed another ſtratum of rubble ſtone, of the finer ſort, like the former, and exactly of the ſame height, namely, two feet and a half; on the top of this was a repetition of the double row of flat ſtones, ſomething larger and thicker than the former; for theſe two rows, with the mortar, made the thickneſs of nine inches. The ſtratum of rubble which was raiſed upon theſe, was three feet high; and on the top ſucceeded by another double row of flat ſtones, ſtill increaſing in ſize; for they took up, with the mortar, the ſpace of ten inches; and then the rubble continues on to the top, higher or lower, as the walls have been more or leſs damaged:

* See a view of the ſouth wall of this city, with the preſent appearance of the ſouth gate, or entrance, plate VII.

† This ſecond layer of large flat ſtones (for the firſt, as deſcribed before, which forms the foundation, is very ſeldom to be diſcovered, therefore we have in the delineation begun with the ſecond) is repreſented at the bottom of the piece of the wall, plate VIII. fig. 1. where all the other ſtratums of rubble ſtone, and layers of flat ſtones, are regularly drawn upon a larger ſcale than in the former plate.

yet

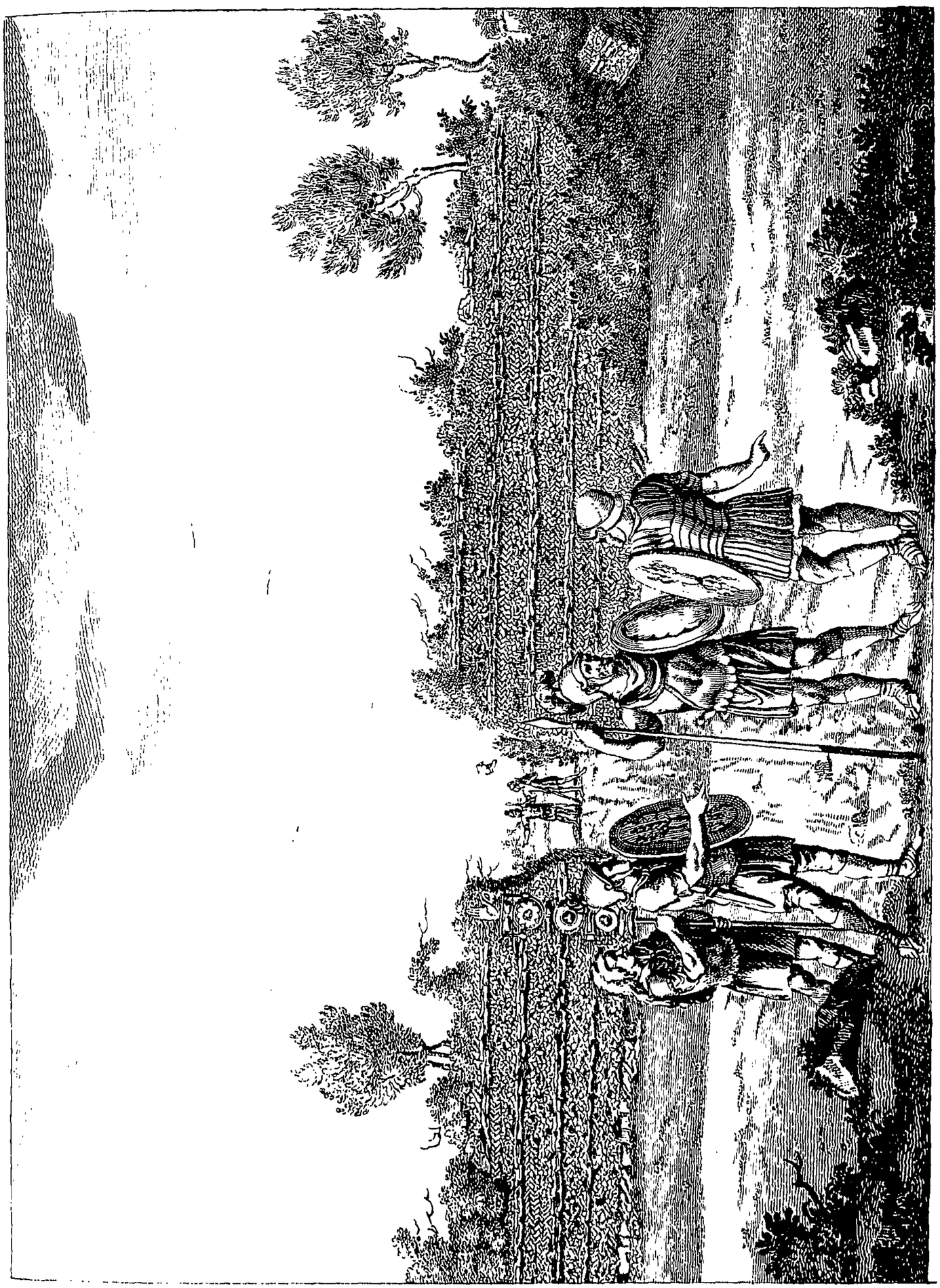


Fig. 1

The Amphitheatre

Fig. 2

Fig. 3.

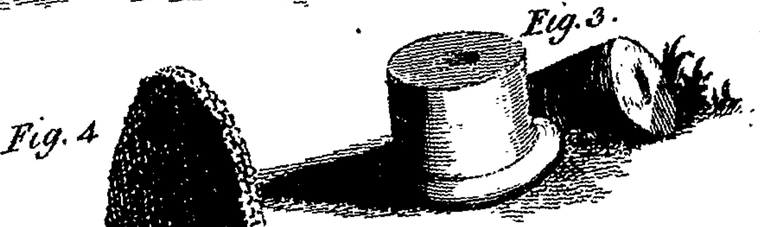


Fig. 4

Plan of Silchester

This Plan was drawn A.D. 1741.



Section of the Wall Ditch & Vallum

D A D C

Fig. 5. B

AA. *The Wall.*
BBBB. *a Bank made by the Ruins of the Wall formerly included the ditch*
CCCC. *The ditch which formerly went to the Wall.*
DDDD. *The Vallum or outer Bank quite perfect all round the City.*
E. *The Church.*
F. *The Farm House.*
GGGG. *The four City Gates which terminate the two Chief Streets.*

HH. *The Forum.*
I. *The Temple.*
K. *The Spot where an Inscription was found dedicated to the God Hercules.*
L. *Cuions Hole a passage through the Wall.*
M. *A Fountain.*
N. *The Amphitheatre.*
O. *A Pond where they report the Wild beasts were kept.*
P. *Where the Mint is thought to have stood.*

Scale of 30 Statute Poles

0 10 20 30 40 50

yet in many places a ſucceeding layer of flat ſtones is to be ſeen, followed alſo by another ſtratum of rubble, of ſtill finer caſt. One thing was obſervable, as well in the foundation as in the ſecond row of large ſtones, deſcribed as above; theſe great ſtones were not conſtantly continued, but there appeared frequent breaks, filled up with ſmaller flat ſtones, ſet ſhelving one upon the other; alſo, in the ſecond, third, and fourth ſtratums of rubble, (from the ground) great pains appeared to have been taken with the flints, to place them in exact order, ſo that for a conſiderable diſtance one often obſerves them to form a kind of zig-zag, or herring-bone work laid in rows, ſome one way, and ſome another.

Further parts of the city deſcribed.

The wall at the ſouth gate being meaſured, was found to be full four and twenty feet thick; the whole of this city was ſurrounded by a large deep ditch, great part of which is now filled up with the ruins of the wall, ſo as to form a bank, on which one may eaſily walk round about, having the wall itſelf on one ſide, and the ditch below on the other; but this was not its original ſtate, for formerly the ditch came up cloſe to the wall, and this bank was not then in being. Beyond the ditch again is the external valum, very perfect, and eaſy to be traced out all round the whole city; its higheſt parts (even in the preſent ſtate) are at leaſt fifteen feet perpendicular from the bottom of the ditch, but if it is meaſured on the ſlope, conſiderably more: a ſtraight line drawn from the top of this bank to the wall on the north-eaſt ſide, meaſured four and thirty yards, its full breadth.* The two main ſtreets, which lead from gate to gate, are broader than any of the reſt, and meaſured better than ten yards acroſs.† Near the middle of the city, within a ſpacious ſquare,

* See the plan of Silcheſter, plate VIII. and the references at the ſide; alſo figure 5, on the ſame plate, which is the ſection of the wall, the bank, the ditch, and the external valum; A, is the wall, coming perpendicularly down to B, which repreſents the bank made by the ruin of the wall; C, is the ditch, and D, is the external valum.

† It would be an injuſtice done to a very ſenſible and induſtrious man, if I were not to own, that I owe the plan of this ancient city to a Mr. Stair, of Aldermaſton, in Berkſhire, about four miles from Silcheſter; a man who has ſpent all his leiſure time in the preſerving as much as he could of this venerable antiquity, and making every diſcovery which lies in his power. He was at the pains to meaſure every part of it exactly; for when I ſurveyed it myſelf in the ſummer, in order to make the delineations which are here engraved, and to examine carefully into the nature of the work, I found every part of the plan as correct as poſſible. From his plan the engraving is given, but reduced by a ſcale to bring it to the ſize of my own book. And as I was unwilling that Mr. Stair, who has taken ſuch indefatigable pains to inveſtigate a number of curious particulars relative to this place, ſhould not in ſome meaſure be rewarded for it, I perſuaded him to draw up an account of it, and give it to the world, together with a full account of the coins which he found in digging there, amongſt which was a curious gold Allectus. Another thing I ſhall obſerve concerning the above plan, which is this: the ſtreets which are repreſented were all taken by him the very ſummer after the hard winter in the year 1741, which proved very dry; and in the corn, the whole appearance of the ſtreets, juſt as here laid down; for he was at incredible pains to trace them out exactly, becauſe neither before nor ſince have they been ſeen ſo perfect; though

ſquare, formed partly by the interſection of the two main ſtreets, was diſcovered the foundation of a large ſtructure, conſiſting of free-ſtone, three feet thick, which is reported to have been the temple, becauſe near it, and on the inſide, was found the remains of a little elevated building, an altar, as it was thought, from the quantity of aſhes, wood, and coals burnt, that lay round about; it was three feet in heighth, four in length, and three in breadth, and built entirely of Roman bricks; the dimenſions of which were as follow: ſeventeen inches and a half long, twelve and a half broad, and near two in thickneſs.* Not far from the ſame place was alſo ploughed up, the baſe and other parts of a large column of free-ſtone, in diameter one foot eight inches, and a piece of a wall of rubble ſtone ſtrongly and elegantly cemented.† The city was ſupplied with water from a fine plentiful ſpring, which ariſes in the ſouth-eaſt diviſion, and running to the wall, diſcharges itſelf underneath into the ditch.

The amphitheatre at Silcheſter.

Cloſe at the north-eaſt corner of this venerable ruin ſtands the amphitheatre; the diameter of its area is fifty yards by forty; it has two entrances, one oppoſite the city, due weſt, and the other directly contrary, facing the eaſt. The elevation of the amphitheatre conſiſts of a mixture of clay and gravel, and the ſeats are in five rows, one above another. The whole wall, or bank, of the amphitheatre is about twenty yards thick at the bottom, and ſo decreaſes gradually to the breadth of about four yards at the top; and is in height on the north and ſouth ſides full thirty feet.‡ Cloſe on the ſouth ſide of the amphitheatre is a pond, where, they inform you, a cavern formerly was, in which the wild beaſts were kept until the time that they were to be brought out before the ſpectators.§

Onion's hole, why made.

On the ſouth ſide of the city there is a paſſage underneath the wall, which is called by the country people who inhabit there, Onion's hole;‖ which, they ſay, had its name from a giant ſo called, who made his dwelling formerly in the city; and ſo ſtrongly is the tradition of this

though every year the main ſtreets may be eaſily diſcovered by the colour of the corn. Afterwards, to prove the truth of his plan, he dug down into the ground on each ſide of the ſtreets, and conſtantly found the foundations of houſes, &c. very obvious; whilſt in the ſtreets the ſoil ſeemed gravelly and uniform.

* All theſe things were diſcovered by the Mr. Stair, above-mentioned, from whoſe mouth I received this account; and nearly the ſame was printed from a letter of Dr. Ward, to the Royal Society. See Philoſ. Tranſ. vol. XLV. fol. 603.

† See theſe pieces of the columns, fig. 3. and the bit of the wall, fig. 4, plate VIII. The bit of the wall is perfectly flat, four feet high, two feet and a quarter wide, and near four inches thick; its compoſition was very fine pebbles, held together by a ſtrong cement of a blackiſh hue. It was probably part of the wall of ſome temple, or ſuperb houſe.

‡ See a perſpective view of the amphitheatre from the north, plate VIII. fig. 2. the bottom is now a horſe-pond, and is about three feet deep of water.

§ See the plan of the amphitheatre, plate VIII. marked N, and the pond marked O.

‖ See the plan of the city, and the reference to the letter L.

ſtamped


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Vall. Anton. Pii.
Blatum Bulgium
Castra Exploratorum
Bremeniacum
Izuri Gallum
Galavam
Corstopitum
Voredam
Brocavum
Galacum
Alonem
Vindomorum
Brovonacim
Verterim
Vinoviam
Lavatrim
Cataractonem
Bremetonacim
Isurium
Eboracum
Derventionem
Loccium
Calcariam
Delgovitia
Camboduno
Legeolium
Manucium
Praetorium
Danum
Condate
Segelocim
Lindum
Sarim
Devam
Cononium
Bovium
Segontium
Crococalanum
Mediolanum
Causennis
Rutupiae
Margidunum
Viroconium
Verometum
Pennocrucium
Ratam
Durobrivas
Venta Icenorum
Camboricum
Branonium
Vacomagi
Etocetum
Mandubratium
Venonium
Tripontium
Durolipontem
Sitomagum
Bernaventam
Lactodorum
Icianos
Ala Veteranorum
Cambretonium
Magnis
Durocobrivum
Colonia
Aricomium
Villam Faustini
Gobannium
Cleram
Magiovinium
Blestium
Verolamium
Caesaromagum
Uxacona
Bravinium
Iscam
Ventam
Situram
Abonam
Trajectum
Aquae Solis
Durocomovium
Sulloniacis
Ostona
Spinas
Pontes
Canonium
Londinium
Regulbium
Portus Lemanis
Noviomago
Vagniacis
Durobrivae
Durolevum
Tamesin
Bomium
Verlucionem
Clanoventum
Vindomis
Brige
Callevam
Sorinodunum
Ventam Belgarum
Leucarum
Vindocladiam
Clausentum
Isca Dumnoniorum
Moridunum
Regnum
Durnovarium
Wight I.
Portus Adurni
Portus Dubris

ſtamped upon their minds, that all the Roman pennies, which are found in great abundance, bear the name of Onion's pennies amongſt them. In all probability, this hole was neither more nor leſs than ſome private paſſage; for, independent of the four gates, it might be made uſe of upon particular occaſions.

This large account we have given of Silcheſter; and thoſe who ſhall have leiſure enough to examine other remaining buildings of the Romans, will find them conſtantly upon the ſame plan, only where flat ſtones could not conveniently be got, their place was ſupplied with Roman brick, as was the caſe in the old Roman walls at Verulam, at Cheſterford,* and may alſo be ſeen at Richborough,† or more evident ſtill at Burg-caſtle, in Suffolk.‡ One may obſerve that the forms of theſe cities were various; that at Cheſterford was ſomething of an oval, Burg-caſtle and Richborough are more inclining to the long ſquare, not unlike the Roman caſtra.

And now, by way of concluſion, we will ſet down all the Roman towns that were in Britain, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, and their diſtance from each other as therein deſcribed.

ITER I.

A limite, id eſt a vallo Prætorium uſque.

M. P. clvi.

A Bremenio Corſtopilum	M. P.	xx	
Vindomoram	M. P.	ix	
Vinoviam	M. P.	xix	
Cataractonem	M. P.	xxii	
Iſurium	M. P.	xxiv	
Eboracum leg. vi. victrix	M. P.	xiv	
Derventionem	M. P.	vii	
Delgovitia	M. P.	xvi	
Prætorium	M. P.	xxv	

ROUTE I.

From the limit of the wall to Hebberſtow-fields, or Broughton.§

156 Miles.

			MILES.
REICHESTER *Corbridge*			20
Ebcheſter	—	—	9
Bincheſter	—	—	19
Cataract	—	—	22
Aldborough		—	24
York	—	—	14
On Derwent river		—	7
Wighton	—	—	16
Hubberſtow fields, or Broughton			25

* The account of Cheſterford, and the old wall of London, ſee the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anzel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of England, page 15.

† Vide Stukeley's Itin. Curioſ.

‡ See Ives's Remarks upon the Gariannonum of the Romans.

§ The reader is deſired to notice, that all theſe places, as given in the Engliſh explanation, are from the moſt approved antiquaries, as Camden, Horſley, Gale, &c. and from them the map, plate IX. which is given in this volume, is made.

ITER

ITER II.
A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas.

M. P. ccccIxxxi.

A Blatobulgio		
Caſtra exploratorum	M. P.	xii
Luguvallum	M. P.	xii
Voredam -	M. P.	xiv
Brouonacim	M. P.	xiii
Verterim -	M. P.	xiii
Lavatrim -	M. P.	xiv
Cataractonem	M. P.	xiii
Iſurium -	M. P.	xxiv
Eboracum -	M. P.	xvii
Calcariam -	M. P.	ix
Cambodunum	M. P.	xx
Mancunium	M. P.	xviii
Condate -	M. P.	xviii
Devam leg. xx victrix	M. P.	xx
Bovium -	M. P.	x
Mediolanum	M. P.	xx
Rutunium -	M. P.	xii
Viroconium	M. P.	xi
Uxaconam -	M. P.	xi
Pennocrucium	M. P.	xii
Etocetum -	M. P.	xii
Manduefſedum	M. P.	vi
Venonium -	M. P.	xii
Bennavenam	M. P.	xvii
Lacodorum	M. P.	xii
Magiovinum	M. P.	xvii
Durocobrivim	M. P.	xii
Verolamium	M. P.	xii
Sulloniacim	M. P.	ix
Londinium -	M. P.	xii
Noviomagum	M. P.	x
Vagniacim -	M. P.	xviii
Durobrivim	M. P.	ix
Durolevum	M. P.	xiii
Durovernum	M. P.	xii
Ad Portum Ritupas	M. P.	xii

ROUT 2.
From beyond the Wall to Richborough in Kent.

481 Miles.

	MILES.
From *Middleby*	
To *Netherby* —	12
Carliſle —	12
Old Penrith —	14
Kirbyſhure —	13
Brugh under Stanmore	13
Bowes — —	14
Cataract — —	13
Aldborough —	24
York —	17
Tadcaſter —	9
Near Gretland —	20
Manchеſter —	18
Near Northwich —	18
Cheſter —	20
Near Stretton —	10
Near Draiton —	20
Near Wem —	12
Wroxeter —	11
Near Sheriff Hales —	11
Near the river Pink —	12
Wall near Litchfield	12
Mancaſter —	6
Cleyceſter —	12
Ruther at Weedon, near Daventry	17
Towceſter —	12
Fenny Stratford —	17
Dunſtable —	12
St. Albans —	12
Brockly Hills —	9
London —	12
Woodcote near Croydon	10
North Fleet —	18
Rocheſter —	9
Milton —	13
Canterbury —	12
To *Richborough* —	12

ITER III.

A Londinio ad Portum Dubris.

M. P. lxvi.

Durobrivim	M. P.	xxvii
Durovernum	M. P.	xxv
Ad Portum Dubris	M. P.	xiv

ROUT 3.

From London to the Haven at Dover.

66 Miles.

		MILES.
Rocheſter	—	27
Canterbury	—	25
Dover	— —	14

ITER IV.

A Londinio ad Portum Limanis.

M. P. lxviii.

Durobrivim	M. P.	xxvii
Durovernum	M. P.	xxv
Ad Portum Lemanis	M. P.	xvi

ROUT 4.

From London to the Haven at Lime.

68 Miles.

Rocheſter	—	27
Canterbury	—	25
Lime near Weſthyth		16

ITER V.

A Londinio Luguvallum ad Vallum.

M. P. ccccxliii.

Cæſaromagum	M. P.	xxviii
Coloniam -	M. P.	xxiv
Villam Fauſtini	M. P.	xxxv
Icianos -	M. P.	xviii
Camboricum	M. P.	xxxv
Duroli Pontem	M. P.	xxv
Durobrivas	M. P.	xxxv
Cauſennim	M. P.	xxx
Lindum -	M. P.	xxvi
Segelocim	M. P.	xiv
Danum -	M. P.	xxi
Legeolium -	M. P.	xvi
Eboracum -	M. P.	xxi
Iſubrigantum	M. P.	xvii
Cataractonem	M. P.	xxiv
Lavatrim -	M. P.	xvii
Verterim -	M. P.	xiii
Brocavum -	M. P.	xx
Luguvallum	M. P.	xxii

ROUT 5.

From London to Carliſle near the Wall. 443 Miles.

Near Writtle	—	28
Colcheſter	—	24
Dunmow, or rather Pluſhey		35
Cheſterford	—	18
Icklingham	—	35
Cambridge	—	25
Caſtor	— —	35
Ancaſter	—	30
Lincoln	— —	26
Littleborough	—	14
Doncaſter	—	21
Caſterford	—	16
York	— —	21
Aldborough	—	17
Cataract	—	24
Bowes	— —	17
Brugh	— —	13
Brougham Caſtle	—	20
Carliſle	—	22

ITER VI.

A Londinio Lindum.

M. P clvi.

Verolamum -	M. P.	xxi
Durocobrium	M. P.	xii
Magiovinum	M. P.	xii
Lactodorum	M. P.	xvi
Iſſannavatia	M. P.	xii

ROUT 6.

From London to Lincoln.

156 Miles.

St. Albans	—	21
Dunſtable	—	12
Fenny Stratford	—	12
Towceſter	—	16
Near Daventry	-	12

					MILES.
Tripontium	M. P.	xii	*Rugby*	—	12
Vennonim	M. P.	ix	*Cleyceſter*	—	9
Ratis -	M. P.	xii	*Leiceſter*	—	12
Verometum	M. P.	xiii	*Near Willoughby*	—	13
Margidunum	M. P.	xiii	*Near Eaſt Bridgeford*		13
Ad Pontem	M. P.	vii	*Near Southwell*	—	7
Crococalanum	M. P.	vii	*Brugh near Colingham*		7
Lindum -	M. P.	xii	*Lincoln*	—	12

ITER VII.
A Regno Londinium.
M. P. xcvi.

ROUT 7.
From Chicheſter to London.
96 Miles.

Clauſentum	M. P.	xx	*Old Southampton*	—	20
Ventam Belgarum	M. P.	x	*Wincheſter*	—	10
Callevam Atrebatum	M. P.	xxii	*Farnham*	— —	22
Pontes -	M. P.	xxii	*Near Old Windſor*	—	22
Londinium	M. P.	xxii	*London*	— —	22

ITER VIII.
Ab Eboraco Londinium.
M. P. ccxxvii.

ROUT 8.
From York to London.
227 Miles.

Lagecium -	M. P.	xxi	*Caſtle Ford*	—	21
Danum -	M. P.	xvi	*Doncaſter*	—	16
Angelocum -	M. P.	xxi	*Littleborough*	—	21
Lindum -	M. P.	xiv	*Lincoln*	—	14
Crococalanum	M. P.	xiv	*Brugh near Colingham*		14
Margidunum	M. P.	xiv	*Near Eaſt Bridgeford*		14
Vernemetum	M. P.	xii	*Near Willoughby*	—	12
Ratis -	M. P.	xii	*Leiceſter*	— —	12
Venno			*Cleyceſter*	—	
Banavanto			*Near Daventry*	—	
Magiovinium	M. P.	xxviii	*Fenny Stratford*	—	28
Durocobrivim	M. P.	xii	*Dunſtable*	—	12
Verolamum	M. P.	xx	*St. Albans*	—	20
Londinium	M. P.	xxi	*London*	— —	21

ITER IX.
A Venta Icenorum Londinum.
M. P. cxxxviii

ROUT 9.
Caiſter near Norwich to London.
138 Miles.

Sitomagum	M. P.	xxxii	*Wulpit*	—	32
Cambretonium	M. P.	xxii	*Stretford*	—	22
Adanſam -	M. P.	xv	*Witham, or Coggeſhall*		15
Camulodunum	M. P.	vi	*Maldon*	—	6
Canonium	M. P.	ix	*Farmbridge*	—	9
Cæſaromagum	M. P.	xii	*Writtle*	— —	12

Duro-

				MILES.
Durolitum	M. P. xvi	*Lecton*	—	16
Londinium	M. P. xv	*London*	—	15

ITER X.

A Clano venta Mediolanum.

M. P. cl.

ROUT 10.

From Lancheſter in the County of Durham, to the Station near Draiton, upon the borders of Shropſhire.

150 Miles.

Galavam -	M. P. xviii	*Old Town*	—	18
Alonem -	M. P. xii	*Whitley Caſtle*	—	12
Galacum -	M. P. xix	*Appleby*	—	19
Bremetonacim	M. P. xxvii	*Overborough*	—	27
Coccium -	M. P. xx	*Ribcheſter*	—	20
Mancunium	M. P. xvii	*Manchester*	—	17
Condate -	M. P. xviii	*Near Northwich*	—	18
Mediolanum	M. P. xviii	*Near Drayton*	—	18

ITER XI.

A Segoncio Devam.

M. P. lxxiv.

ROUT 11.

From Caernarvon to Cheſter.

74 Miles.

Cononium -	M. P. xxiv	*Caer Rhyn*	—	24
Varim -	M. P. xix	*Bodvary*	—	19
Devam -	M. P. xxxii	*Cheſter*	—	32

ITER XII.

A Calleva Iſcadum Nuntiorum.

M. P. cxxxvi.

ROUT 12.

From Farnham to Chiſelborough.

136 Miles.

Vindomim -	M. P. xv	*Silchester*	—	15
Ventam Belgarum	M. P. xxi	*Wincheſter*	—	21
Brige -	M. P. xi	*Broughton*	—	11
Sorinodunim	M. P. viii	*Old Sarum*	—	8
Vindocladiam	M. P. xii	*Near Cranburn*	—	12
Duronovarium	M. P. viii	*Dorcheſter*	—	8
Moridunum	M. P. xxxvi	*Near Eggerton*	—	36
Iſcadum -	M. P. xv	*At or near Chiſelborough*		15

ITER XIII.

A Muridono Viroconium.

M. P. clxxxvi.

ROUT 13.

From Eggerton to Wroxeter.

186 Miles.

Leucarum -	M. P. xv	*Near Glaſtenbury*		15
Bomium -	M. P. xv	*Near Axbidge*	—	15
Nidum -	M. P. xv	*Near Portbury*	—	15
Iſcam. Leg. 18 Aug.	M. P. xxvii	*Caer Leon*	—	27
Burrium -	M. P. ix	*Uſk* —	—	9
Gobannium	M. P. xii	*Abergaveny*	—	12

					MILES.
Magnim -	M. P. xxii	*Kencheſter*	—		22
Branonium	M. P. xxiv	*Ludlow*	—		24
Viroconium	M. P. xxvii	*Wroxeter*	—		27

ITER XIV.
Ab Iſca Callevam.
M. P. cix.

ROUT 14.
From Caer Leon to Farnham.
109 Miles.

Burrium -	M. P.	ix	*Uſk*	—	—	9
Bleſtium -	M. P.	xi	*Monmouth*	—		11
Ariconium	M. P.	x	*Near Roſs*	—		11
Clevum -	M. P.	xv	*Glouceſter*	—		15
Durocornovium	M. P.	xiv	*Cirenceſter*	—		14
Spinas -	M. P.	xv	*Speen*	—	—	15
Callevam -	M. P.	xv	*Farnham*	—		15

ITER XV.
Alio Itinere ab Iſca Callevam.
M P. ciii.

ROUT 15.
From Caer Leon to Farnham another way. 103 Miles.

Ventam Silurum	M. P.	ix	*Caergwent*	—		9
Abonem -	M. P.	ix	*Aunſbury*	—		9
Trajectum	M. P.	ix	*Henham*	—	—	9
Aquas Solis -	M. P.	vi	*Bath*	—	—	6
Verlucionem	M. P.	xv	*Near Leckham*	—		15
Cunetionem	M. P.	xx	*Marlborough*	—		20
Spinas -	M. P.	xv	*Speen*	—	— —	15
Callevam -	M. P.	xv	*Farnham*	—	—	15

The reader is wiſhed to obſerve, that the Roman mile is ſhorter than the Engliſh mile, being nearly as 11 to 12.

END OF THE FOURTH PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRO-

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART V.

A DISSERTATION ON THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ARTS, MANNERS, HABITS, ETC. OF THE SAXONS, FROM THEIR ANCIENT STATE TO THE ACCESSION OF EGBERT, A. D. 804.

CHAP. I.

The Government, Conſtitution, and Laws of the ancient Germans.

The Engliſh deſcended from the Germans.

WE are now beginning the hiſtory of a very different people from the Britons, of whom we have ſo largely ſpoken; a people, to whom the Engliſh may, in the juſteſt ſenſe, be ſaid to owe their origin: for this cauſe, it is highly neceſſary for us to view them in their moſt ancient ſtate, and ſo follow them, ſtep by ſtep, through all their various improvements.

Germany, how divided anciently.

Germany anciently was divided into many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates, or nations, which were entirely independent of each other, all equally free, and ſubject to no laws but their own; theſe nations again were ſubdivided into a certain number of provinces, or pagi.*

Diviſion of provinces.

Every one of theſe provinces, or diſtricts, formed a ſort of civil community within itſelf, having its own court of judicature, and its own prince, preſident, or judge; and as many of theſe provinces as formed a whole ſtate, or nation, (though in a manner independent of each other)

* "Suevi centum pagos habere dicunt." Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 1. "Civitas Helvetia in quatuor pagos diviſa eſt." Ibid. lib. i. cap. 12.

were

were all of them ſubordinate to the ſupreme legiſlative power, veſted in the general aſſembly, or congregation of the whole ſtate.*

Patriarchial government which every man poſſeſſed.

Every freeman exerciſed a patriarchial authority in his own houſe, and all his family was ſubject to him, and dependent on him alone; his authority was abſolute over his ſlaves and vaſſals, ſo that if he ſhould kill them in his anger, it was a matter that concerned not the community in general, neither was there any law to call him to an account for his raſh proceedings. Again, if his wife diſhonoured his bed, he might inflict a puniſhment upon her of his own accord, without waiting for any previous trial, or formal condemnation: and to the honour of our ancient anceſtors, it may be affirmed, they ſeldom abuſed this extenſive power, but, on the contrary, behaved with much lenity towards their dependants.†

The prince, why elected, and how.

This was the domeſtic government of the Germans; but ſomething further was ſtill neceſſary to be concluded upon for the preſervation of the general peace; for when any of the heads of clans, or families, might raiſe diſputes amongſt themſelves, it was but equitable that there ſhould be ſome judge conſtituted, to decide the quarrel; for if there were none to determine ſuch matters, they would be productive of continual feuds, and the foundation of laſting and dangerous animoſities. They were ſoon aware of this evil, and to prevent it, by common conſent of the people, a prince, or preſident, was elected in every pagus, or province, to whom was given full power to go round the diſtrict committed to his charge, and to hear and determine all cauſes, or matters of controverſies, ariſing within his juriſdiction.‡

The extent of the prince's power.

The prince was choſen for the nobleneſs of his birth, and the power conferred upon him by the conſent of the people, which, however, was limited by certain reſtrictions; nor could he do any thing contrary to the conſtitution of the country, but was controuled by the general councils, in which he was firſt elected, and where he received his authority. His office continued for life, and his children ſucceeded him, though very young, if the diſtinguiſhed merit of their father entitled them to that dignity.§

Attendants upon the prince.

To ſupport the dignity of the prince, and to aſſiſt him in the execution of his legiſlative power, a ſelect band, to the amount of one hundred, were choſen from amongſt the people, who were always ſuch as had the reputation of being the wiſeſt and moſt judicious in the pro-

* Vide Squire's Engliſh Conſtitution, page 16.

† Tacit. de Morib. German.

‡ Ibid. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. This prince, or judge, was probably called by the Germans, Fopyte, or firſt; that is chief, or head; but by the Roman authors, ſometimes king, general, but moſt often prince: "Eliguntur in iiſdem concilis "*principes*, qui jura per pagos vicoſque "reddunt." Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

§ Ibid.

vince;

vince; beſides theſe, he was conſtantly followed by a numerous train of the braveſt freemen of the country; theſe were an honorary ſet of ſervitors, or companions,* who not only added to his ſtate and dignity, but in the time of battle were his ſafeguard; for they were all of them by oath obliged to be faithful to him, and to defend his life at the hazard of their own: and ſo far would they frequently carry their enthuſiaſtic love for their prince, as to impute to him the glory of their own actions, however great and meritorious; and all the return that the prince made them for theſe ſervices, was, the entertaining them plentifully at his expence, and ſometimes rewarding them, according to their deſerts, with a war horſe, or a lance, a weapon they moſt affected; and theſe companions, or followers, were of different ranks, which kept up a conſtant ſpirit of emulation amongſt them, every one ſtriving to obtain as high a place as he could in his prince's favour. The number of theſe followers was not limited, they ſeem to have ſerved of their own accord, ſo that by the number of them that attended upon the perſon of a prince, you might know how much he was beloved by the people; and the prince was not a little deſirous of having a numerous and valiant train of attendants; for his dignity was thereby increaſed, and by the ſame means he not only acquired great fame in his own nation, but became reſpectable to the neighbouring ſtates; ſo that his friendſhip was ſought after by embaſſies, and cultivated by preſents.†

The authority of the prince to divide lands.

Beſides the adminiſtration of juſtice, an authority was veſted in the prince, to divide, or portion out land amongſt the ſeveral families within his territories, and place them wherever he might think proper. The freemen remained but a year in one place, for when that time was completed, the princes obliged them to go to another part, where a new habitation was aſſigned to them; and this was done leſt they ſhould give their minds to agriculture, and ſo neglect the uſe of their arms, and alſo to prevent any one clan from growing richer than their neighbours, leſt they ſhould aſſume too great an authority in the ſtate, where all freemen were eſteemed equal.‡ When the prince went to war againſt the enemies of the province, it was a matter of the higheſt diſgrace for any freeman, through fear, or any other cauſe, to neglect attending upon him.§

Princes allowed two wives, and why.

Another prerogative, which the prince had above the commons, was, his being allowed two wives; but this was not for the gratification of his luſts, but for the obtaining of iſſue: for, of all the barbarous nations whoſe hiſtories are handed down to the preſent time, there is no people who were more famous for their exemplary chaſtity than the Germans.‖

* They are ſtiled *Comites* by Tacitus:
† Tacit. de Morib. German.
‡ Cæſ. Comment. Bel. Gal. l. vi. c. 20.
§ Ibid.
‖ Tacit. de Morib. German.

The

The revenue of the prince.

The expences of the prince were ſupported by ſeveral means; firſt, a larger portion of land was allotted to him in the general diviſion of the province, than to any of the other freemen; next, a certain portion of the cattle, or grain, the produce of the land of every freeman, was preſented to him; again, every offender whoſe crime was fineable, whatever the payment might be, a part of it belonged to him; ſo that his annual revenue muſt have been very conſiderable, yet he was never rich, for the more bountiful his ſupporters were, the more liberal he was in his rewards to his followers.*

The great council of the ſtate.

We now come to the greateſt part of the conſtitution of the ſtate, their general aſſemblies; theſe were a full meeting of all the pagi, or provinces, which formed a diſtinct nation, or ſtate; not only all the princes in ſuch a nation had a right to be there, but every freeman who was arrived at a proper age, and had not forfeited his title by any miſdemeanor, was alſo bound to be preſent, to give his aſſent, or declare his diſlike, to the buſineſs there tranſacted. In theſe councils all the material affairs of the whole community was diſpatched; here complaints might be lodged againſt the princes of the provinces, and every man was ſure to have his cauſe righted; here alſo public edicts were made, princes choſen to preſide over provinces, generals elected, and war declared againſt any other ſtate; nay, even a young man was not permitted to bear arms until he had been firſt approved of in theſe councils, where he was ſolemnly preſented with a ſhield and a lance, and theſe were the firſt badges of honour conferred upon him before he became a member of the ſtate, and was permitted to fight for his country. Small trifling matters the princes themſelves concluded upon; but all weighty affairs were firſt debated in council amongſt the princes, and after declared to the people, in whom was inveſted the ſole power of confirming, or abrogating the decrees of the council, and the cauſing them to be obeyed: but when the people had given their conſent, ſuch determinations were held ſacred, and might not be diſannulled, unleſs in another general council, and by a freſh conſent of the people.†

Rules obſerved in the councils.

They all of them came armed to their councils, and being ſeated each in his proper place, the prieſt, who had the authority to puniſh ſuch as offended, commanded ſilence, and the princes ſpeak firſt, and after

* Tacit. Morib. de Germ.

† Ibid. Who ſees not in theſe grand national councils the moſt perfect groundwork of the preſent parliament? It may ſeem unaccountable, yet true it is, many of the moderns have ſtrangely perplexed themſelves about the antiquity and origin of the praliament: ſome have attributed the honour of this noble inſtitution to Edward the Confeſſor; others again to Henry the Firſt. Ought they not to have gone ſtill higher, and they would have found them not only the grand and moſt material part of the Saxon conſtitution, but even of the German themſelves, and that in their moſt wild and uncultivated ſtate? And this matter will appear more obvious and ſtriking, as in the ſucceeding parts of this work we ſhall regularly point out the nature and improvements of theſe councils amongſt the Saxons and the Normans.

them every man according to his age, nobility, renown in war, or power of eloquence; at the ſame time declaring their ſentiments in a ſoft perſuaſive manner, and not haughtily, as if commanding the auditors. If the opinion which was delivered to the freemen was not pleaſing to them, they expreſſed their diſlike by a murmuring ſound of diſcontent; if, on the contrary, it was well received, they claſhed their lances; for it was eſteemed amongſt them the moſt honourable way of ſhewing their aſſent, or of conferring praiſe, when it was done by their arms.*

Generals, when elected, and why.

When any war or danger threatened the ſtate, they elected a general in this aſſembly, who was to preſide over all the different provinces that compoſed the whole nation; and this general was always a man who, for his approved valour and conduct, had rendered *himſelf* moſt famous; for it was not ſo much his office to command the army, as by his own perſonal bravery and courage to ſet them a worthy example. After the war was concluded, the power which had been veſted in the general ceaſed, and he deſcended again to the rank from whence he aroſe.†

The Saxons on their arrival made no ſudden alterations in their ancient conſtitution.

There can be no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Saxons altered the form of government and conſtitution of their anceſtors upon their firſt gaining poſſeſſions in Britain, or, indeed, for a long time after. The followers of Hengiſt, and the other Saxon chiefs, were all of them equal with their leaders, and volunteers, owing only a temporary obedience to them as their generals, and not like mercenary troops, to be paid or rewarded as their chiefs might chuſe; ſo that no one perſon could lay claim to the whole of the conquered land, but every free ſoldier had an equal right to expect his ſhare: the land, therefore, was divided by their generals, and their aſſiſtants, into as many ſhares as each general had corps of different diſtricts in his army; and every one of theſe ſhares were ſubdivided, and every individual had his proper portion allotted to him. Thus the firſt diviſion naturally conſtitutes ſo many pagi, or counties, whilſt the ſubdiviſion makes trythings, hundreds, and tythings, as portioned amongſt one thouſand, one hundred, or ten men in a troop, all of them under their proper elder-men.‡

Civil and military government the ſame.

At this period, little difference could be made between their civil and military government; the ſame prince that led them to the field of battle, took care to preſerve peace and good order amongſt them; nor was this ſo very difficult, for every ſeparate clan was compoſed of friends and near relations, and held ſo ſtrongly by the deareſt ties of conſanguinity, that harmony and good fellowſhip was naturally preſerved amongſt them.

How the land was divided for cultivation.

The Saxons, for a long time after their firſt arrival in Britain, found too much employment in the war to attend to the cultivation of the land, admitting they had been ever ſo deſirous of doing it;§ they were obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport their conqueſts, and preſerve

* Tacit. de Morib. German.
† Ibid.
‡ Vide Squire's Eſſay on the Engliſh Conſtitution.
§ See the ſecond part of the Chronicle.

their property; therefore, every freeman amongſt them parcelled out his ſhare of the land, which had been allotted to him by the general, amongſt his ſlaves and dependants for a certain time, according to his pleaſure, which was to be improved and cultivated by theſe ſlaves, the lord reſerving to himſelf ſuch a ſhare of the produce of their labours as he thought proper to demand; and this gave occaſion to the well-known diviſion of lands, called afterwards Bocland and Folcland.*

The thread of the diſcourſe broke off, and why.

But to proceed further in the diſſertation upon this head, we ſhall be naturally led on by a clue of circumſtances, not only through the hiſtory of the heptarchy, but even through the whole Anglo-Saxon æra; or elſe we muſt break off the diſcourſe abruptly at the end of the heptarchy, where we ſhall find the whole conſtitution, both before and after, ſo cloſely connected, that in the next volume we ſhall not be able to re-aſſume the ſubject without tedious repetitions; to avoid which, it is propoſed for the preſent to let it reſt here, and in the ſucceeding diſſertation to continue it regularly down, from the firſt arrival of the Saxons to the Norman invaſion, in a clear and connected diſcourſe, without any interruptions.

Laws of the ancient Germans.

With regard to the laws of the ancient Germans, we are to conſider them as made both by and for a free people, who were all of them equals; or at leaſt no one could aſſume any more authority over the reſt than what they themſelves thought proper to inveſt him with, for their own mutual preſervation and ſafety. For this cauſe, none could beat or impriſon a freeman, except the prieſts, becauſe it was not to be done as a thing inſiſted upon by the prince, or for an offence to his peers, but as the command of the gods, whoſe orders the offender had diſobeyed. This mode of puniſhment, it ſeems, was chiefly confined to thoſe who were refractory in the army; and for this purpoſe, as well as to ſacrifice, the prieſts attended upon the camp, ſo that when one had broken any ſtated rule, he fell under diſgrace; and every one ſo offending ſubmitted voluntarily to the chaſtiſement, and ſtood ſtill to receive the repeated ſtrokes of the laſh from the hands of the prieſts, when, at the ſame time, he would have reſiſted even to death a blow from any other perſon, however exalted in their condition.†

Puniſhments, what they were.

No man could be puniſhed by the ſecular power until he had forfeited his right and title to a freeman, by ſome baſe and ignominious action, and then he was ſentenced ſeverely, according to his fault. Traitors and fugitives they hanged. Cowards, and ſuch as were unnaturally lewd, they drowned in mud, or in the marſhes, and covered them with hurdles, becauſe they would hide them from the face of men, that their crimes might be no more remembered amongſt them.‡

* Squire, ut ſup.
† Tacit. de Morib. German.
‡ Ibid.

Whoever

Whoever loſt his ſhield in battle, which was given him as the inſignia, or honourable badge of his profeſſion, and proof of his worthineſs to bear arms, fell into a laſting diſgrace; as alſo did all ſuch as eſcaped from the field of battle wherein their prince was ſlain; theſe were turned from ſociety, and debarred being preſent at the public ſacrifices, which was ſo ſhameful and black a ſtain upon their characters, that they ſeldom long out-lived it, but in ſome deſperate manner put an end to their wretched beings.* Matters of diſgrace.

Other faults of leſs magnitude were puniſhed by a fine, part of which went towards the maintenance of the prince, and part, by way of reparation, was paid to the injured party. When diſputes aroſe amongſt the freemen, and their friends could not terminate the difference, the prince interpoſed his authority, and obliged the offended perſon to accept of ſome gift from the offender, and ſo the quarrel was ended; for the gift was held as a compenſation for the injury, and was, as it were, a mark of ſubmiſſion in the aggreſſor, and gratified the pride of him who had been injured; by this prudent method, the foundation for laſting animoſities was fairly removed. Amongſt the ſeparate clans, or families, ſeldom happened diſputes attended by any fatal conſequences; their natural love to each other held them together, as well as the ſtrongeſt ties of conſanguinity; for they were all relations under the government of their own elder-man, or chief, and it was eſteemed a moſt atrocious crime for any one to injure, or ſlay his relation, and was, without doubt, moſt grievouſly puniſhed.† Quarrels, how compromiſed.

The matrimonial law amongſt them was ſtrictly kept; by it one woman was confined to one huſband, nor might ſhe upon his deceaſe marry a ſecond time; on the other hand, the huſband might not have more than one wife at once, (unleſs he were a prince, to whom it was allowed to have two, for the ſake of iſſue:‡) yet it does not appear that, upon the death of the firſt wife, a man was forbid to marry a ſecond, but the contrary may moſt reaſonably be ſuppoſed, eſpecially in default of iſſue. Matrimonial law ſtrictly kept.

Their laws againſt the violators of chaſtity were very ſevere, and ſuch were uſually hanged; but it lay in the breaſt of the huſband to puniſh his wife if ſhe was guilty of incontinence, which was uſually done by cutting off her hair, and then turning her naked from his houſe, in the preſence of all her friends and relations, at the ſame time ſcourging her ſharply through the town: nor was her wealth, her beauty, or her rank, in the leaſt regarded; for after ſuch an offence a laſting diſgrace was fixed upon her, and none would ſpeak to her, or condole with her; neither was it poſſible for her to get another huſband, but in general wandering from place to place, ſhe died with want, ſhame, and grief.§ Laws againſt the violators of chaſtity and againſt adultery.

* Tacit. de Morib. German.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

Laws of the Saxons why not continued here.

Such is the ſketch of the legiſlature of the anceſtors of the Anglo Saxons; it now remains to give a view of their laws, on their eſtabliſhent in Britain, to the end of the Heptarchy; but the reaſon which has above been given, for referring the account of the government and conſtitution of the Anglo Saxons to the next volume, may with equal juſtice be applied to the laws, which are hung together as it were in a chain; and the circumſtances during the Heptarchy, ſo connected with thoſe that follow, that to divide the account, would not only be a difficult taſk, but would take off greatly from the regularity of the method, in which it is beſt to purſue it; therefore, both theſe heads will be fully and regularly treated on in the ſucceeding volume.

CHAP. II.

The State of Architecture amongſt the ancient Germans, and the Saxons.

The ancient Germans underſtood not the art of building.

AMONGST a people ſo barbarous, as we find the ancient Germans, in their original ſtate, and who attended ſo little to the luxuries of life, we ſhall not be amazed to find their dwellings homely, and uncomfortable: the pinching cold of winter, ſoon obliged them to ſeek for ſome ſhelter, where they might live ſecured from the ſtorms and inclemency of the weather. Their habitations were ſoon found, conſiſting only of holes and caverns made in the earth, and covered over with dung to keep them warmer, and in theſe wretched dwellings they uſually ſpent the winter. Theſe caverns ſerved beſides for granaries, where they laid up their corn, and to them they uſually made their retreat when purſued by the enemy.*

The ſummer habitation of the Germans how conſtructed

In the ſummer, they were not confined in theſe diſmal ſituations, but iſſuing from them, they ſet about the building of little huts, which were eſteemed more convenient and more pleaſant; theſe they erected in a rude manner, with timber unhewn, and framed without the leaſt attention paid to its beauty or regularity: the walls were compoſed of a clear ſhining earth, of various colours; and all the ambition of the builder was, to diſpoſe his colours into certain forms, ſo as to give the barbarous tracings of pictures.† Theſe houſes, like thoſe of the Britons, are thought to have been of a circular form, thatched over at top with reeds and ſtraw, and the roof left riſing up in the middle.‡ One great reaſon why they did not beſtow more pains or labour upon

* Tacit. Vit. Agric.
† Ibid.
‡ Culver's Hiſt. Anc. Germ.

their

their dwellings, was, that every year they were removed from the ſpot of ground where they had laſt inhabited, and conſequently left their houſes behind; ſo that they were obliged to provide themſelves with others in the places whither they went. This conſideration, added to their diſlike of menial labour, very naturally accounts for the rudeneſs of their habitations.*

Towns how built by the Germans.

Without doubt, near to the place where the prince made his reſidence, houſes muſt have been erected for him, and for his train; this would naturally conſtitute a town; but they had no idea of making the houſes cloſe to each other, ſo as to form regular ſtreets and paſſages, but every man's houſe ſtood ſeparate, and detached from that of his neighbour; all of them following their own wills, and ſettling themſelves in whatever part of their land they moſt approved of.†

Architecture improved before the arrival of the Saxons in Briton.

Temples to their gods the Germans built not at this early period, but inſtead thereof, they conſecrated woods and groves, where they performed their religious offices. Nor can we ſuppoſe that the habitation of their prince, was more ſplendid than their own; the only difference was, its being larger, that he might the better entertain his friends and followers. This was the ſtate of architecture amongſt them towards the latter end of the firſt century; but many changes may be ſuppoſed to have taken place, and many improvements introduced before the arrival of our Saxon anceſtors in Britain, which happened not until full three hundred and fifty years after; and this we may very naturally be led to conclude, becauſe ſoon after, we find them erecting ſtrong and permanent buildings of ſtone, as well as large caſtles for their ſecurity and defence

Tong caſtle in Kent deſcribed.

The firſt buildings that we find mentioned of the Saxons, are their caſtles; one of which Hengiſt is ſaid to have erected ſoon after his arrival in Britain; this caſtle was built at Tong in Kent, and the earth-works yet remain near Tong-Mill, about half a mile from Bapchild in that county.‡ It conſiſts of a round flat hill, ſurrounded by a broad ditch, and an external vallum or bank; the hill which antiently was level, has, from time to time, been removed, and thrown into the ditch, on the eaſtern ſide, where the external vallum is entirely worn away, and the rivulet, which formerly filled the ditch, has now altered its courſe, and running lower down by the ſide, it ſupplies a little mill, hard by, with water. The foundation of the hill, was originally made of very permanent materials, which are diſcovered on the ſouth ſide, where part of it has been ſuddenly ſtubbed down; theſe are large flints, pebbles, and rough ſtones, thrown together, and a ſtrong cement poured over them; and to this ſolid foundation we doubtleſs owe its preſent

* Tacit. ut ſup.

† Tacitus aſſigns two reaſons for this ſingularity amongſt the Germans; the firſt, their ignorance in the arts of building, and ſecondly, their fear of fire. Tac. ut ſup.

‡ See Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, in Tong.

exiſtence: the height of the hill, from the bottom of the ditch, in the moſt perfect part, is at the preſent time, near thirty feet; and on the loweſt ſide, where it has been ſtubbed away, about twenty: its preſent diameter, is not more than one hundred yards at the top, from whence it does not go ſuddenly perpendicular to the bottom of the ditch, but gradually with a ſlope. The ditch, if meaſured by a ſtraight line drawn from the top of the vallum, to the ſame height on the ſide ſlope of the hill, would be at leaſt fifty yards; the external vallum, on the weſt, where it is moſt perfect, it is in ſome places full ſixteen feet high.*

Antiquity of Tong Caſtle.

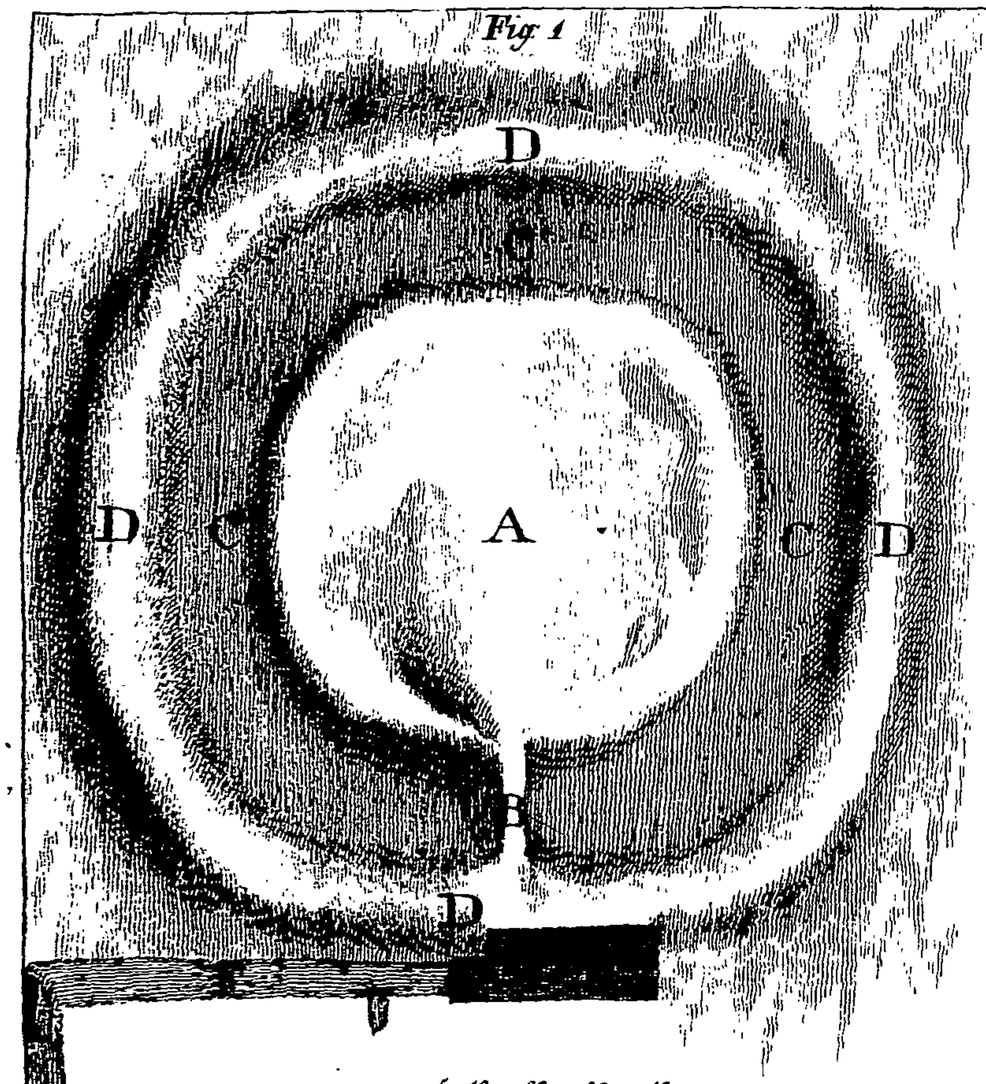
This (where ever they learned it) was the conſtant form in which the Saxons made the firſt foundation of their caſtles; and they were uſually erected upon the brow of a hill, or upon a place which was, in ſome meaſure, fortified by nature; not that they ſpared any trouble or expence to make their works as ſtrong as poſſible, as is clearly proved in the fortification now before us; for if ſuch extraordinary pains were taken in the foundation itſelf, we may moſt reaſonably ſuppoſe that the walls and ſuperſtructure were not neglected: and that we may with the greater degree of certainty, judge what really were the works of this people only, we have choſen the moſt ancient piece of work attributed to them; for if it was not really built by Hengiſt himſelf, there can be little doubt, but that it was the work of his ſon Æſc, who was a peaceable prince, and rather anxious to preſerve the conqueſts already obtained, than to extend them further: during the wars which afterwards enſued, it ſeems to have ſuffered, becauſe Octa, the ſon of Æſc, upon his advancement to the throne of Kent, repaired the walls, and placed a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers within it, to guard the adjacent country.

Conſiderations deduced from the view of Tong Caſtle.

Now, on a thorough conſideration of what has been advanced, we ſhall eaſily be lead to conclude, that the Germans had made great improvements in architecture, before the period in which they firſt ſent troops to Britain; for when we recollect how little leiſure the Saxons had, for a conſiderable time after their arrival, to invent and perfect ſuch buildings as we find from record erected by them, we muſt apprehend their neceſſity of having ſome models to form their plan upon; if ſo, where did they meet with them? Not from the Romans, for they had no ideas of any fortifications like theſe; nor from the Britons, who

* Two plates of this extraordinary fortification are ſubjoined, one repreſenting the ſouth view, in perſpective, of the earth-works, removing only ſome few trees which grow upon the top of the hill. Vide plate XII. The other, plate XIII. is the plan or ground plot of the ſame, with a given ſcale to aſcertain its exact ſize: A, is the caſtle hill, ſurrounded by a broad ditch; B B B, which has been ſtubbed down, and all the external vallum removed at C C, and runs ſloping down into the water; D D D, repreſents a ſmall road through part of the entrenchment to the mill, and leads to Sittenbourne; E E E, repreſents the external vallum, very perfect on the north and weſt ſides; F, is the rivulet, which formerly ſupplied the ditch with water, but now runs much lower to the mill. At the bottom of the plate, is the ſection of the earth-work with the meaſurements.

Fig. 1



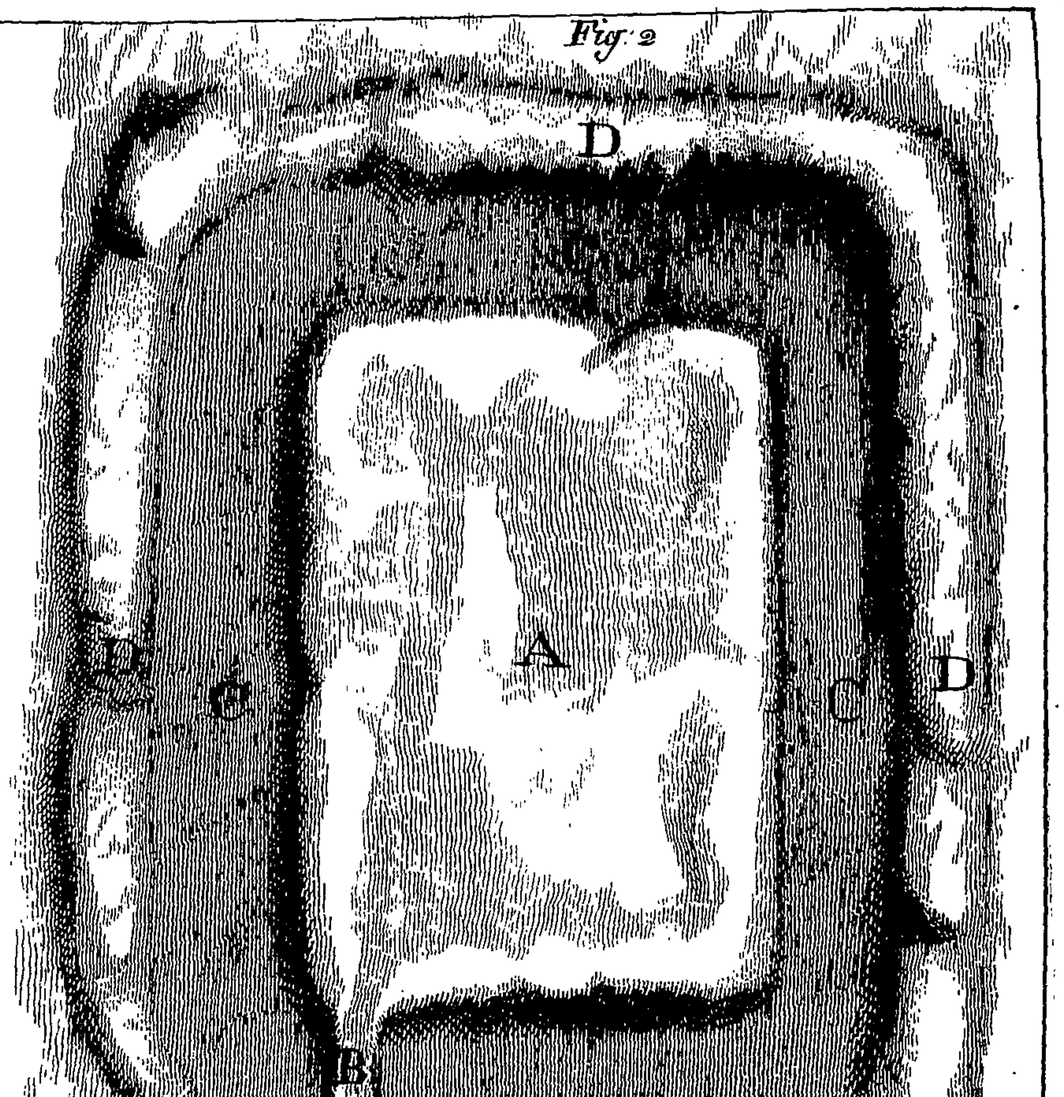
Scale of 40 Yards

Both plans Answer to this Scale

Section of Castle Bayard

The Earth Works of Castle Bayard

Fig. 2



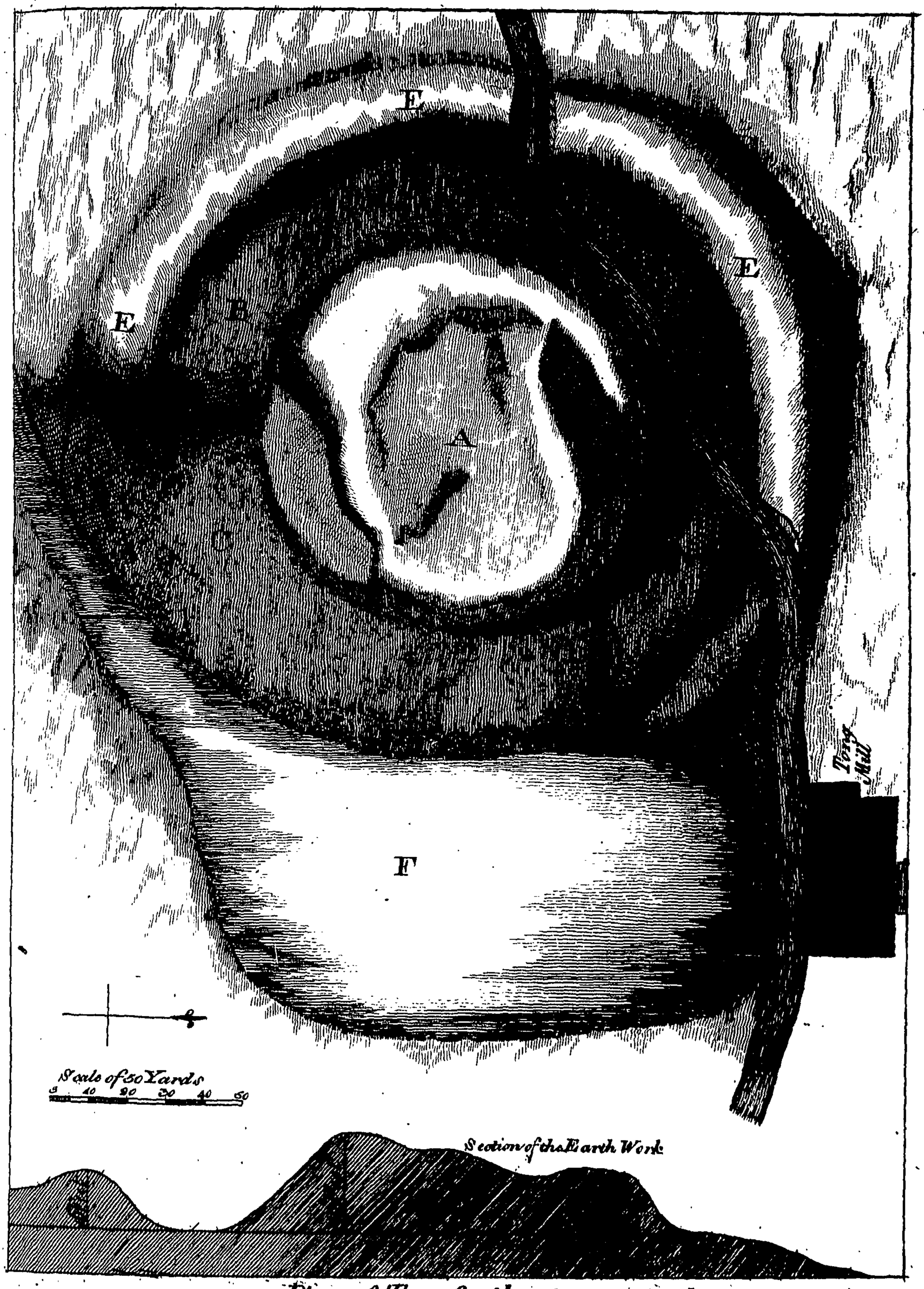
Section of Castle Ruff

The Earth Works of Castle Ruff

Plate 1.







Plan of Tong Castle.

had but lately been taught by the Romans, and followed their cuſtoms: but is it not moſt probable, that they brought the plan from their own country, upon which they afterwards proceeded?

The camps of Elfred and Haſting deſcribed.

Now we come to the examination of the earth-works, which yet remain, of the temporary camps of the Saxons; and we find they differed eſſentially from thoſe of the Romans, in form and in magnitude. The moſt ancient Saxon camp which we can trace out by certain record, is that made by Elfred the Great, about the year 892, where he and his army lay, in order to prevent the diſturbance of Haſting the Dane, who had made a ſtrong entrenchment, near the town of Milton, in Kent; from whence he and his forces, ſorely annoyed the country round about them. The camp of Elfred is very ſmall, conſiſting of a hill, a little elevated, in the form of an irregular oval; its largeſt diameter is but little more than eighty yards, and its ſhorteſt about ſeventy; this hill is ſurrounded by a broad ditch, now moſtly filled up, about twenty yards over, and on the outſide, is the evident appearance of the vallum.* The camp of Haſting differs in the form and ſize from this of Elfred; the hill is a long ſquare, with the corners a little rounded off; its length is full one hundred yards, and its breadth about eighty; this is alſo ſurrounded with a ditch, about three and twenty yards over, and defended like the former by an external vallum. The camp of Elfred cannot be ſaid to bear the leaſt reſemblance to the entrenchments of the Romans, even if it was as large, for theſe two plain reaſons: firſt, the inſide of the camp itſelf is raiſed above the common level of the adjoining country; and ſecondly, the ditch is of ſuch a diſproportionate width: theſe circumſtances alone, would be poſitive enough againſt ſuch an aſſertion, even though the ſize, another very material objection, was not to be conſidered: the ſame reaſon may be applied to the Daniſh camp, though in other matters, the ſhape agreeth well with thoſe before deſcribed of the Romans. The criterion between the Saxon and Daniſh fortifications, if any poſitive diſtinction can be made, ſhall be fully conſidered in a future diſcourſe.

* This camp is called Caſtle Bavord, and at preſent is an orchard to a farm-houſe, about a quarter of a mile from Sittenbourne, and is repreſented plate X, figure 1. A, is the hill or ſpace occupied by the tents, ſurrounded by a broad ditch C C C, and an external vallum D D D D; at B, is a communication from the houſe to the orchard; E, is the farm-houſe, and F, a path leading to Sittenbourne. On the ſame plate, figure 2, is Caſtle Ruff, or the camp of Haſting the Dane, within half a mile of the former. A, is the riſing ground where the camp was made; C C C, the ditch; D D D D, the external vallum, yet perfect; B, the preſent entrance. At the bottom is the ſection of both the caſtles; and to the plate a ſcale is added, to determine the exact ſize of each entrenchment, both of which anſwer to the ſame ſcale.

Now

Saxon camp now fortified.

Now we have ſeen the earth-work of the Saxon camp, we will conſider by what means it was made ſecure; upon the verge of the hill, whereon the tents were erected, there is uſually found the remains of an internal vallum, which appears to have run all round the ſame; on this, it is highly probable, they might ſet up a ſtrong row of thick paliſadoes, ſo as to encloſe their tents on every ſide; then the enemy muſt firſt mount the external vallum, paſs the ditch, and laſtly, ſcale this inner vallum, before they could come at the people within, to do them any material damage. Of what kind of cloth their tents were made, cannot now be diſcovered; their form and appearance we have luckily preſerved in ancient delineations, but they appear ſo very ſmall, that one of them could not contain above four or five men with the leaſt degree of convenience:* their method of diſpoſing of their men within their camp, when thus conſtructed, cannot be diſcovered; yet we may conceive, that they were lodged very cloſe to each other, becauſe in general their camps are not extenſive.

Temples of the Saxons.

The Saxons, ſoon after their arrival in Britain, began to erect temples to their gods; though they frequently made uſe of the deſerted churches of the Britons, and dedicated them to their deities. What ideas they had of ſymmetry and elegance at this early period cannot be determined; the only models left for them to copy from, were the mutilated cities of the Britons, † which were the laſt remains of Roman workmanſhip, and without doubt retained ſomething of the genuine taſte of that people; yet, hindered as the Saxons were by war and diſturbance, we may juſtly conclude, that improvements in architecture advanced but ſlowly; churches and other places of worſhip were built of wood.‡

* See plate XI. where a Saxon camp with the tents. &c. is repreſented according to the ideas of the author: there is the palliſado upon the inner bank, and a bridge over the entrance in front, which might probably be drawn up in caſe of danger. The diſpoſition of the view with the diſtance is ideal (though the particular objects are from good authority) and meant only to expreſs a ſomething like the face of the country and manner of buildings at that time: the caſtle at a diſtance, is in form, like thoſe found in ancient Saxons MSS. The tents are exact repreſentations of ſuch as are found in a very curious and ancient MS. in the Cotton library, marked Claudius B. IV. for an account of which, ſee the firſt volume of the Hoꝑda Anꝛelcynnan; or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh: or the Cotton catalogue. The figures alſo are from undoubted authority, as will be ſhewn hereafter in a little explanation of the plates, at the end of this volume.

† Gildas informs us, that the Saxons, on their firſt arrival, were great enemies to taſte, and beat down and deſtroyed almoſt all the Britiſh cities.

‡ There was a time, ſays Bede, that there were no churches built of ſtone in all Britain, but the cuſtom was to build them all of wood. Finnan, ſecond biſhop of Lindisfarne, built a church in that iſland, about the year 652, for a cathederal, not of ſtone but of wood, and covered it over with reeds; and ſo it continued until Eadbert, the ſucceſſor of St. Cuthbert, and ſeventh biſhop of Lindisfarne, took away the reeds, and covered it all over, walls and all, with ſheets of lead. Bede's Ecc. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 25.

Architecture may be ſaid to have been reſtored, by the joint labours of Wilfrid, biſhop of York, and Benedict Biſcop, his companion; the latter made no leſs than ſix journies to Rome, in order to collect books, pictures, ſtatues, and other ornaments; and alſo to form a proper taſte and judgment in this uſeful ſcience; nor did he ſtop here, but by his earneſt endeavours, perſuaded a certain number of artizans, to come from Italy into Britain, and aſſiſt him in his deſigns.*

Architecture reſtored in Britain and by whom.

The firſt appearance of an elegant ſtructure, was the church which Wilfrid built at Haugulſtad (now Hexam) on a ſpot of ground he had obtained of Etheldrida, the virgin-wife of Egfrid, king of Northumberland: this church he dedicated to St. Andrew, and ſpared no pains to render it perfectly magnificent; and in the deſcription of it, which is left us, it really appears to have been conſiderably more ſo, than we could poſſibly expect to find in theſe dark ages. Firſt we are told of large and ſtrong ſubterraneous buildings, conſtructed of the fineſt poliſhed ſtone, over which aroſe the wonderful ſuperſtructure, terminating with a lofty roof, ſupported by many elegant pillars, encloſed with long high walls, handſome towers, and with winding ſtairs to aſcend the upper apartments: this was built by the artiſts who came with him from Rome.†

Some account of a church built by Wilfrid.

Soon after this, his companion, Benedict, laid the foundation of an abbey, upon the mouth of the river Were, about the year 674, and then went over into France, and brought with him a great number of maſons from thence, to build the church with ſtone, after the manner of the Romans, which he admired. The church was dedicated to St. Peter, and he urged the workmen to labour ſo diligently, that in a year after maſs was ſaid in it: when the work was far advanced, he ſent agents into France, to procure, if poſſible, ſome glaſs makers; a kind of workmen altogether unknown to the Saxons at this period. His agents ſucceeded, and ſeveral of theſe artizans came over into Britain, and not only glazed the windows in the church and monaſtry which Benedict had built, but alſo inſtructed the Saxons in the art of making glaſs for windows, lamps, drinking veſſels, and other uſes.‡

Improvements in architecture occaſioned by the induſtry of Benedict Biſcop.

The ſecret of making glaſs windows, was a great addition to the beauty of large buildings, which before this time had been only made of lattices, or even in their beſt ſtate, filled out with fine linen cloths,

Glaſs windows a great ornament to large buildings.

* Malmſb. de geſt. pontif. lib. iii.

† Edii Vita Wilfridi. After all this elaborate deſcription the author proceeds in the following manner: "Non eſt mea parvitatis hoc ſermone explicare quod ſanctus ipſe præſul animarum à ſpiritu Dei doctus opere facere excogitavit: ne quę ullam domum aliam citra alpes montes talem ædificatum audivimus." Theſe enconiums, however, may appear a little extravagant, but we muſt recollect that ſuch buildings were very extraordinary in Britain.

‡ Bede Hiſt. Abbot Weremuthen.

ſtretched upon frames of wood;* either of which muſt have been very inconvenient in winter, eſpecially in cold wet weather. From this time, it is evident, we may date the æra of elegance amongſt the Saxons; and it ſeems from ſubſequent accounts, that they purſued the plan laid down by the above mentioned ingenious men, with conſiderable attention; and great improvements were made in every one of the arts requiſite to produce good and ſubſtantial edifices.

The chapel of Ina.

Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons (if the monkiſh writers have not exaggerated) built a famous chapel at Glaſtonbury, which was ſo highly enriched with gold and ſilver, and ſuch a variety of curious ornaments, that nothing can be conceived more rich and beautiful.† After this period, as the people became more zealous, the wooden churches were frequently deſtroyed, and large ſtone ſtructures erected in their ſtead.

Palaces of the Saxon kings.

The palaces of the Saxon monarchs, without doubt, partook of the grandeur and elegance of their churches. In the earlier time, as is moſt probable, the kings and chief nobles lived in caſtles and fortified places; becauſe as they had not yet ſecured their conqueſts, it behoved them to be conſtantly upon their guard; but in after ages, and more particularly when the above mentioned improvements took place, they began to wall and fortify whole cities; wherein they cauſed ſtately palaces to be erected for the reception of themſelves and their families.

Monaſteries their elegance.

The next places of conſequence were the monaſteries and religious houſes; ſome of which muſt have been very capacious, to contain a great multitude of devotees; and as theſe places in general, were built by bigotted zealots, we can make but little doubt of their being grand and magnificent, according to the taſte that prevailed at thoſe times. It is true indeed, St. Cuthbert, the ſaint of Durham, conſtructed a monaſtery upon a much more ſimple plan; wherein the monks were ſhut up by high walls, from the ſight of all improper objects. The building within, conſiſted of two houſes, containing the different lodgings of the monks; a chapel and a room for common uſes: the roof he made of unhewn timber, and thatched it over with ſtraw; the wall which ſurrounded the whole of theſe edifices, was built of rough unpoliſhed ſtone, without any cement or mortar, but rudely caſt up, and banked on both ſides with turfs and earth; without the

* Malmſbury making mention of the repairs done by Wilfrid to the cathederal of York, goes on thus: "the biſhop "grieving to ſee the ruinous ſtate of the "cathederal church, which had been "built by king Edwine, at the deſire of "Paulinus, immediately began to repair it: "he reſtored the roof, and covered it with "ſheets of lead; he alſo white-waſhed the "walls with lime, and put glaſs into the "windows, ſome of which, had admitted "the light through fine linen cloths, and "others through lattices." W. Malmſb. de geſt. pont. lib. iii.

† Malmſb. Antiq. Glaſton.

wall

wall he made a larger houſe, to receive thoſe who ſhould come to viſit him; the whole was cloſe by a fair ſpring, which ſerved them continually with water.*

Domeſtic buildings of the Saxons.

We now come to their domeſtic buildings, and theſe we have the greateſt reaſon to conclude, were in a very rude and unpoliſhed ſtate; they were moſt likely only one ſtory high; framed with timber, and the walls made of plaiſter or clay: like thoſe of the Britons, they might be of a circular form, with an aperture left in the roof for the ſmoke to go out, and the other part thatched over with reeds and ſtraw; but now we are treating of the houſes of the commoner ſort of people: the habitations of the nobility, according to their rank and wealth, were much more elegant and convenient, and from their appearance in the ancient delineation, ſeem to have conſiſted of ſeveral apartments, and the roofs are covered over either with ſhingles, tiles, ſlates, or lead; but of theſe we ſhall ſee more hereafter.

Materials uſed in building by the ancient Germans.

This is, it is true, but an imperfect view of the ſtate of architecture amongſt the Saxons, but our conceptions on this head, will be much more clear and obvious, when we enter into the account of thoſe ages immediately ſucceeding this; for then we may eaſily figure to ourſelves the gradual improvements, made from time to time. At preſent it remains for us to conſider, what materials were made uſe of by the Saxons and their anceſtors, at the time we are now treating of. Amongſt the Germans, the chief materials were wood for the frames of the houſes, clay to daub over by way of walls, and dung, reeds, or ſtraw, to thatch or cover the roofs: they ſeem to have known nothing of the art of maſonry; bricks they neither knew how to form, or even the uſe of. The art of carpentry was but ill underſtood, or at leaſt but little attended to; for their timber they uſed unſquared, and put it together without conſulting the beauty or neatneſs of the workmanſhip: their greateſt ſkill in carpentry muſt have been manifeſted in their ploughs and other implements of huſbandry; but theſe belonged to their ſlaves, and were moſt likely alſo made by them; for the freemen looked upon ſuch employment with an eye of ſovereign contempt.†

Materials uſed by the Saxons.

Where the Anglo Saxons learned their firſt rudiments of architecture, cannot ſo eaſily be determined, unleſs they brought them with them from Germany; for if Tong Caſtle was actually built by Hengiſt and his followers ſoon after his arrival, it proves, that they muſt have been well ſkilled in one of the moſt neceſſary requiſites of architecture, namely maſonry, this ſtrong foundation of ſolid and permanent materials may clearly prove; and ſince we find ſo much ſkill in the groundwork, may we not eaſily conceive that the ſuperſtructure might have been anſwerable. This foundation, as we have before obſerved, conſiſts of large rough flints, and other craggy ſtones, laid cloſely toge-

* Bede, vita Cuthberti.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

ther, and united by a ſtrong cement, which being now grown harder by time, would require immenſe labour to ſtub it up. We ſoon after find the Saxons making builings of ſtone, ſhaped and ſquared; yet we muſt not ſuppoſe they ceaſed then to make uſe of the rubble, for that was a ſtandard material, uſed in large edifices for many ages afterwards: with ſquare ſtones they frequently ornamented the corners, or faced the whole ſtructure, for buildings entirely of large ſtones without the rubble were very rare. Bricks, if uſed at all, were not general; whether from their ignorance in the ready way of making and burning them, or from their preferring other materials, cannot be diſcovered. By the appearance of houſes in the rude delineations of the Saxons, we may be led to think, that beſides thatch and ſhingles, they alſo uſed lead coverings and ſlates, or ſomething much reſembling them: it is abundantly evident that lead was uſed in magnificient edifices, as we have ſeen before.*

An attempt to diſcover the authors of buildings, &c. by ornaments in MSS.

It is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact date of many very curious and valuable antiquities which are often found amongſt the ruins of ſplendid edifices. As much at a loſs are we frequently in regard to the remaining edifices themſelves, to determine with certainty, what are ſtrictly Saxon, and what are not ſo; therefore every attempt to reſcue ſuch venerable antiquities from the obſcurity in which they are unhappily involved, will perhaps be thought laudable: for this purpoſe, the ſort of ornaments made uſe of by any particular ſet of people, ſhould be diligently attended to: therefore to this diſcourſe, we have ſubjoined a title page, exhibiting a great variety of ſcroll work, and animals, by way of ornaments interwoven with each other;† theſe drawn by a Saxon anchorite, named Bilfrith, as early as the beginning of the eight century, may prove more than mere matter of curioſity; for if upon examination of ancient buildings, or any other antiquities, ornaments of like nature may be pointed out; we may by this means be able, in ſome meaſure, to aſcertain, not only to what people we owe thoſe performances, but alſo to give ſome gueſs at the æra in which they were made: and this opinion, it is hoped, will not be too haſtily condemned, eſpecially when hereafter we ſhall make it our buſineſs, not only to ſhow the alteration of taſte in ſuch ornaments at different periods as found in illuminated manuſcripts, but alſo prove, in a great variety of particulars, how much they conformed with the ornaments upon buildings, altars, ſhrines, tombs, and the like, evidently of the ſame age with ſuch manuſcripts.

Carpenters art.

From what we have ſeen concerning the architecture of the Anglo Saxons, we may ſafely conclude, that the art of carpentry was well underſtood amongſt them; and that more eſpecially, when we recollect that moſt of their houſes were framed with wood, and the roofs frequently

* See the foregoing pages.

† Vide plate XX of this volume.

covered

covered with ſhingles, ſo that they muſt have hewn their timber, ſawed it into planks, and plained it ſmooth; it was neceſſary alſo for them to joint it together with mortices and tenons, after which they might beautify their work with variety of mouldings, and other ornaments.*

Maſonry was greatly improved by foreign aſſiſtance; ſo that we may neceſſarily ſuppoſe they could not be ignorant of machines for raiſing weights, and a great variety of other engines, abſolutely neceſſary for the completion of great works; and this is abundantly evident, when we hear that the foundation of the church at Mediſhamſtede, (built by Peada, the firſt Chriſtian king of Mercia) was made with ſuch large ſtones, that eight yoke of oxen could ſcarcely move one of them.† In the middle of the eighth century, Ethelbald, the tenth king of Mercia, being deſirous of building a church of ſtone at Croyland, where St. Guthlac had erected a ſmall oratory with wood, he found the ſoil ſo ſpungy and hollow, as to render it entirely unfit for the ſupport of a ſtone edifice; to remedy this inconvenience, he firſt cauſed large piles of oak to be made, and driven down into the ground, and a great quantity of loam, and ſtiff clay was rammed round about them; by which means he obtained a ſolid and permanent foundation.‡ Many of the other dependent arts we have ſeen already, and when they were firſt introduced. Maſonry, &c.

CHAP. III.

Art of War, and military Diſcipline of the ancient Germans and their Deſcendants.

THE ſtrong characteriſtic of the ancient Germans, was, their enthuſiaſtic love of glory, and paſſion for arms. Their youth, from their very infancy, were bred up in the ſelf-ſame notions, and thoſe alone eſteemed, who, upon all occaſions ſeemed eager for the battle; for this cauſe, proviſions and plunders won by the ſword, were eſteemed far more honourable than thoſe attained by labour, and the careful cultivation of the ground: therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that hopes of ſpoil ſhould frequently call them to the field.§ The love of war amongſt the Germans.

When war was to be formally declared againſt any nation, it was done in their ſolemn councils, and by the common conſent of all the princes War, how declared, and general choſen.

* Vide the Hoɲda Anȝel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. I.

† Robert de Swapham, in Gunſton's Hiſtory of the Church of Peterborough.

‡ Ingulphus Hiſt. fol. 1.

§ Tacit. de Morib. Germ. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

and freemen there aſſembled; they then proceeded to elect their chief, which was alſo done by general conſent; and their choice conſtantly fell upon him who had moſt ſignalized himſelf by his courage and perſonal bravery, ſo that by his example his followers might be animated with freſh courage, and reſiſt with the greater bravery the attacks of their enemies; for as in battle it was eſteemed a great diſgrace for the general to be overcome, ſo was it a perpetual ſhame and ignominy in his followers not to ſhare with him in the labour and danger of the fight, or to return alive from that field where he had been ſlain.*

Form of electing the general.

When their general was choſen, it was cuſtomary with them to ſet him upon a ſhield, and ſo he was borne upon men's ſhoulders through the croud, who with repeated ſhouts and acclamations confirmed their choice.† At other times, and in matters of leſs moment, their prince would lay before his followers the reaſons which he had for declaring war in ſuch a place, and that if they would approve his conduct, he himſelf would become their leader, and deſired thoſe who were willing to accompany him to come forth, and join with him in his expedition; all who approved of the propoſals of the prince roſe up preſently, and promiſed their aſſiſtance, and were praiſed by the multitude, but ſuch as refuſed to accompany him were numbered with the deſerters and traitors, and their honour and credit was loſt for ever afterwards.‡

Conſulting the gods in times of war.

Before they would proceed to battle, or ſet out on any great expedition, they would conſult the gods by caſting lots; they alſo noted the flight of birds, their ſinging, and noiſes; but more particularly they attended to the neighing of horſes.§ Before a great battle they would procure, if they could, a priſoner from the army of their enemy, and then they choſe out one of their own ſoldiers, and both being armed according to the cuſtom of their country, were brought into the field, where they fought with each other, and the preſages were made of the ſucceſs of either army, according to the iſſue of the combat.‖

Forces of the Germans.

In raiſing troops for the proſecution of any conſiderable war, every pagus, or diſtrict, furniſhed a certain number, divided into ſeparate corps, one hundred in a band, under the leading of their own proper officers, called by the name of Centeni, or the leader of a hundred, and all theſe were under the conduct of their prince. Their principal force conſiſted in their infantry; their horſes were not very ſwift of foot, but were

* Tacit. ut ſup.

† Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 6.

‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 21.

§ See more of theſe matters in the ninth chapter of this part.

‖ Tacit. de Morib. German-Saxo. The grammarian adds, that the ancient Germans would not go to war without firſt conſulting their wives: again, ſays he, when they declared war againſt their enemies, they ſet their ſpears before the temple of the gods, and a ſacred horſe was led out, when, if he put his right foot forward, the omen was holden good, but if, on the contrary, his left foot was firſt put forward, it was eſteemed an unlucky ſign, and they deſiſted from purſuing their intended enterprize.

managed

managed by their riders in ſuch a manner, that they would turn from ſide to ſide with the utmoſt dexterity. The arms both of the horſe and foot ſoldiers were the ſame, namely the framea, a ſort of javelin, handſomely made, and headed with a ſhort narrow piece of iron, extremely ſharp, and a ſhield.

The arms of the ancient Germans.

There were but few of them who could purchaſe ſwords; and as to any kind of defenſive armour, either for their heads, or for the ſecurity of their bodies, it was ſcarcely known amongſt them.* Their ſhields they took great delight in, and uſually ornamented them with a variety of colours.†

Their armies, how arranged.

When they arranged their troops for the battle, they placed their infantry (in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted) in the form of a wedge, pointing towards the enemy,‡ and the front of it was compoſed of certain *choſen youth*; on each wing were placed the cavalry, and when the attack was begun, the main body of infantry and the cavalry advanced with equal pace, obſerving diligently each others motions, ſo that the one was neither too haſty in bearing down upon the enemy, nor the other too far behind. In the encounter it was uſual for the infantry to mingle with the horſe, and ſo fight jointly together. In forming this pointed battle of the infantry, men were not mixed promiſcuouſly together as they might come, but placed in ſeparate bodies, each body compoſed of the deareſt friends and neareſt relations; by which means, beſides the love of glory, and ſelf-defence, their valour was excited to the higheſt degree in being anxious for the preſervation of thoſe, united to them by the irreſiſtible ties of the neareſt conſanguinity. When they had thus arranged their army, in the rear was placed their

* Tacit. de Morib. German. See the ſoldier thus armed, repreſented plate XVIII. the middle figure on the plate.

† "The ſhield was moſt commonly "made of wood, bark, or leather. The "ſhields belonging to warriors of diſtinction "were of iron or braſs, ornamented with "painting and ſculpture, often finely gilt, "and ſometimes plated over with gold." "The Scandinavians had them of a long "oval form, juſt the height of the bearer, "in order to protect him from arrows, "darts, and ſtones. They beſide made "uſe of them to carry the dead to the "grave, to terrify the enemy by claſhing "their arms againſt them, to form upon "occaſion a kind of ſhelter, or tent, when "they were obliged to encamp in the open "field, or when the weather was bad. "Nor was the ſhield leſs uſeful in naval "encounters; for, if the fear of falling "into the enemies' hands obliged any of "thoſe warriors to caſt himſelf into the "ſea, he could eaſily eſcape by ſwimming "upon his buckler. Laſtly, they made a "rampart with their ſhields, in the form "of a circle; and at the end of a campaign they ſuſpended them againſt the "walls of their houſes, as the fineſt decoration with which they could adorn "them. When a young warrior was firſt "enliſted, they gave him a white ſmooth "buckler, which was called 'The ſhield "of expectation;' this he carried, till "by ſome ſignal exploit he had obtained "leave to have proofs of his valour engraven upon it; for this reaſon, none "but ſuch perſons as had diſtinguiſhed "themſelves by their ſervices preſumed to "carry ſhields adorned with any ſymbol, "&c." Northern Antiq. vol. I. pages 240, 241, & 242.

‡ The outward form of which was not unlike the Greek letter Δ.

wag-

waggons, their baggage, arms, and proviſions, as alſo their wives and children, and ſuch as were ſick and wounded, under a proper guard; by which means they made a kind of rampart, to ſecure them from any attacks from that quarter.*

War ſongs, and manner of fighting.

They advanced to the battle ſinging certain verſes,† by which they encouraged each other, and worked up their paſſions to a prodigious pitch; they began with a low voice, which they increaſed gradually, according to the tune of the battle, until they made a prodigious loud and reſounding noiſe, in which they affected a certain roughneſs of voice, and added to its terror by putting their mouths before their targets, which by reverberation occaſioned the ſound to appear ſtronger and fuller. Inſpired with this enthuſiaſtic fury, they ruſhed upon the foe, and with continual noiſe heightened the horror of the ſcene, and frequently ſtruck a terror into the ſouls of their enemies; eſpecially when it was accompanied with the repeated cries and howlings of their wives and children, who were placed in the rear as witneſſes of their valour, and who were continually attendant upon them, bringing them food during the battle, and encouraging them to fight bravely. If the women ſaw any of their party give ground, it was uſual for them to enter the battle, and expoſe themſelves to danger; by which means they reminded their relations of the conſequence of the victory, who, to preſerve them from captivity, would frequently rally again, and ſometimes obtained a conqueſt where the battle had been almoſt loſt. As faſt as any were wounded, they retired, or were carried from the fight, to the women in the rear, who dreſſed their wounds with the greateſt care and tenderneſs; and when any one was ſlain, his companions conveyed the body to a place of ſafety; for even in doubtful battles they were careful to preſerve the dead bodies of their friends from the hands of their enemies.‡

Stratagems of war.

They would frequently ſeem to retire from their enemies, to draw them from their poſt, when ſuddenly turning about, and taking the advantage of the diſorder their ſtratagem might occaſion, they renewed the battle with freſh alacrity, and frequently obtained the victory by their policy. But of all others, the Catti, a nation of the Germans, inhabiting the Hercynian foreſt, were the moſt ſkilful in the art of war; they preferred choice men for their leaders, to whom they hearkened with great attention, and obeyed their orders with the utmoſt reſolution: they kept cloſely in their ranks, and bridled their heat to engage by prudence and diſcretion, carefully taking every advantage of the foe; they repoſed their whole confidence in the ſkill and prudence of their general, and the battle was conducted with the greateſt regularity. When they entrenched their camp, they did it carefully in the night ſeaſon.§

* Tacit. ut ſupra.

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Amongſt the Germans, every man was obliged to manifeſt his valour, or he was branded with perpetual diſgrace; for, as it was a ſhame for the king, or leader, to be overcome in battle, ſo was it an equal ſhame for his followers to abandon him, for they were all bound by oath to ſupport him in his expedition. And becauſe they hoped for the aſſiſtance of the gods in battle, they carried before their armies certain images and monuments, taken from the ſacred groves. After the arrival of Wodin, they uſed to engrave Runic characters upon their ſpears, as charms which would prevail upon the gods to aſſiſt them in the war; and in return, their cuſtom was cruelly to ſelect every tenth captive to ſacrifice before his unhallowed ſhrine.* Upon a youth's being admitted to bear arms, he was preſented with a ſhield, as a ſacred badge † of his becoming an uſeful member of the community in general; and if by any neglect, or want of courage, he loſt his ſhield in battle, he was branded with infamy, and debarred being preſent at the public ſacrifices. Amongſt the Catteans, and perhaps amongſt all the German nations, a ſingular cuſtom prevailed of letting their hair and beards grow until they had ſlain an enemy; but after they had done their country ſervice, or obtained ſpoils by ſlaughter, every one cut the hair from his forehead, thinking he had then paid the price of his birth, and was become worthy of his parents and his country: and none but ſuch as were unvaliant and deſpicable would long continue without the privilege of cutting their hair, after they had attained to years of maturity. Alſo, every man was obliged to wear an iron ring about his neck, as a badge of ſlavery, until by the ſlaughter of any enemy he was permitted to take it off.‡

Obligations to be valiant.

This view which we have taken of the Germans, is of their moſt ancient ſtate; and from this time to their arrival in Britain, a ſpace of full three hundred years, we may naturally ſuppoſe a variety of alterations might take place relative to their warlike habits, weapons, and military diſcipline: and this we may be led to believe, becauſe we find the chief arms of the Saxons, in their firſt battle againſt the Scots, under their conductor, Hengiſt, to have been large long ſwords.§

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§ H. Hunt. lib. ii.

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‡ Tacit. de Morib. German.

§ H. Hunt. lib. ii.

no material alteration took place from the laſt three hundred years before the eſtabliſhment of the Danes in England: however, all that can be traced out will be regularly ſhewn, and the authority for ſuch aſſertions fully explained.

The claſſes of the Saxon ſoldiers, and their habits.

The foot ſoldiers of the Saxons ſeem to be divided into three claſſes; firſt, thoſe who fought with long ſpears; ſecondly, thoſe who chiefly fought with ſwords, without ſpears; and laſtly, thoſe who fought both with ſwords and ſpears. The general habit of the firſt claſs, is a tunic with ſleeves, which reaches down to the knees, and bound round the waiſt: in the moſt ancient delineations they ſeldom appear to have cloaks, which are very commonly added to their dreſs, as they come lower down to the end of the Saxon æra. They ſometimes are repreſented with oval ſhields, big enough to cover all their body, though they are frequently ſeen without them. Perhaps there were two ſorts of theſe ſpearmen, one of them ſlightly armed, having only their ſpear for ſkirmiſhes, and the other bearing ſhields for their defence in cloſer actions. The ſecond claſs are the ſwordſmen, who, beſide a large, long, two-edged ſword, are uſually ſeen with ſhields; the more ancient the delineations are, the ſmaller the ſhield is generally made; on the contrary, thoſe at the end of the Saxon æra are very large. The habit of the ſwordſman, like the ſpear-man, is a ſhort tunic, with ſleeves to the wriſt; like them too, they have ſometimes cloaks, buckled on the right ſhoulder, though they are often drawn without. The laſt claſs do not ſo frequently occur; but the ſwords and ſpears that they bear differ nothing from the former: theſe men ſeem never to have had either ſhields or cloaks; their tunic exactly reſembles thoſe before-deſcribed. The greater part of theſe ſoldiers appear to have their legs naked; but they wear ſhoes, which ſeem to be black, made, without doubt, of ſtrong leather, and bound round the inſtep: but in the drawings of later date, beſides theſe ſhoes, we ſee evidently a ſort of ſtockings, which are drawn to the middle of the leg. The helmets that they wear (though many are figured without any) appear to be nothing more than the ſkin of ſome animal ſowed together, and the hairy ſide turned outwards.*

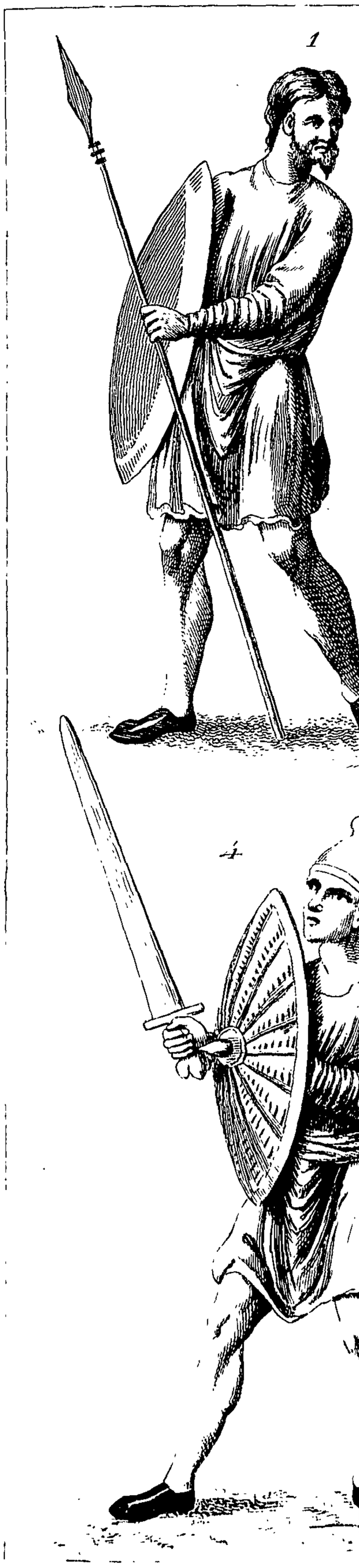
The habit of the horſe ſoldier.

The horſe ſoldier differed nothing in habit from the foot, having the ſame ſort of tunic, cloak, ſhoes, and helmet. In the ancient drawings he has a ſpur with a ſingle point; he rides upon a ſaddle, but has no ſtirrups; the bridle, and other trappings of the horſe, have nothing further particular in them. His weapon anciently was a lance, which he bore in his right hand, whilſt he guided his horſe with his left, without a ſhield, or the appearance of any defenſive armour, except his helmet.†

* All theſe ſoldiers are repreſented on plate XIV. of this volume; and ſee alſo the two figures in the fore-ground, plate XI.

† The horſe ſoldier is repreſented plate XI. of this volume.

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The habit of the king, when he went to war, ſeems to have been equally ſimple with thoſe of his officers. Like them he wore a tunic, with ſleeves reaching down to his wriſts, and bound round the waiſt, from whence it hung as low as the knees; he alſo wore a cloak, which was buckled upon his right ſhoulder: his legs appear to have been naked, and his ſhoes exactly the ſame with thoſe before-deſcribed. His chief diſtinction is the crown, which he conſtantly wears upon his head, and which anſwered the purpoſe of a helmet.* His arms, when he fought on foot, were a ſword and a ſhield; but when he was on horſeback, he had only the lance.

The habit of a king when he went to war.

As to the methods in which the Saxons arranged their armies, and their military diſcipline, from the time of their arrival to the end of the heptarchy, cannot eaſily be aſcertained. It is true, the monks of the middle ages have given ſeveral long and particular accounts of the order in which the armies were drawn up, in ſome of the moſt noted battles during this period; but we muſt recollect, that theſe monks lived at a time very remote from the actions they deſcribe, and therefore could not poſſibly be acquainted with the particulars of them: and this we may be well aſſured of, ſince it is no uncommon thing to find the ſame battle differently deſcribed by different authors. From theſe accounts it will be impoſſible to trace out the truth; for this reaſon we muſt paſs the ſubject over, for the preſent, and ſee hereafter what light can be thrown upon it, in a review of the military order and diſcipline, after the heptarchy was ended.

The methods uſed by the ancient Saxons in the arrangement of their armies unknown.

CHAP. IV.

State of Agriculture, and the dependent Arts, amongſt the ancient Germans, and their Deſcendants, the Saxons.

IT will be in vain to ſeek for any very great improvements in agriculture amongſt a people who deſpiſed every kind of labour, ſave that of war. The cultivation of land amongſt the Germans was committed to the wretched ſlaves, and the moſt ſervile of their dependants;† what time they could ſpare from war, was ſpent in amuſements or toils of a different caſt; amongſt which, hunting was one of the chief: for this they followed, not as a ſport only, but frequently to provide themſelves with food.‡

Agriculture diſregarded by the Germans.

* See the figure of a king in his warlike habit, plate XIX. No. 1. of this volume: & vide various figures of kings in the firſt volume of the Hoſpa Angel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

† Tacit. de Morib. German. Cæſar's Comment. &c.

‡ Culver. Antiq. German.

The Saxons fond of paſturage.

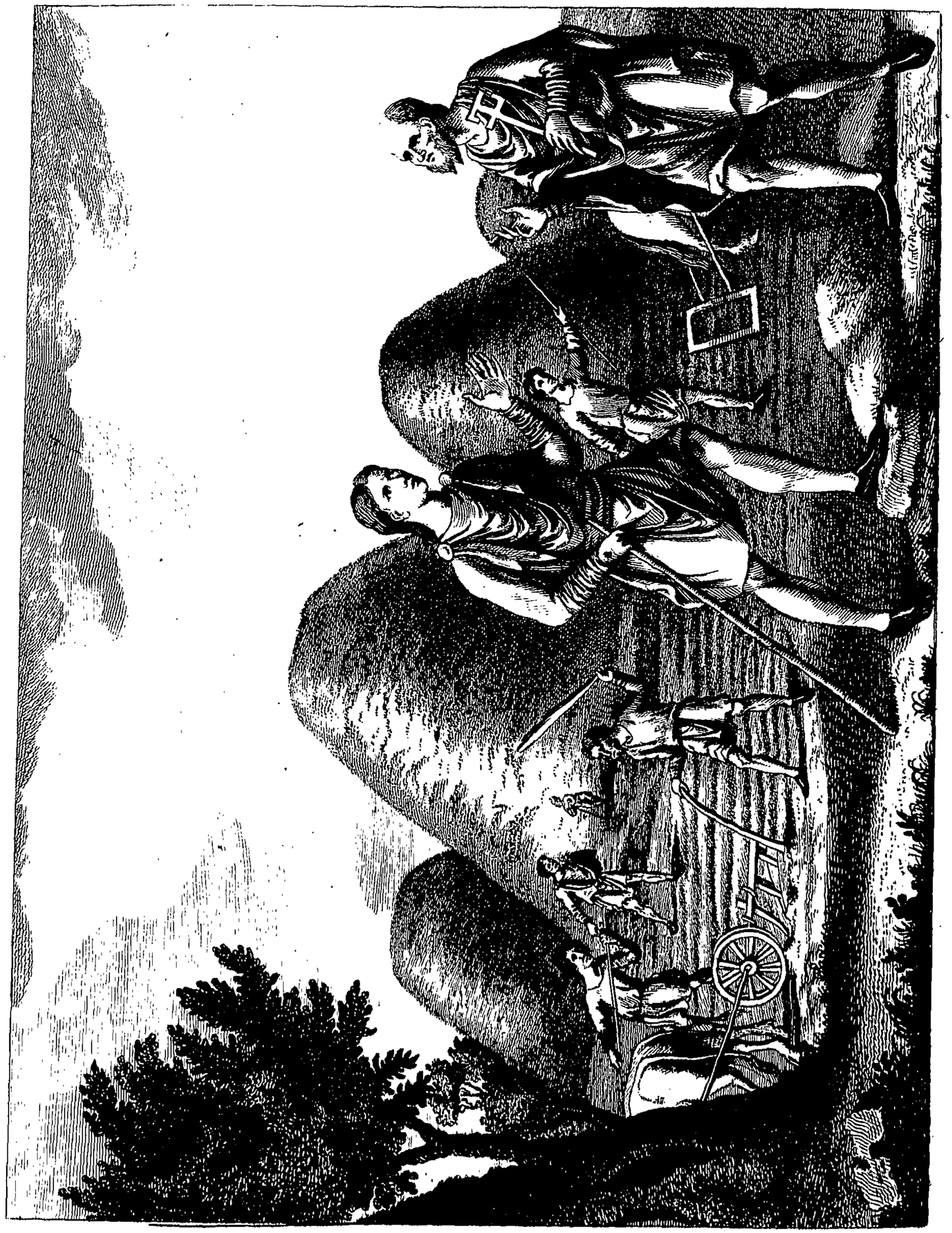
Their deſcendants, the Saxons, on their arrival in Britain, paid a much greater regard to paſturage than any other rural purſuit: it is evident that this was the chief means of their ſubſiſtence, by the many laws for regulating the prices of tame cattle, directing how they ſhould be fed, and alſo for the preſerving them from thieves; ſo little had the South Saxons attended to any thing elſe, that in the year 681, when Wilfrid, biſhop of York, (who had been driven from his ſee) took refuge amongſt them, they were totally ignorant of the art of catching fiſh, though they had ſuch abundance amongſt them.*

The beginning of huſbandry amongſt the Saxons.

From what has been ſaid, we may gather, that the Saxons, on their arrival in Britain, were much better ſwordſmen than huſbandmen; but ſoon after their eſtabliſhment in the iſland, finding none to plunder, (for the Britons, by repeated misfortunes driven from their cultivated poſſeſſions, had fled to their ſecret retreats amongſt the woods and mountains, and the tillage of land was entirely neglected, ſo that ruin aud deſolation appeared in every part of the iſland) they were obliged to have recourſe to agriculture; therefore, every one who was poſſeſſed of ground, portioned it out amongſt his ſlaves and dependants; and theſe portions were diſtinguiſhed by the names of inlands and outlands: the former was that part of their eſtate which lay contiguous to, and moſt convenient for the ſervice of the dwelling-houſe, or manſion, of the proprietor himſelf, and was for this reaſon commonly reſerved in his own hands, and managed by his own bondmen and ſlaves, for the more immediate uſe and ſuſtenance of his family and houſhold; the latter outland, or utland, was that which lay at a greater diſtance from the manſion-houſe, and was commonly divided into two parts; one of which they diſpoſed of amongſt their free ſervitors, or companions, as a reward of their fidelity, to be freely enjoyed by them, for one or more years, for life or lives, and ſometimes in perpetuity, whilſt the other was let or granted out to other perſons, to be by them likewiſe occupied for a longer or ſhorter ſpace, according to the will of the proprietor. This latter ſort are thought to have been the conditional tenants, or land-holders, diſtinguiſhed in the Anglo-Saxon records by the name of ceorls, or churls; and, as an acknowledgment, beſides ſome other perſonal marks of dependance, were annually obliged to pay their lord a certain portion of victuals, or of ſuch other things as were deemed neceſſary for the ſupport of hoſpitality.† Yet the owners of land were not left at liberty to exact what rent they pleaſed of their tenants; but it was ſettled by law, and aſcertained according to the number of hides, or ploughed lands there were in a farm, or portion of land; which rent the land-holder paid in various articles, as cattle,

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 13. Fiſhing was practiſed by the ſlaves. By the laws of Ina, ſome part of the rent of farms that lay upon the banks of rivers were paid in fiſh, ſo that it is probable the ceorls, or huſbandmen, who kept thoſe farms, employed their ſlaves in this manner.

† Vide Squire on the Engliſh Conſtitution, pages 105 & 106.



tle, poultry, fiſh, ale, cheeſe, butter, or grain, according to the nature of his farm, its produce, or the cuſtom of the country.*

Crown lands, how farmed out.

In the ſame manner were the greater part of the crown lands farmed out to the ceorls, or huſbandmen, who paid their annual rent by furniſhing the king's houſhold with a given quantity of proviſions, according to the extent and value of the lands which they poſſeſſed; but the lowneſs of the rent of farms in general at this period ſeems to be a ſufficient proof of the poor ſtate of agriculture.

Huſbandry, how conducted by the Saxons.

Every ceorl, who was the free huſbandman, had ſlaves and dependants under him, to perform the offices neceſſary for the cultivation of the lands that he poſſeſſed, all of which was done immediately under his direction. In the firſt commencement of their labours, there can be little doubt made, but that all theſe requiſites were performed in a very ſlovenly manner, and of courſe their labours could be but ſlenderly repaid; but we find them in the eighth century making greater advances in this neceſſary art; the plough, it is true, had but one handle, but in other reſpects it was provided with a coulter, and a ploughſhare, little, if at all, inferior to thoſe made uſe of in the preſent day. To remedy the inconvenience of its having but one handle, it had two wheels, which run before it, to prevent the ſhare from entring too deep into the earth.† Two people conſtantly attended the plough, one to drive the oxen forward, and regulate their pace; (this attendant, who ſeems in general to be a lad, or young man, carried in his hand a long ſtaff, with a goad, or ſharp point, at the end, with which he kept the oxen to their labour, by pricking them when they grew lazy:) the perſon who guided the plough, which doubtleſs required great ſkill, was an elderly man; he held the plough ſtilt with his right hand, whilſt in his left he bore a large cudgel, or ſometimes a kind of hatchet, to break the large clods of dirt, or whatſoever elſe might impede the courſe of the

* In the laws made by Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, who governed that kingdom from A. D. 689, to A. D. 728, a farm of ten hides was to pay the following rent: twelve caſks of honey, three hundred loaves of bread, twelve caſks of ſtrong ale, thirty caſks of ſmall ale, two grown oxen, or ten wethers, ten geeſe, twenty hens, ten cheeſes, one caſk of butter, five ſalmon, twenty pounds of forage, and one hundred eels. Leg. Inæ, apud Lamb. cap. 69. Aut. Wilk. Leg. Sax.

† A repreſentation of the plough here deſcribed, accompanies this chapter, ſee plate XV. which is taken from the ancient manuſcript of Cœdman, at Oxford. The authenticity of the delineation may be confirmed by Bede, who expreſsly tells us the plough had but one handle at his time; for, in the Life of Eſterwin, abbot of Weremouth, he ſays, "This abbot, being a ſtrong man, and of humble diſpoſition, would frequently aſſiſt the monks in their rural labour, ſometimes guiding *the plough by its ſtilt, or handle*, ſometimes winnowing the corn, ſometimes forging the inſtruments of huſbandry upon an anvil." Bedæ Hiſt. Weremuthen. We may here obſerve, that at this time of day the monks, or ſecular canons, cultivated their own lands, and performed every other requiſite neceſſary for the providing food for their brotherhood, all of them being obliged to labour in their turn at ſome uſeful art or other.

plough.* In general, there are but two oxen joined to the plough, which go abreaſt, though ſometimes there are four joined two and two.†

Mills, when firſt uſed in Britain, not well known.

It will be unneceſſary to enter into any long diſcourſe concerning their method of ſowing the grain, or harrowing the ground; all theſe ſeem to have been done in a manner little differing from the uſages of the preſent time. The harrow was compoſed of a long ſquare frame of timber, ſet full of iron teeth. In what manner they manured their ground, or their rules for letting it lie fallow, with a great variety of other particulars relative to the art of cultivating lands, cannot eaſily be inveſtigated; only we ſhall remark, that every ceorl who was provided with ploughs, and other inſtruments of huſbandry, had his own ſmith, whom he kept in his houſe, to fabricate, and keep them in order.‡ At what time mills were firſt uſed in Britain, cannot be determined; hand-mills, which, without doubt, were the moſt ancient of any, we may conceive were known in the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who ruled that nation from the year 560, to the year 616; for, in his laws, a particular fine of twelve ſhillings is impoſed upon any man who ſhould corrupt the king's grinding maid;§ hence it is alſo evident, that they were turned and tended by women; but it is probable that before the end of the heptarchy water-mills were erected, becauſe in ancient deeds and grants of lands, we find mention made of mills, which are generally ſaid to be ſituated near the water; but of this ſubject we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully hereafter.

Secondary arts relative to huſbandry.

Gardening, planting, and other ſecondary arts of like nature, might perhaps be known to the Saxons before the end of the heptarchy; but to what degree of perfection they were carried, cannot be determined: however, we may believe that their ſkill in theſe arts was not very great, and at beſt they might only attend to the cultivation of ſome few uſeful herbs on the one part, and the planting of fruit-trees for uſe, rather than beauty or pleaſure, on the other; and this much they might naturally fall into, becauſe the Britons underſtood theſe arts very well, and, without doubt, many of their gardens and orchards might be yet undeſtroyed when the Saxons took poſſeſſion of the land, which would be ſufficient hints to thoſe conquerors to follow ſuch provident examples.

* See plate XXVI. vol. I. of the Hoꝑda Anȝel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

† Ibid. plate X.

‡ By the laws of Ina, when a ceorl left his dwelling, or the lands which he held, he was permitted to take with him his overſeer, his ſmith, and a nurſe. Leg. Inæ, cap. 64.

§ Leges Ethelberti, apud Wilkins.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Navigation and Commerce of the Saxons.

The Saxons anciently great pirates.

LONG before the Saxons left their ancient ſeat in Germany, and paſſed over into Britain, they had rendered their name famous for their piracies, particularly infeſting the Britiſh ſeas, and frequently making deſcents upon the ſouthern and eaſtern coaſts of Britain, and plundering the inhabitants. This obliged the Romans, who were then in poſſeſſion of all the ſouthern diviſions of the iſland, not only to keep a ſtrong fleet to ſcour the ſeas, but to erect forts upon the ſhores which were moſt expoſed to the ravages of theſe lawleſs plunderers, and from them obtained the name of the Saxon ſhore; theſe forts, as we have ſeen before, were put under the command of an officer, called the Count of the Saxon ſhore, in Britain.*

The miſeries of the Britons.

After the departure of the Romans, the wretched Britons were driven to the utmoſt extremities. In the north, their reſtleſs foes, the Scots and Picts, deſtroyed their country, and ſpoiled them of all their valuable poſſeſſions, whilſt their ſouthern coaſts lay open to an enemy full as formidable, and equally deſtructive. Horrid alternative! either to fall by the ſwords of their foes, or ſeeking to avoid them, be drowned in the ſea, to whoſe brink they were purſued. In this diſtreſsful ſituation we find them making application to their foreign enemy for protection, opening their arms to receive a foe whoſe only fortune depended on their ſwords, and whoſe only wealth was plunder and the ſpoils of war: this ſtep completed the ruin of the Britons, and gave the Saxons firm poſſeſſion in the land, which they never quitted, but continued increaſing their power, and extending their conqueſts.†

The veſſels of the Saxons.

The veſſels which the Saxons generally uſed upon theſe piratical expeditions were very light, and ſo built as to weather out a ſtorm, in which a larger and ſtronger ſhip would be in danger of periſhing; they were generally ſwift ſailers, ſo that the pirates could ſuddenly aſſail the foe, and as eaſily eſcape if they were overpowered: by this means they became a formidable and dangerous enemy; for, on the one hand, the enemy could not be aware of their attack, ſo on the other it was in vain to purſue them when they fled. They would alſo frequently venture to ſea in little ſkiffs, like thoſe before-deſcribed of the Britons, conſiſting only of a light frame of timber, and covered over with ſkins prepared for that purpoſe.‡

Large ſhips of the Saxons.

Yet, for particular occaſions, it ſeems, the Saxons had larger and ſtronger ſhips; for the firſt troop of this people who came over into Bri-

* Vide page 268 of this volume.

† See the latter end of the firſt part of the Chronicle.

‡ Apoll. Sidonii lib. viii. Epiſt. 6. & Ibid. Author. Carmen. VII.

tain,

tain, under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, arrived in three long ſhips ;* and though the exact number of ſoldiers cannot be aſcertained, yet we may conceive it was conſiderable; ſome thought their army conſiſted of nine thouſand men,† and if this is true, each ſhip muſt have carried three thouſand, which is a prodigious number.

The Saxons put a ſtop to commerce.

The Saxons on their firſt arrival in Britain, put a ſtop to all the trade which had exiſted to that period: the making themſelves rich by any other means than the edge of their ſwords, ſeems never to have entered the ideas of that people. After their armies were landed in the iſland, we hear no more of their ſhips; and it appears certain, that for full two centuries from their firſt arrival, they had but few veſſels, and thoſe, moſt likely, but ill conſtructed.

The low ſtate of trade at this period.

The ſtate of trade amongſt them, during this period, was at a low ebb, for there was no commercial intercourſe between them and the Britons; and it ſeems that London, the capital of the little kingdom of Eſſex, was their only center of all foreign commerce. This place we find reſorted to by merchants of ſeveral nations, who came thither both by ſea and land, on the account of trade ;‡ thoſe that came by land were the native Saxons, who brought their goods with them, in order to exchange with the foreign merchants, who for that purpoſe croſſed the ſea from Gaul, and other parts of the continent.

Offa improves the ſhipping of the Saxons.

In this manner it is likely that commerce was carried on, until the middle of the eight century, about which time, Offa mounted the the throne of Mercia; this great prince encouraged his ſubjects to fit out ſhips, and carry goods in their own bottoms to the continent; and this he did with a view of raiſing a naval power to defend his dominions. This dawn of commerce was however ſoon over-clouded by the wars which followed in the Heptarchy, occaſioned by the ambitious attempts of Offa, upon the territories of his neighbours. The other princes juſtly fearing his growing power, made application to Charlemagne, beſeeching him to interpoſe his authority, and to command Offa to deſiſt: accordingly the emperor wrote to him; but his letters not being regarded, a final ſtop was put to the trade which was carried on upon the continent, between the foreign merchants and the Saxons, until ſuch time as a good underſtanding was reſtored between the emperor and Offa.§ After the death of this warlike Mercian prince, the encreaſe of ſhips was not attended to, and of courſe the trade fell back

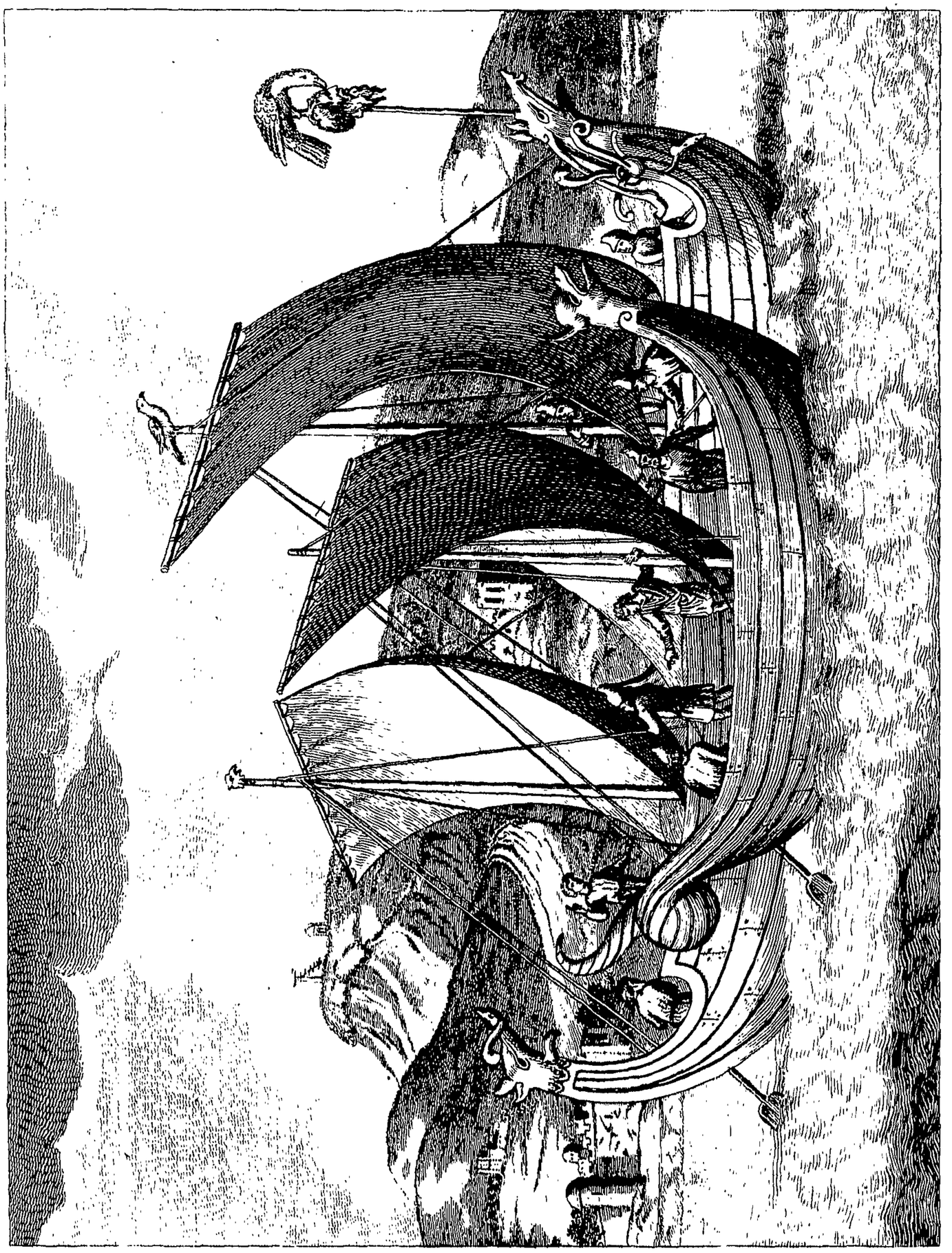
* Tribus longis navibus. Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. 15. "Tribus (ut lingua "ejus exprimitur) Cyulis, noſtra lingua "longis navibus." Gildæ Hiſt. cap. 23.

† Thus Verſtegan ſays, quoting his authority from John Pomarius, for all ancient authors are ſilent upon this head; yet from the words of Gildas, we may conceive, that their number was very conſiderable, though they did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to conquer the land without freſh ſupplies.

‡ Bede Hiſt. Ecc.

§ Wm. Malmſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. I. cap. 4.

into



into its wonted channel, until it was reſtored with greater glory by Ælfred the Great.

Another hindrance to trade in general, was the reſtraint laid on barterings and exchanges; by the laws of the Saxon kings, no bargain was permitted to be made without ſome principal perſon or chief magiſtrate being preſent, and a witneſs to it.* The deſign of theſe laws was to regulate the terms of bartering, and to prevent all impoſitions and frauds; beſides, as few perſons at that time could write, ſuch evidences might be produced, if any diſpute ſhould afterwards ariſe between the two parties. Though theſe laws were very good in themſelves, and prevented any unfair dealing, they doubtleſs were a prodigious hindrance to commerce, which ought to be carried on in a quick and uninterrupted manner. Obſtructions to trade.

The form of the Saxon ſhips, at the end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth, is happily preſerved in ſome of the ancient manuſcripts of that date: they were ſcarcely more than a very large boat, and ſeem to be built of ſtout planks, laid one over the other, in the manner as is done in the preſent time; their heads and ſterns are very erect, and riſe high out of the water, ornamented at top with ſome uncouth head of an animal, rudely cut; they have but one maſt, the top of which is alſo decorated with a bird, the head of a bird, or ſome ſuch device; to this maſt is made-faſt a large ſail, which from its nature and conſtruction, could only be uſeful when the veſſel went before the wind; the ſhip was ſteered by a large oar, with a flat end, very broad, paſſing by the ſide of the ſtern; and this was managed by the pilot, who ſat in the ſtern, and from thence iſſued his orders to the mariners.† The form of the Saxon Ships.

* In the laws of Lothair, king of Kent, it is enacted, That if any Kentiſh Saxon, ſhould buy any thing at London, and bring it into Kent, he ſhould have two or three honeſt men, or the king's *port-reeve* (the chief magiſtrate of the city) preſent at the bargain. Wilkin. Leg. Sax. By the ſame laws, no man was allowed to buy any thing above the value of twenty-pence, except in a town, and in the preſence of the chief magiſtrate, or other witneſs: the ſame reſtraint was on bartering one commodity for another; which none were permitted to do, except ſuch bargains were made before the ſheriff, the maſs prieſt, the lord of the manor, or ſome other perſon of undoubted veracity; upon pain of paying a fine of thirty ſhillings, beſides the forfeiture of the goods ſo exchanged to the lord of the manor. Wilkin. ut ſup.

† See theſe ſhips taken from ancient delineations, plate XVI. of this volume.

CHAP. VI.

Working of Metals, &c. and the Coins of the Saxon Kings.

The art of working iron known to the Germans.

THE art of working mines and refining of metals, we may be well aſſured, was but little thought on by a people ſo rude and unpoliſhed as the ancient Germans; yet it is plain they had ſome knowledge of iron, and alſo could work it into form; their chief care was beſtowed upon the manufacturing of their arms; the heads of their javelins eſpecially, were made extremely handſome, and ſharpened with great art; but they were ſmall and ſlender, becauſe iron was not plentiful amongſt them; beſides their arms, we may be certain, that they manufactured other tools, which were abſolutely neceſſary for the compleating their domeſtic works, as axes, implements of huſbandry, and the like; but theſe perhaps were made by the ſlaves and dependants, to whom the tillage of land was committed, and by whom all ſervile offices were performed.

This art how ſuppoſed to be improved.

What ſkill the Germans had in the art of working metals, was without doubt, underſtood by the Saxons, who, on their ſettling in Britain, where plenty of ore was to be found, could not but improve upon the knowledge of their anceſtors. Alſo, from ſome of the fugitive Britons, they might learn the readier way of refining metals, and making them fit for uſe; but this art was brought to the greateſt perfection, by the inſtructions of thoſe artiſts, who came from Rome with Benedict Biſcop, in the latter end of the ſeventh century.

The plumber's and ſmith's art.

The plumbers art was well underſtood by the Saxons, ſoon after their converſion to Chriſtianity; as is abundantly evident, from the churches and other public edifices being covered with lead, as we have repeated aſſurances they were. The artificers in iron were much eſteemed; every nobleman had his ſmith, conſtantly attendant on his perſon, to fabricate his arms and keep them in proper order.* The chief ſmith was an office of great importance in the houſhold liſt of the Saxon kings. Neither was any capital land-holder without a ſmith amongſt his ſervitors, to take care of the implements of huſbandry.†

The goldſmith's art.

At the latter end of this æra, that is before the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, it ſeems that other arts leſs neceſſary, were cultivated and improved, particularly works in gold and ſilver; the goldſmiths were firſt employed in making ornaments for the altars of churches, ſhrines for ſaints, and coffers for the preſervation of ſacred relicks; but ſoon after, the pride and luxury of kings and nobles procured them other buſineſs,

* Wilkin. Leg. Sax. page 25.

† See a preceding note, page 320.

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and cups for drinking, plates and diſhes, with many other things for ſetting out their tables, as well as variety of ornaments for their perſons, were made of gold and ſilver; the clergy alſo were apt to run into the ſame extravagance, for the great quantity of gold and ſilver plate which Wilfrid biſhop of York poſſeſſed, excited the envy of others, and was perhaps the leading ſtep to his diſgrace.*

The lapidary's art was not entirely unknown at this period; for we find frequent mention of ſhrines and other ſumptuous pieces of workmanſhip, ornamented with precious ſtones: from ſome curious antiquities that have been diſcovered, it does not appear that they underſtood the methods of cutting them into any form, to render them more beautiful; nor do they ſeem to have been poliſhed ſo highly, or ſet with that exactneſs as at preſent; but this will be more largely conſidered hereafter, and ſome remaining ſpecimens produced. The lapidary's art.

The coinage of the Saxons is a ſubject which will require a very particular diſſertation; and indeed the whole, from their firſt beginning to coin money, to the end of the Saxon æra, is ſo connected, and circumſtances depend ſo much upon each other, that to divide the ſhort ſketch, which is neceſſary to be drawn up on this head, would cauſe a manifeſt confuſion; becauſe the certain periods in which many alterations took place cannot be aſcertained: therefore hereafter, when we compleat the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, a regular account of their coinage, its weight, its value, its ſize, and whatever more is neceſſary for the full explanation of the ſubject will be given.† The art of coinage referred to the ſecond volume and why.

CHAP. VII.

Cloathing Arts, and Habits of the ancient Germans and the Saxons.

IT may appear extraordinary, that a people ſo barbarous, and little inclined to labour, as the ancient Germans were, ſhould attend in the leaſt to the manufacturing of cloth, when they might ſo eaſily ſupply themſelves with garments from the ſkins of their cattle; but there ſeems to have been no people, however barbarous, but what were proud of decorating their perſons; and though they affected to deſpiſe the uſages of civiler nations, they would frequently give into luxuries, every way equal, only ſet forth in a different, and perhaps a more unpleaſing ſtile; ſo that the vice itſelf is not altered in its tendency, but in its outward appearance; for the ſame paſſion for finery, cauſed the un- Barbarous nations in general fond of finery.

* Eddii Vit. Wilfridii.

† We have here ſubjoined plate XVII. which exhibits ſixteen different Saxon coins, which were ſtruck during the Heptarchy. This plate is fully explained in the appendix.

civilized Maæatæ and Calidonians to pounce their ſkins, and endure a great degree of torture, to bear the repreſentation of various figures upon it, that prevailed upon the inhabitants of more poliſhed nations to wear ſilks and gold embroidery; and perhaps the ſame paſſion, led the barbarous Germans to ſpinning and weaving, in order to appear at particular times, in ſuch garments as required ſome ſkill to make.

The Germans underſtood how to weave linen.

It it certain, that the Germans uſed, in very early times, to dreſs and ſpin flax, and weave linen cloths; but whether it was, they were jealous of their art being diſcovered, or whether they were aſhamed to have it known that they condeſcended to labour at the loom, cannot be determined; however all this work was ſecretly done in vaults and caverns, the manufacturers being buried as it were under ground.* As they were ſkilled in the art of making linen cloth, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that woollen garments, and other cloths of coarſer manufactory, were unknown to them. Their methods of bleaching and ſoftening their linen, as well as the different ſorts which they might make, cannot be diſcovered; nor do we know whether, like the Gauls, they were well acquainted with the arts of dying and colouring cloth, before it was made into garments.

The habit of the meaner Germans.

The meaner ſort of people amongſt the Germans, ſuch as their ſlaves and mere dependants, went almoſt naked, wearing only a cloak called a ſagum, which was faſtened round their ſhoulders upon their breaſts with a buckle, or if they could not procure that ornament, a ſharp thorn:† this garment hung down both before and behind, and reached nearly to the middle of their thighs.‡

The habit of the noble Germans.

The richer ſort of people and the princes, were diſtinguiſhed by their habit, which was a cloſe garment, covering all their bodies, their legs, and their thighs, but in ſuch a manner as to ſhow the whole ſhape of the wearer; beſides this part of his dreſs, another was adopted, namely, a kind of cloak or robe, made of the ſkins of beaſts; which ſkins they were very particular in the choice of, and ſuch as were the moſt difficult to obtain, were received with the greateſt approbation; theſe they ornamented with a variety of artificial ſpots, to make them more beautiful; and they were much pleaſed, if they could procure any foreign trinkets to adorn their perſons:§ their arms may alſo be ſaid to have conſtituted part of their dreſs, for they ſcarcely ever appeared without them from the time of their being firſt permitted to bear them.‖

* Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xix. cap. 1.

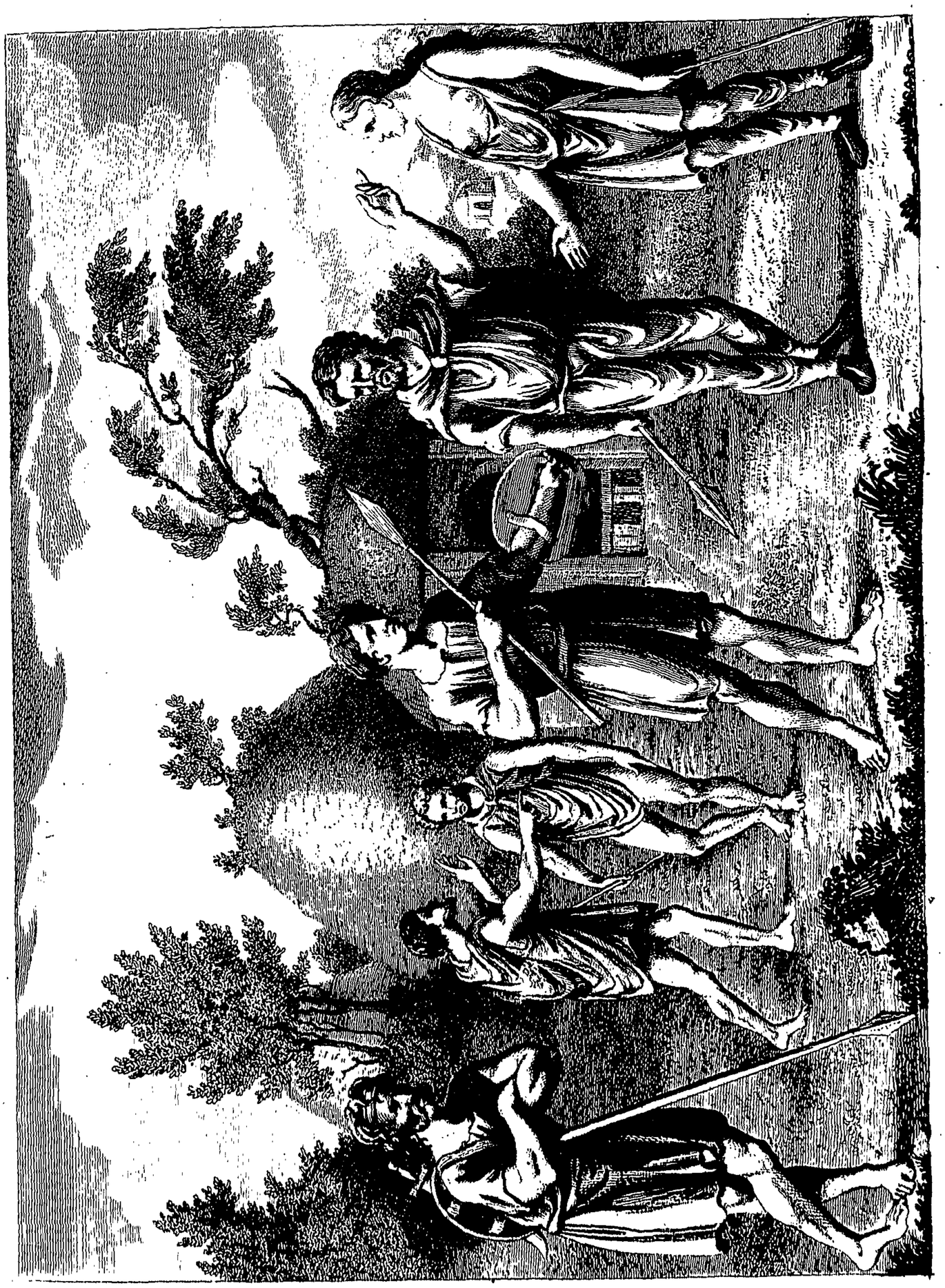
† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

‡ See two figures of this kind repreſented at a little diſtance, plate XVIII. of this volume.

§ See the delineation of the noble German, plate XVIII. of this vol. the figure on the right-hand of the plate, holding a ſpear in one hand and pointing with the other.

‖ Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

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The habits of the women differed but little from thoſe of the men, except that they were uſually made of linen, which as it was finer and better woven, was the moſt eſteemed: their garments they would frequently ornament with purple borders, to make them more gaudy. Another peculiarity in the tunic of a woman, was its not having ſleeves, ſo that their arms were entirely bare, and their necks and breaſts left open:* but we muſt now conceive, that this is the deſcription of the garments of a woman of diſtinction, thoſe that were poor and of leſs conſequence, without doubt, were cloathed in a leſs elegant mannner.† The habit of a German woman.

What covering the Germans wore upon their heads is not recorded: long hair was not honourable amongſt the men, becauſe it was the ſign of cowardice; for they might not cut or trim it until they had done their country ſome ſervice by ſlaying an enemy: on the contrary, the women were fond of their long hair, inſomuch, that it was the higheſt diſgrace to have it cut off.‡ Neither have we any certain account concerning their ſhoes; but in the very ancient delineations of the Anglo-Saxons, we find the feet of the nobles covered with a ſort of ſhoes, which ſeem to be made of leather, and bound round the inſtep; but the commoner ſort of people are unſhod and conſtantly bare leged.§ Covering for the head: and ſhoes.

The habits we have already deſcribed, were ſuch as appertained to the ancient Germans; yet it is highly probable, ſome ſlight alterations might take place before the time of the Saxons arrival in Britain. The habit of thoſe piratical Saxons, who infeſted the Britiſh ſeas, conſiſted of a tunic, reaching down to their knees, and bound round the waiſt; their arms were a ſpear, a ſhield, and a ſword; the two laſt they uſually carried at their backs, when they travelled from place to place; but the moſt remarkable part of their dreſs was the adornment of their heads, for after they had ſhaved their temples and clipt the locks which hung round their necks, the hair upon the crown of the head was permitted to grow as long as it would, and being incloſed within a ring of copper, which raiſed it from the forehead, it hung down over the ring, reaching to their ſhoulders.‖ The habit of the ancient Saxons.

Now we have ſeen a faint gleam of light thrown upon the art of manufacturing cloth amongſt the ancient Germans, we ſhall naturally paſs on to the Saxons. It is certain, that after their converſion to Chriſtianity, ſpinning and weaving were greatly improved amongſt them; and it is by no means unlikely, that ſome of thoſe artiſts who came from Rome with Benedict Biſcop, might underſtand the cloath- The manufacturing of cloth improved by the Saxons.

* See the German woman delineated plate XVIII.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

‡ Ibid.

§ See the plates vol. I. of the Hoɲda Anȝel cynnan; or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

‖ Paulus Diaconus Apol: Sidonii Epiſt. lib. viii. epiſt. 9. & Witchindus See this figure delineated, leaning on his ſpear, plate XVIII. of this vol.

ing art in greater perfection than it was known amongſt the Saxons, who inſtructed by thoſe artiſts, might proceed to the manufacturing of fine cloths of various kinds. It is certain, that they had ſilks in Britain at this period, of which the altar cloths were frequently made, and perhaps the garments of the nobility; but we have no evidence that it was manufactured by the Saxons themſelves; therefore we ſhall not place it amongſt their cloathing productions. What various kind of cloth they might make cannot be determined; but the price of wool, which was very high, may ſufficiently prove the attention which was paid to the manufacturing of this valuable article; nor can we diſcover the different degrees of fineneſs of their woollen cloths. As linen was the production of the looms of the ancient Germans, we can have little reaſon to believe that their deſcendants, the Saxons, ſhould neglect the fabrication of ſo valuable an article; on the contrary, a ſtriking proof that it conſtituted a great part of their cloth manufacture, is its being univerſally worn by them.

Variegated cloths, wove by the Saxons.

Beſides the weaving of large pieces of cloth of uniform colours, they had the art of fabricating various cloths, for the garments of the nobility, the embelliſhment of altars, and other particular purpoſes, in ſuch a manner as to bear the repreſentation of various figures and images, all of which was manufactured in the loom, by the ſkilful diſpoſition of different threads, of different colours, and each of them uſed as occaſion required.*

The dying art.

The dyers art muſt have been well underſtood by the Saxons, for this was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to colour the threads wherewith they wove their variegated cloth; but what methods they made uſe of in the proceſs of this art at this period, or the materials which they procured, as well as the perfection of their colours, and their various ſorts, cannot be traced out; perhaps hereafter, we may be able to throw ſome clearer light upon all, or moſt of theſe curious particulars.

The habit of the Saxon kings deſcribed.

The habit of the Saxon ſoldiers we have already ſeen, which conſiſted chiefly of a tunic, fitting cloſely to their bodies, that they might not be hindered in their martial exerciſes, and brandiſhing their ſwords, by its largeneſs or looſeneſs. Sometimes beſides this tunic, they had a cloak or robe, which buckled on the right ſhoulder, and fell over the left arm, covering the trunk of the body before and behind.† The ſoldiers tunics, we are well aſſured, were moſt commonly made of li-

* Aldhelm, in his book on virginity, makes uſe of the following ſimily, which plainly proves the truth of this aſſertion: "It is not," ſays he, "the web of one "uniform colour and texture, without "any variety of figures, that can pleaſe "the eye and appear beautiful; but one "that is woven by ſhuttles, filled with "threads of purple and various other co-"lours, flying from ſide to ſide, and form-"ing a variety of figures and images in "different compartments, with admirable "art.

† Vide page 329 of this volume.

nen.


1
2
3
4

nen.* Not far diſtant from the habits above deſcribed, were thoſe worn by almoſt all the Saxons; ſome few inſtances we have of the cloak buckled on both ſhoulders, and this ſeems to be the diſtinction of ſome particular rank of men.† The habit of the kings we find much more ſuperb. We have already deſcribed the dreſs in which they went to war; at other times, we find them delineated in long tunics, ſometimes reaching down to the middle of their legs, and ſometimes to their ancles; theſe tunics, from their looſe and flowing appearance, ſeem to have been made of fine linen. A figure of a king, repreſented in a very ancient delineation, drawn by a Saxon artiſt, is habited in a fine long tunic, with cloſe ſleeves reaching to his wriſts; over this he wears a large looſe gown, which alſo has ſleeves that come a little below the elbows. This gown is not ſo long as the tunic, for it deſcends only to the middle of his legs, and at the bottom is ornamented with a broad welt, or border of ſome fine cloth, of a different colour.‡ Another figure we find habited in a cloſe tunic, not ſo long as that deſcribed before, but with ſleeves reaching to the wriſts; over this he wears a robe or cloak, which flows equally over either arm, and hangs down as low at the bottom of his ſtomach, on the fore part, but a great deal lower behind.§ A third figure is delineated in a tunic, exactly like that of the former, only at the end of the ſleeves, there appears a ſort of pleating like a ruffle: this figure has a large long robe, which buckles upon his right ſhoulder, and hangs over all his back and left ſide, like thoſe cloaks which we have already deſcribed.‖

Head covering, and ſhoes of the Saxons.

Every figure deſigned to repreſent a king, whether he is in his court, or in the field of battle, has conſtantly a crown upon his head, by way of diſtinction: other perſonages are generally delineated without any covering for their heads; ſometimes indeed they wear a cap, which comes cloſe round their heads, gradually decreaſing to the top, where it bends a little forward. Their ſhoes, as has been declared before, ſeem to be made of leather, left with an opening on the top of the foot, and bound round the inſteps: their legs appear to be generally naked, which cuſtom of going bare-legged, was forbidden to the prieſts who miniſtered at the altar, by canon made in the council of Chalcuith, A. D. 785.**

Deſcription of the Saxon habits broke off and why.

We ſhall not here enter into any further particular deſcription of the dreſs of the Saxons, becauſe it is moſt likely, that but few, if any of our authorities, are ſo ancient as the period we are now treating of. Nor ſhall we here take any notice of the apparel of the ladies, becauſe, that will be more properly a ſubject for future conſideration, when we ſhall be able to produce our authority as we proceed in our diſcourſe.

* Alcuini lib. de offic. divin.

† See this kind of cloak plate XV. of this vol.

‡ See plate XIX. No. 2. of this vol.

§ See plate XIX. No. 3. of this vol.

‖ See plate XIX. No. 4. of this vol.

** Johnſon's Canons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Learned Men, and the ſtate of Learning amongſt the Saxons.

Germans unlearned.

WE muſt not look for learning amongſt the ancient Germans; all their knowledge was ſuch as was merely dictated by nature, and was in general bounded by their immediate neceſſities; it is true, they were improved, and brought from their barbarous ſtate, by a great chief, under the name of Woden, from whom they received the knowledge of letters, which are called Runic; but all theſe matters will be conſidered hereafter in the hiſtory of the ancient Danes, where proper ſpecimens of this kind of learning will be produced and explained.

The Saxons enemies to learning; and the life of Gildas.

Our Saxon anceſtors when they firſt reached Britain, were not only unlearned themſelves, but alſo great enemies to learning; their whole ſucceſs depended upon their ſwords, and the ſubſequent troubles kept them ſo fully employed, that had they been inclined to cultivate the knowledge of literature, they could ſcarcely have found leiſure to purſue their intentions for upwards of one hundred and fifty years from the time of their arrival: during which ſpace, there flouriſhed ſeveral learned men amongſt the Britons; the firſt in eſteem is Gildas Badonicus, ſurnamed the Wiſe: he was educated in the monaſtery of Banchor, and applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of the Scriptures: to him we owe the firſt lights which are caſt upon the troubleſome times of the Britons, and of the miſeries thoſe wretched people ſuffered by the encroachment of the Saxons. He has left behind him a ſhort hiſtory of Britain, and an epiſtle, in which he heavily accuſes the princes and clergy of the Britons, who were cotemporary with him. His ſtile is inflated, and abounds with continual metaphors, and frequent quotaions from the Scriptures; throughout the whole, he diſcovers the ſtrongeſt marks of zeal, and appears to have been of a gloomy and querulous diſpoſition, taking every occaſion to vilify his countrymen, and place their faults in the worſt and ſtrongeſt light; ſo that from his writings, we ſhould be apt to form but an unfavourable idea of the taſte of thoſe times; however his works are extremely valuable to the world, not only on account of their antiquity, but becauſe they give us ſuch information as we cannot meet with elſewhere. Gildas flouriſhed towards the latter end of the ſixth century.*

The life of Nennius.

Before we take our leave of the Britons, we will take notice of another learned man, who alſo received his education in the monaſtery of Banchor, this was Nennius, to whom we owe a ſhort hiſtory of the

* Vide Bale de Scriptor. cent. I. in vita Gildæ.

Britons,

Britons, and their wars with the Saxons; but the whole is ſo conciſe, and ſo many miracles are crouded into it, that it is no eaſy matter to ſeparate the truth from fiction: however, there are many very curious circumſtances, relative to the times in which this author lived, preſerved in his little work. Nennius flouriſhed in the beginning of the ſeventh century.*

Schools, when erected by the Saxons.

But to return to the Saxons. It would be in vain to endeavour to trace out the ſtate of learning, whatever it might be, before their converſion to Chriſtianity; ſome time after which important event, ſchools and ſeminaries of learning were eſtabliſhed in Kent; theſe were productive of good effect, which being obſerved by Sigebert, when he aſcended the throne of the Eaſt Angles, A. D. 635, he eſtabliſhed ſchools upon the ſelf-ſame plan in his own dominion. Thus was the door to erudition ſet open, and ſoon after this period there flouriſhed a great number of learned men.†

Theodore and Adrian advance the learning of the Saxons.

Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who came over into Britain in the year 669, contributed greatly to the improvement of learning; with this prelate came ſeveral profeſſors of ſcience, particularly Adrian, a monk, who aſſiſted him greatly in the inſtruction of the Engliſh youth. Theſe two men are ſaid to have excelled in all the various branches of ſacred and civil literature. Theodore alſo brought over with him into Britain a large collection of books, which were particularly ſerviceable to his diſciples. To the ſchools ſet up in Kent under the direction of Theodore, Adrian, and their aſſiſtants, reſorted a great number of ſcholars, whom they inſtructed in the ſciences, reading lectures to them on poetry, aſtronomy, and arithmetic, as well as on divinity, and the ſacred ſcriptures; beſides theſe, they alſo taught them the knowledge and application of medicine, and eſtabliſhed certain rules for the preſervation of health, with ſuch obſervations thereon as they thought neceſſary to be attended to.‡ Logic and rhetoric were alſo taught by theſe preceptors, and diligently ſtudied by the ſcholars.

Life of Adhelm.

Towards the latter end of the ſeventh century flouriſhed Adhelm, a near relation, if not nephew, to Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons; he received the firſt part of his education in the ſchool of one Macdulf, a learned Scot:§ after which he travelled into France and Italy for improvement, and at his return home completed his ſtudies under Adrian, the abbot of St. Auguſtine's monaſtery, who was at that time the moſt learned profeſſor of the ſciences that had been in England; by which induſtry

* Vide Bale de Scriptor. cent. I. in Vita Gildæ.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 18.

‡ But it plainly appears that their phyſical doctrines were ſpiced with the ſuperſtition of the times: one of the leſſons of Theodore is preſerved by Bede, and is as follows: "It is very dangerous to let "blood on the fourth day of the moon, "becauſe both the light of the moon and "the tides are upon the increaſe." Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 3.

§ This ſchool was eſtabliſhed where Malmſbury now ſtands. Angl. Sacra.

duſtry he acquired an uncommon ſtock of learning and uſeful knowledge, ſo that he became famous not only in England, his native country, but alſo abroad in foreign climates.* When he was made abbot of Malmſbury, which he himſelf had founded, he ſet about the inſtruction of the people with uncommon aſſiduity; and being an excellent poet, he compoſed a great number of little poems, which he would ſing to them after maſs; and as he had a remarkable fine voice, and great ſkill in muſic, he managed his little compoſitions with ſo much art, that he at once delighted and inſtructed his auditors. After Adhelm had been thirty years abbot of Malmſbury, he was made biſhop of Sherborn, where he died in the year of our Lord 709.† His chief works, beſides his little poems and homilies, are, the book on virginity, dedicated to St. Ethelburga, and his treatiſe on the celebration of Eaſter, written againſt the Britons, by the command of the ſynod of the Weſt Saxon church. He alſo left behind him a book of the proſodia of the Latin tongue, in which he was very expert, being the firſt Saxon that ever wrote in that language both in proſe and verſe.

The good effect of the ſchools of Theodore and Sigebert.

The ſchools eſtabliſhed by Theodore and Sigebert, produced ſeveral excellent ſcholars, and many of them of high rank; amongſt whom we may reckon Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, and Ina, king of Weſſex, both of them men of learning, eſpecially the former, who had been the diſciple of Wilfrid, and attained to great knowledge in the ſacred Scriptures, as well as in almoſt every part of moral literature. What contributed alſo greatly to the improvement of the ſtudious, was, the libraries of books, which began at the latter end of the ſeventh century to be common in the moſt noted monaſteries, though it is true they bore a great price.‡

St. Cuthbert's goſpels deſcribed.

About this time, that is, the latter end of the ſeventh century, Cuthbert, biſhop of Lindisfarn, prevailed upon Ealdfrith, a monk there, to compoſe an elegant copy of the four goſpels, which was done under his inſpection, in the moſt elegant manner that can be conceived; the whole of this book, which is yet extant, is written in Latin, with St. Jerome's preface, and interlined with a Saxon verſion. When Ealfrith had completed this valuable manuſcript, Bilfrith, a celebrated anchorite, was employed to ornament it in a ſuperb manner;§ before each goſpel is prefixed a painting of the evangeliſt who wrote it,‖ and the oppoſite page is full of beautiful ornaments, enriched with various colours; then fol-

* Bede draws the character of Adhelm in the following conciſe manner: "He "was a man of univerſal erudition, his ſtile "was elegant and flowing, and he was "wonderfully well acquainted with books, "both on philoſophy and religious ſub-"jects." Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. cap. 19.

† Anglia. Sacra.

‡ Ibid.

§ See a full account of this valuable MS. in the catalogue of the Cotton library, or in the preface to Caſley's catalogue of the royal library.

‖ Theſe figures, which have nothing to recommend them but their antiquity, are faithfully copied in the third volume of the Hoɲda Anʒel cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

lows

on gipnaor god rpell copē lucaſ

INCIPIT EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM LUCAM

london

adc rod

QUIDEM

mongo cunnendo

MULTIKH

poepon þre hiu ge

TIXHTEORDINA

endebpodnudon hit begða

RENARRATIONEM

lows the commencement of the goſpel, the firſt page of which is moſt elaborately ornamented with letters of a peculiar form, and very large, which diſplays at once the zeal of the performer, and the taſte of the times in which the book was written.*

Life of Tobias, biſhop of Rocheſter.

In the beginning of the eighth century flouriſhed Tobias, biſhop of Rocheſter, who in his younger years had begun his ſtudies at Glaſtonbury, but finiſhed his education at Canterbury, under Theodore and Adrian, where he became a great proficient in all the parts of learning, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical. He was alſo well verſed in the Greek and Latin tongues;† he wrote ſeveral books, though his works are now unhappily loſt.

The life of Bede.

But the moſt learned man of this age was Bede, a preſbyter, commonly called the venerable Bede; this great man was born at Weremouth, in Northumberland, A. D. 672, and received his education in the monaſtery of St. Peter, founded at that place, about two years after his birth, by Benedict Biſcop, who was one of the moſt learned men, and the greateſt traveller of that age.‡ Bede had the advantage of an excellent library, which was ſuperior to any exiſting in Britain at his time; and alſo the benefit of the beſt preceptors, as abbot Benedict, and his ſucceſſor, Ceolfrid, and St. John of Beverley; he made a rapid progreſs in all kinds of learning, ſo that at the age of nineteen he was ordained a deacon by John of Beverley, at that time biſhop of Hagulſtad, (or Hexham;) about which time he left Weremouth, and went to the monaſtery of St. Paul, at Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne, and then newly founded by Benedict; here he ſpent the remainder of his life in the offices of devotion, teaching, reading, and writing. At the age of thirty he was ordained prieſt, by John of Beverley, above which dignity he was not advanced: yet although he lived thus obſcurely, mured up in a little corner of the iſland, his fame was ſpread abroad, not only throughout all Britain, but in France and Italy, inſomuch, that pope Sergius ſent for him to conſult with him concerning a diſpute which had ariſen at Rome, about ſome eccleſiaſtical matters;§ however, he did not go to Rome, on account, perhaps, of the death of Sergius, which happened ſoon after he had written the above letter. Bede died at his cell at Jarrow, in a devout manner, May 26, A. D. 735, in the ſixty-third year of his age.‖ Both ancient and modern authors have beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon the learning of this great man; amongſt his cotemporaries he was called the learned Saxon, but by poſterity the venerable Bede. His works are many, making eight large volumes folio, the principal of which is his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the

* One of theſe curious pages, with the initial letters, is given plate XX. of this volume. The writing is explained in the deſcription of the plates given at the end of the volume.

† Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. cap 23.
‡ Biograph. Britan. in Vit. Bedæ.
§ Malmſbury, lib. i. cap. 3.
‖ Vide Biograph. Britan.

Anglo-Saxons, conſiſting of five books, from whence the more perfect part of our early hiſtory is formed; his other works are, the lives of ſaints, treatiſes on the holy-ſcriptures, and philoſophical tracts.* The greateſt blemiſh that clouds the works of this learned man, is his credulity; for he eaſily gave into the popular ſtories of miracles and wonders, which at this time were propagated moſt plentifully in every part of the iſland; and though, it is true, they were no more than religious juggles, yet they were conformable to the taſte of the people, and ſincerely believed by them of almoſt every rank and denomination.

Other learned men amongſt the Saxons.

After the death of Bede, learning decayed in Britain; for a ſhort time, it is true, it was upheld by ſome few of his friends, who ſurvived him; amongſt whom was Acca, biſhop of Hagulſtad, (now Hexham) who excelled in church muſic, and his knowledge of eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies, which he acquired at Rome, to which place he went for improvement;† alſo Egbert, archbiſhop of York, who founded a noble library at York, and was a great encourager of learning.‡ Nor ought we here to forget Alcuinus, a Saxon, born in the northern parts of Britain, who received his education at York, under the direction of archbiſhop Egbert; he was ſent by Offa, king of Mercia, on an embaſſy to Charlemagne, and became the tutor of that great prince, inſtructing him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity: in ſhort, ſuch was the love which the ſcholar bore to the preceptor, that Alcuinus never returned to Britain again, but remained at the court of Charlemagne,§ at whoſe deſire he wrote ſeveral books againſt the heretical opinions of Felix, biſhop of Argel, in Catalonia, in defence of the orthodox faith; which he performed ſo well, that he not only pleaſed his employer, but even convinced the heretic of his errors, who afterwards renounced them publicly, and returned to his former faith. Alcuinus died at the abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, A. D. 804.‖ Beſides his ſeveral epiſtles, Alcuinus left behind him a poetical hiſtory of the biſhops of York.** Several other learned men flouriſhed alſo during the eighth century; but as they were not ſo famous as thoſe we have already mentioned, we have no room to inſert their lives in this place, as we can only pretend to give a conciſe and general hiſtory of learning in each particular period.

The light but faint which is thrown upon the learning of the Saxons.

Thus we have ſeen the early dawn of literature amongſt our Saxon anceſtors; the hiſtory of which we ſhall purſue hereafter, with great care and circumſpection, through all its various ſtates, and endeavour to ſet in as clear a light as poſſible the extent of their knowledge in every particular ſcience. This cannot be done at preſent, left, as we are, in the dark;

* A complete liſt of all the works of Bede is given by Dr. Henry, in the Appendix, vol. II of his Hiſtory of Britain.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 20.

‡ Alcuinus de Pontific. Eboracen.

§ Another reaſon why he would not return to Britain, might be the troubles which followed in all the ſeveral kingdoms of the heptarchy, and the great decay of learning.

‖ Vide Leland de Scriptorib. Bale, &c.

** This poem is printed by Gale, in his Hiſt. Script. Britan. XV. printed A.D. 1691, in folio.


ARA
piscis
Aquila
capricornus
Delphi
nus
Sagitta
Cignus qui et olor et ornis
Centaurus
Scor
Libra
Virgo
Serpens
Hercu
Corona
Cassiepea
Perseus
Medusa
Pisces
Aries
Cetus
Erichto
Capra
Tau
rus
Gemini
Lyra orphei
leo
Cancer
Hydra
argo
Syrius
Anticanis
Lepus
ori
on.
::ISTA PROPRIO SUDORE NOMINA UNIQUOQUE
PROPRIA EGO INDIGNUS SACERDOS ET MONA
CHUS NOMINE GERUUIGUS REPPERI ·AC
SCRIPSI PAXLEGENTIBUS::

dark; but as we advance in the hiſtory, moſt of theſe intereſting particulars will be diſcovered, and then by compariſon we may be able to form ſome idea of the more early times.

Several philoſophical notions of the Saxons unknown.

It is impoſſible to diſcover all the phyſiological opinions of our anceſtors, and more eſpecially thoſe which they had imbibed at this diſtant period; nor ſhall we pretend to inveſtigate how far they were acquainted with the doctrine of atoms, and their properties, the laws of gravitation, or their ideas of light or colours, becauſe we have no certain guide to lead us through theſe abſtruſe ſtudies. As they received the greateſt part of their learning from France and Italy, we may very fairly ſuppoſe their opinions in philoſophy were nearly, if not exactly, the ſame with thoſe eſtabliſhed on the continent.

The celeſtial ſphere deſcribed, as drawn by a Saxon artiſt.

Their aſtronomical knowledge we may be better able to aſcertain, becauſe, in an old manuſcript on this ſubject, yet extant, written partly in Latin, and partly in Saxon, we meet with a great variety of delineations, repreſenting the figures depicted by the ancients in the celeſtial ſphere; and on each figure is marked the ſtars which were ſaid to belong to them. This curious production has unhappily been mutilated by ſome ſacrilegious hand, ſo that ſcarcely more than half the drawings now remain.* At the end of the book is preſerved a general view of the whole celeſtial ſphere, included in one large circle;† as this is extremely curious and valuable, we ſhall be the more particular in deſcribing of it:— In the middle is placed the leſſer bear, partly encompaſſed by a large ſerpent; below it, upon the tail of the ſerpent, the greater bear is delineated; above the ſerpent, is Hercules with the lion's ſkin, the crown, the harp, and the ſwan; on the right ſide of the ſerpent ſtands Cephus, and on the left ſide Bootes, or the herdſman; above the figure of Hercules is the dolphin, the arrow, and the eagle; immediately over the ſwan is the head of the Pegaſus, or winged horſe; under the Pegaſus, by the ſide of the ſwan, ſtands Andromeda naked; between Andromeda and Cephus ſits Caſſiope, with both her arms extended; a little lower down we ſee Perſeus holding the head of Meduſa, and under him, cloſe to the greater bear, is Erichtonius, having in his right hand a whip, or ſcourge, and in his left an animal, intended for a goat; near his left foot is another animal, like that he holds in his hand: all theſe figures are ſurrounded by a double circle, in which are repreſented the twelve ſigns of the zodiac. Here we find three things remarkable; virgo, or the virgin, is repreſented with wings; libra, or the balance, is held by a man in his right hand; and on the ſcorpion ſtands a man holding a ſerpent with both hands, which is twined round his body; without the ſecond circle of the zodiac we ſee the ſhip Argo; above that the hydra, repreſented as a large ſerpent, on whoſe back is placed the crater, or

* This curious manuſcript is preſerved in the Harleian library at the Britiſh Muſeum, and is marked 647.

† See plate XXI. of this volume, which is a faithful copy of the drawing here deſcribed.

goblet,

goblet, and the crow; towards the top is the centaur Chiron; at the top is the altar; paſſing round we come to the greater fiſh, the dragon, and Orion, whoſe left foot is placed upon a large urn, which Idanus empties, forming a long ſtream of water; near the right foot of Orion, is the hare; a little above, between Orion and the ſhip Argo, are the two dogs, the greater and the leſs; and directly under them is an inſcription, which informs us, that we owe the delineations contained in the book, and the diſcourſe which accompanies them, to the labour and induſtry of a preſbyter and monk, named Geruvigius; of what date the manuſcript itſelf is, cannot be determined; but from the hand in which it is written, and every outward appearance, it muſt have been very ancient; perhaps as early as the beginning of the ninth century.

The mundane ſyſtem of the Saxons.

In the ſelf-ſame manuſcript of Geruvigius is alſo preſerved a delineation of the mundane ſyſtem;* the earth is placed in the midſt, about which all the planets make their rotation at unequal diſtances, which are given as follow:—From the earth to the moon is 15,515 miles; from the moon to the planet Mercury is 7,757 miles and a half; from Mercury to Venus is the ſame diſtance as from the moon to Mercury; from Venus to the ſun is 23,272 miles and a half; from the ſun to Mars, 15,515 miles; from Mars to Jupiter is 7,757 miles and a half; from Jupiter to Saturn is the ſame diſtance as from Mars to Jupiter; from Saturn to the fixed ſtars is 23,272 miles and a half; ſo that the whole diſtance from the earth to the fixed ſtars is 108,605 miles.† It may not be unpleaſing to the reader to compare theſe ancient calculations with thoſe of the moderns, infinitely more certain, and nearer to truth.

CHAP. IX.

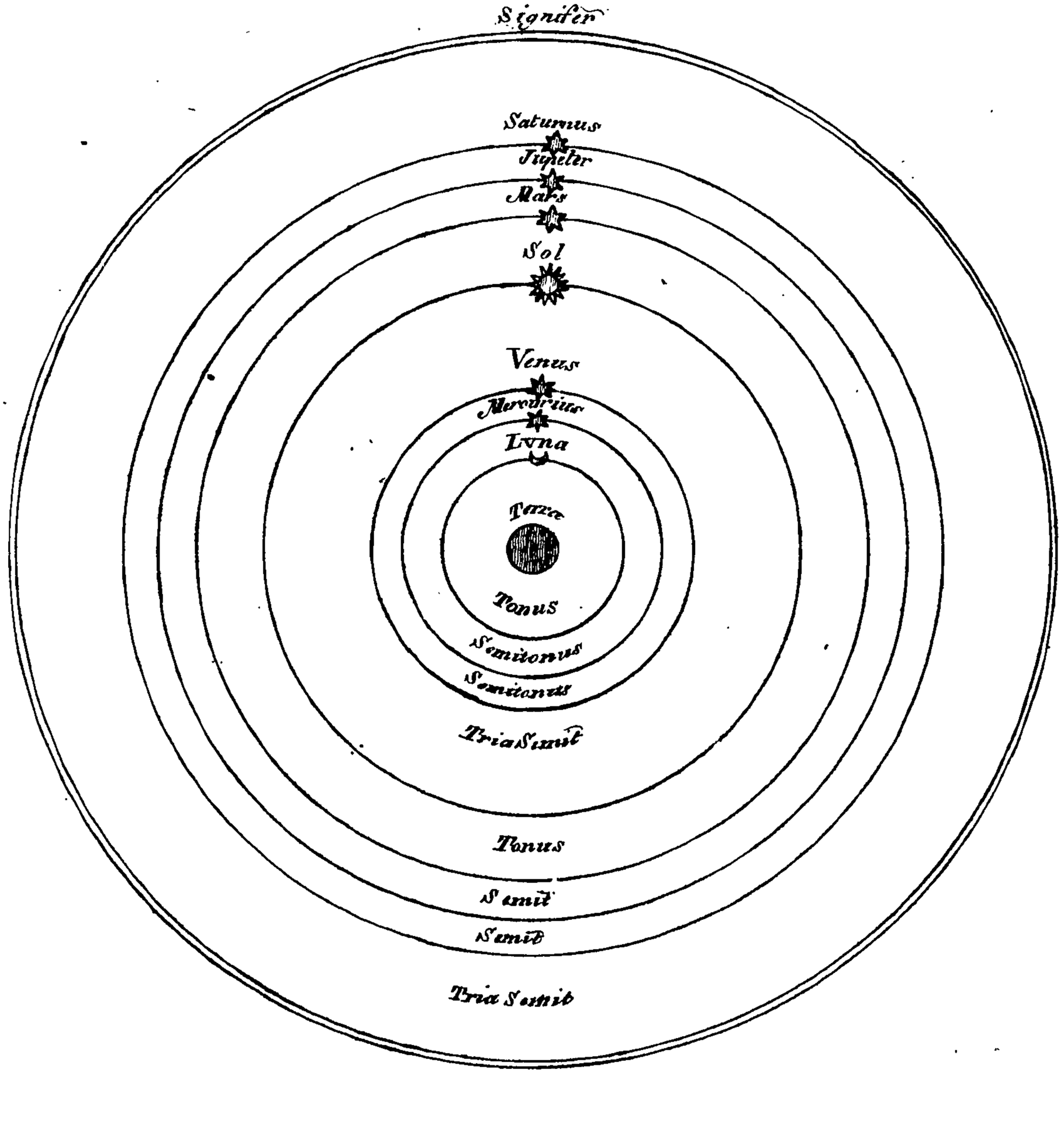
The State of the Polite Arts amongſt the Saxons.

The Germans had ſome little notion of ſculpture.

THE polite arts, as well as learning, had ſcarcely entered the ideas of the ancient Germans; of courſe we can have little to ſay concerning them. Sculpture they ſeem to have had ſome faint ideas of, becauſe they are ſaid to have carried certain little images before them to battle, which they had taken from their conſecrated woods and ſacred

* See plate XXII. of this volume.

† We muſt here obſerve, the meaſures on the plate are as in the original plan, divided into the *tonus*, the *ſemi-tonus*, &c. One *tonus*, the author informs us, contained 135 *ſtadiorum*, or meaſures; and each *ſtadius*, or meaſure exactly 115 miles, ſo that it is eaſy to determine the number of miles, according to this ſcale, which we have done in the above deſcription.


Signifer
Saturnus
Jupiter
Mars
Sol
Venus
Mercurius
Luna
Terra
Tonus
Semitonus
Semitonus
TriaSemit
Tonus
Semit
Semit
Tria Semit

places:* and it is certain that their deſcendants, the Saxons, had images of the idols which they adored ſet up in their temples;† but in what manner they were executed is a circumſtance we can by no means determine. Sculpture was improved, without doubt, by thoſe artiſts who came over into Britain with Benedict Biſcop; for we ſoon hear of images, and variety of other ornaments, ſet up in churches, and admired for their elegance.

Painting, and the arts of deſign, we hear not of amongſt the Saxons before, nor indeed until ſome time after their converſion to Chriſtianity. This art, if not introduced by the painters who came over with Benedict Biſcop, was at leaſt improved by them; and the Saxons did not want proper models to imitate, for Benedict, after he had built the church of St. Peter, at Weremouth, brought images and pictures from Rome, with variety of other curious ornaments, to adorn it. A picture of the Virgin Mary, together with pictures of the twelve apoſtles, he hung up in the body of the church; the ſouth wall he decorated with pictures of the goſpel hiſtory; and the north wall with other pictures, repreſenting the viſions of St. John, in the Apocalyps:‡ alſo when he had dedicated the church of St. Paul, at Jarrow, he brought over other ornaments and pictures from Rome. He covered the walls of the chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin, at Weremouth, with the whole goſpel hiſtory; and the church of St. Paul he decorated with pictures of the concordance of the Old and New Teſtaments, which were executed and diſpoſed with ſingular art and propriety; as, for example, the picture of Iſaac bearing the wood whereon he was to be ſacrificed, and another of Chriſt bearing the croſs whereon he was to be crucified, were placed cloſe to each other: in like manner, Moſes lifting up the brazen ſerpent in the wilderneſs, adjoining to another repreſenting the lifting up of the Son of Man upon the croſs.§ The earlieſt painters were employed chiefly, if not altogether, upon making ornaments for the church.

The art of painting.

In a little time after, we find them decorating books with pictures, on which they frequently beſtowed the greateſt pains and labour. The moſt ancient, and at the ſame time the moſt elegant, manuſcript of this ſort, is the four goſpels which we have before deſcribed;‖ but if we may judge of the taſte of the times from the figures of the evangeliſts which are therein delineated, we ſhall not think ſo favourably of it, becauſe they are by far the worſt part of the ornaments of the book, though, without doubt, much admired at the time in which they were done: theſe figures are out of all proportion, and drawn in a rude ſtile; the drapery is ſtiff and

Drawings by way of ornaments to books.

* Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

† We find them particularly mentioned by Boniface, biſhop of Rome, to Edwine, king of Northumberland. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 10. Bede expreſsly ſays, that Coifa overturned the altars, and broke down the images in the great temple at Godmundham, near York. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

‡ Bede Hiſt. Abb. Weremuthen.

§ Ibid.

‖ Vide page 346 of this volume.

unnatural,

unnatural, without the leaſt idea of grace in the diſpoſition of the folds; and the ſtools, or benches, on which they are ſeated, are falſely drawn, without any knowledge of perſpective.

The ancient MS. aſcribed to Cædman, at Oxford.

The next ſpecimen of the art of deſign amongſt the Saxons, is ſaid to be the paraphraſe on the book of Geneſis, preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, which ſome have aſcribed to Cædman, and ſuppoſe it to have been written and ornamented towards the latter end of the eighth century; others again have imagined that it was not the work of Cædman, nor indeed quite ſo ancient as that time: as the date cannot be aſcertained, we ſhall defer the account of the delineations to the next volume, where we ſhall have occaſion of mentioning this manuſcript again. A very early ſpecimen of the ſtate of this art amongſt the Saxons is exhibited in the celeſtial ſphere, above-deſcribed.*

Poetry.

Poetry is thought to have been much cultivated by the Anglo-Saxon kings, who are ſaid to have had their poets attending upon them, to ſing their praiſes, and celebrate their actions. This we ſhall be eaſily led to believe, when we ſee hereafter the great reſpect in which the ſcalds, or poets, were held by the Danes. Adhelm, who flouriſhed (as we have ſeen before) towards the latter end of the ſixth century, was an admirable poet, and his works were much eſteemed, not only by his cotemporaries, but alſo in after times; for, upwards of two hundred years after his deceaſe, he was eſteemed the beſt Saxon poet, and a favourite ſong compoſed by him, was then ſung, and greatly admired.† After him, amongſt others, Cædman, a monk in the abbey of Streanſhalch, is particularly noticed, who was a man of obſcure birth, and but of little learning; yet the ſublime ſtrains of poetry were ſo natural to him, that he compoſed verſes in his ſleep, which he repeated when he awaked.‡ This happy genius for poetry he improved, and principally employed his talent on religious ſubjects, which, by theſe pleaſing decorations, became more ſtriking to the auditors, and were longer retained in their memories.

Muſic.

Amongſt the muſical inſtruments uſed by our Saxon anceſtors, the harp was the moſt admired; to which the poets uſually would ſing their poems, and by a happy mixture of the voice with the tones of the inſtrument, make them delightful to the auditors. They had alſo at this period, various other inſtruments of muſic, as the organ, the violin, the atola, the pſaltery, the trumpet, the tabor, the pipe, and the flute;§ but it is impoſſible to diſcover their ſhapes, or the manner in which they were played, not only becauſe the authors who have mentioned them have neglected to give any deſcription of them, but alſo becauſe we

* See page 349 of this volume.

† Anglia Sacra.

‡ Bede gives a Latin tranſlation of the exordium of one of theſe poems, which, he confeſſes, falls far ſhort of the beauty of the original, which is itſelf preſerved in the Saxon verſion of Bede, of Elfred; and is deſervedly admired by all who underſtand the Saxon tongue. This poem, with a literal tranſlation, as well as various ſpecimens of the Saxon language, will be given in the ſecond volume.

§ Bede de Arte Muſices.

have no drawings that can positively be declared to be so ancient as the eighth century, that contain the delineations of any musical instruments; however, this much we may assert, the organ, mentioned above, was composed of a certain number of pipes, of different lengths and sizes, and blown into by the mouth, something after the form and fashion of the Pan's pipe, made of reeds of unequal lengths.*

Church music.

Music and singing were introduced into the Saxon churches soon after their conversion to Christianity; for John, the archantor of St. Peter's, at Rome, and abbot of St. Martin's abbey in that city, was, at the request of Benedict Biscop, sent over into Britain by pope Agatha, about the year 678, to teach the monks of Weremouth, and others of the Saxon clergy, the art of singing the public service. This John, immediately on his arrival in Britain, taught the monks in Benedict's monastery; and also all other persons, who had any taste for music, came thither from every monastery in Northumberland, and put themselves under his care. Besides this, he taught in several other places, whither he was invited; he also left behind him written directions for singing the service throughout the whole year, which were preserved for a considerable time afterwards.† Church music soon after was publicly taught in the schools at Canterbury, from whence professors of music were sent to all the different parts of Britain; but such as were desirous of attaining this art in the highest perfection, went to Rome.‡

CHAP. X.

Particular Manners, &c. of the ancient Germans and the Saxons.

The face of the country.

THE face of the country in Britain suffered a material and a dreadful change after the departure of the Romans; the flourishing towns and villages which that people left behind them were ruinated and destroyed; their gardens, orchards, and cultivated lands, were left desolate and neglected; and every place exhibited the fury of merciless conquerors, and bore the horrid marks of war and rapine. The Scots and Picts were the first who began this ruin, and the stern uncivilized Saxons those who completed it.§ Long did the land continue in this wretched state, till the Saxon arms had completed the conquests, and then by degrees improvements and cultivation took place throughout all the kingdoms of the heptarchy. After the conversion of the Saxons to Christi-

* The figure of these organs, from ancient delineations, will be given in the second volume.

† Bede, lib. iv. cap. 18.
‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 20.
§ Gildæ Hist. & Epist.

anity, their minds became more open to the refinements of taſte, and cities, towns, palaces, monaſteries, and ſtately churches, roſe out of the ruins of thoſe deſerted by the hapleſs Britons.*

The perſons of the Saxons.

The perſons of the Saxons are deſcribed as very ſtrong and robuſt, yet they were ſtill more remarkable for the elegance of their ſhape, the fairneſs of their complexion, and the fineneſs of their hair; their ſtrength and ſtature they derived from their anceſtors, the Germans, who are univerſally ſaid to have been men of large limbs; the Germans had yellow hair, and grey fiery eyes, which might alſo be common amongſt the Saxons, their immediate deſcendants. They could not endure much labour; they were eaſily overcome by heat and thirſt, whilſt they could bear hunger and cold with great patience; to theſe they had been inured by the poverty of their country, and the ſharpneſs of the climate.† The Saxons were in general long-lived; this proceeded from ther ſimple living, and conſtant exerciſe.

The character of the Saxons.

Many of the Saxons have left undoubted proofs behind them of a great genius, and a ſtrong natural underſtanding; their character, it is true, as given by the monks in general, is very unpleaſing, and often ſhocking and barbarous; but we muſt conſider it as drawn by a ſet of gloomy bigots, who always laid hold of the failings of their cotemporaries, and overlooked their virtues, and who were too apt to cenſure the community for vices which prevailed amongſt a few individuals. Notwithſtanding all this religious outcry of the prieſts, we find them poſſeſſed of many excellent and amiable qualities.

The piety of the Saxons tinctured with ſuperſtition.

They were, in general, after their converſion, much inclined to piety; which, however, was ſtrongly tinctured with ſuperſtition: this frequently produced a fondneſs for the monaſtic life, by which means the community was deprived of ſeveral of its valuable and important members; and this prepoſterous zeal was conſtantly encouraged by the prieſts, eſpecially if the parties were rich, and any great benefits were likely to be the reſult. Another kind of enthuſiaſm prevailed amongſt them, which cauſed them to undertake extraordinary pilgrimages, in order to viſit the ſhrines of ſaints, and ſee remarkable places that were reputed holy: this blind zeal naturally produced a great love and veneration for the reliques of ſaints, ſo that rotten bones, old nails, bits of ruſty iron, tattered pieces of garments, and ſuch kind of traſh, were as highly prized by the Saxon devotees, as ſilver and gold are by the miſers of the preſent age; and, without doubt, they were frequently made the dupes of the more cunning prieſts, who vended this rubbiſh at an extraordinary price.‡

Love of liberty.

The great characteriſtic, both of the Germans, and their deſcendants, the Saxons, was their love of liberty. All thoſe brave warriors who came into Britain under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, and the other

* Chap. II. part V. of this Chronicle.
† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.
‡ See pages 234, 236, & 237, of this volume.

Saxon

Saxon chiefs, were free and independent men; and though they permitted their generals to aſſume the name of kings, for their own honour and better ſecurity, yet they were jealous of their privileges, and retained to themſelves the right of making laws, impoſing taxes, and determining important queſtions relative to the ſtate, by common conſent, in the national aſſemblies.

The valour of the Germans and Saxons.

Valour was highly eſteemed amongſt the Germans and the Saxons; every ſtimulus was uſed to prevent cowardice, and every encouragement given to the brave and hardy warrior. Courage was eſteemed by them as the moſt noble attribute of mankind, and endeared them, as they thought, to the powers above, whom they ſuppoſed would never forſake the valiant man. After the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, valour decreaſed amongſt them, greatly owing to the fooliſh infatuation of many of their chiefs, and moſt powerful men, who ſuddenly quitted the world, as though it were impoſſible to ſerve their God and their country too.* This was one main reaſon, though another, and perhaps a ſtill more powerful one, might be the increaſe of luxury, and their fondneſs for idleneſs and diſſipation.

Their ſocial diſpoſitions.

The Saxons were famous for their ſocial diſpoſitions, and formed themſelves into fraternities and guilds of various kinds, having frequent convivial meetings with each other; nay, even by the Saxon laws every freeman, and head of a family, was obliged to be a member of the decennary, or neighbourhood, where he dwelt; and all the members of that neighbourhood were pledges for each other's good behaviour in public:† theſe prudent regulations kept up a cloſe connection in each community, which formed, as it were, a little ſtate of their own, under the laws and protection of the nation in general. They had alſo frequent voluntary meetings and ſocieties, ſome of the clergy, and ſome of the laity, which all tended to ſtrengthen the ties of love and friendſhip amongſt them; though, it is true, they often contributed to the promotion of exceſs and drunkenneſs, a vice they were all of them too apt to fall into.

Their curioſity and credulity.

Their curioſity was equal to their credulity; theſe were the palpable failings of the Germans and their deſcendants: as the former prompted them eagerly to enquire into all kinds of matters, the latter led them to a belief of all that was told them; this is abundantly evident in the various impoſtors and juggles which were put upon them by the prieſts, under the names of wonders and miraculous events. Before their converſion to Chriſtianity they uſed to practiſe a great variety of methods of ſoothſaying and augury;‡ nay, their ordeals, by which ſolemn appeals to

* Bede himſelf, though a prieſt, foreſaw the fatal conſequences of this ſuperſtitious folly, and accordingly inveighed againſt it.

† Wilkin's Leg. Sax.

‡ Soothſaying and lots (ſays Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Germans) they obſerve above all other nations; their cuſtom of caſting lots is as follows:—They cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree, and divide

Heaven were made, were ſtill retained for a conſiderable time after they had embraced the true faith.

Their hoſpitality.

For hoſpitality the Germans are juſtly famous; they were not exceeded in the bountifulneſs of their diſpoſitions by any nation in the whole world; for amongſt them it was an act of the greateſt baſeneſs for any one to debar another his houſe, or refuſe to entertain him according to his ability. Their doors were conſtantly open, and a ſtranger was received with as hearty a welcome as if he were an intimate acquaintance; he was entertained by the perſon who firſt received him, until all his ſtore was conſumed, and then he was conducted to the next houſe, where, though uninvited, he was received with like welcome, and taken care of until he choſe to depart; and if before he went away he demanded any thing of them, it was freely beſtowed upon him.* Nor did the Saxons after their eſtabliſhment in Britain deviate from the rules of their venerable anceſtors; their kings ſpent a large part of their revenues in the entertainment of ſtrangers, and feaſting their own nobility and attendants; their hoſpitable diſpoſition was alſo increaſed, rather than diminiſhed, by their converſion to Chriſtianity; for the clergy were commanded by the canons to make ample proviſion for the needy, and to perſuade all other people who were able to do the like.†

Their chaſtity.

Amongſt all the virtues of the ancient German people, none are more conſpicuous than their chaſtity; fornication and adultery were crimes ſcarcely ever heard of amongſt them;‡ and in general, eſpecially at the early period we are treating of, the Saxons ſeem to have carefully ſupported the character, ſo juſtly attributed to their anceſtors. It cannot be denied, that ſome few inſtances of incontinency are ſet down in the annals of the heptarchy, but they are chiefly confined to the great and powerful; and for thoſe few examples we will not too haſtily condemn a whole people.

vide it into many pieces, all of them diſtinguiſhed by a ſeparate mark; theſe are caſt upon a white garment in a promiſcuous manner, and if it be a matter that concerns the general ſtate, the prieſts, or in private matters, the maſter of the family, having prayed to the gods, looks ſtedfaſtly towards Heaven, taking up every one of the lots ſeparately three times, and maketh his determination according to the marks as they ſucceed each other. If the lots fall not auſpiciouſly, they conſult no more that day about the ſame affair; but if they do, they will try other methods, for they obſerve the ſinging of birds, and their flight, by both which they conſult their gods. It is a thing peculiar to the country to make preſages from the neighing of horſes, bred and maintained in the woods, which were generally white, and unbroken to the reins; theſe being harneſſed, and put to a ſacred chariot, are permitted to go whither they will, and the prieſt, or the prince, follows them, carefully obſerving their noiſe and neighing. Of all preſages, this is of the greateſt credit with the prieſts, noblemen, and common people, thinking themſelves miniſters of the gods, and the horſes privy to their ſecrets, &c. Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

* Tacit. de Morib. German.

† Johnſon's Canons.

‡ Tacit. de Morib. German.

A peculiar fondneſs for their parents and love for their relations, ſeems to have prevailed amongſt the Saxons and their anceſtors: it was ever held a moſt atrocious crime to murder a relation, or even to hurt him wilfully. The brothers or ſiſters children were as much eſteemed and beloved in their uncle's houſe as that of their father's; for the greater number of relations a man had, the greater was the reſpect and honour which was paid to him; and ſo it was, if any perſon offended one of this little community, he was accounted an enemy to them all; ſo on the contrary, every one who did any one of them a kindneſs, was reſpected and beloved by them all.* Their fondneſs for their parents and relations.

One of the greateſt blemiſhes upon the character of theſe people, was their proneneſs to robbery and plunder, which they always encouraged rather than diſcountenanced, ſo it was done out of their own ſtate; by this means, (for they hated all rural labour) they frequently procured their food; nay, the Saxons ſeem chiefly to have ſupported themſelves by their piracies: the youth were permitted to tread the ſame ſteps with their fathers, becauſe they might be early inured to war, and kept out of ſloth and idleneſs, to which they were very much given, inſomuch, that when they were not engaged in any war, nor out at the chace, they would lie in their beds late, and ſit whole days over their fires, made on the hearth before them.† Their proneneſs to robbery.

Our Saxon anceſtors upon their firſt arrival, were rude and unpoliſhed in their addreſs; they were alſo choleric, and apt to revenge injuries, but by no means implacable in their diſpoſitions: this truth their very laws may prove; by which even murder was forgiven, on compenſation being made to the friends of the deceaſed. The reſpectable behaviour of the Saxons, as well as of their forefathers, towards the fair-ſex, is deſervedly noted; the latter eſpecially, would conſult their wives upon any important occaſion, and liſten attentively to their advice, eſteeming ſomething ſacred to be in them, and a knowledge of future events.‡ Their addreſs & behaviour to the fair-ſex.

The marriage ceremonies amongſt the ancient Germans, were ſuch as well agreed with the Genius of the people: when the marriage was concluded upon amongſt the friends, the young couple were brought together; and the friends of the bridegroom preſented him with a pair of oxen yoaked together, a horſe with furniture, a ſhield, a ſword, and a lance; to the bride alſo arms were preſented; which they looked upon as the titular deities of matrimony; theſe arms the bride and bridegroom exchanged with each other: this done, a ſpeech was made to the bride, putting her in mind, that ſhe was now become the companion of her huſband, to ſhare with him in his labours and dangers, Marriage ceremonies of the Germans.

* Tacit de Morib. Germ.
† Ibid. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.
‡ Ibid.

gers, and that ſhe was alſo to ſuffer the ſame hadſhips with him, whether in peace or war, and run the ſame hazards; for that was the meaning of the two oxen yoaked together, as alſo the horſe with his furniture, and the reaſon why arms were reciprocally received on either ſide; thus ſhe was to live chaſtly and faithful to the day of her death, and deliver up her gifts unviolated to her children, which were afterwards again beſtowed upon their wives, and looked upon as ſacred reliques: the wife gave no dowry to the huſband, on the contrary, the huſband gave to the wife; and the parents and near kinſmen were always preſent whenever any gifts were made by the new couple, from the one to the other. The wife had always the care of her children, and ſuckled them from her own breaſt; for it was held diſgraceful amongſt them, for the mother to put her child away to be ſuckled by a nurſe or ſtrange woman.*

Funerals of the Germans.

The ancient Germans ſeldom made any very pompous funerals: the body of the deceaſed perſon was uſually taken and laid upon a pile of wood; and with the corps was conſtantly placed his arms, and ſometimes his horſe; the pile being ſet on fire, and the whole conſumed; the aſhes were uſually raked up in a heap, and over them was raiſed a mount of earth or turfs.† This, in the early ages, ſeems to have been all the monument they had; but in after times, their funerals were more magnificent, and the tombs were frequently ornamented with great ſtones. At the period above deſcribed, the only difference between the funeral of a nobleman and a common man, was, the pile of the former being made of a choicer ſort of wood. Tears and lamentations for the deceaſed, his relations ſoon forbore, though they might ſecretly mourn his loſs. It was thought becoming the women to weep for the dead, and for the men to remember them.‡

* Tacitus de Morib. Germ. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal lib. vi. The ceremonies of marriage, as uſed by the Anglo-Saxons, are deferred to the next volume, where as full an account as can be procured will be ſet down.

† In plate XV. the reader will find a repreſentation of four of theſe artificial tumuli or barrows, which are compoſed of earth, thrown up to a conſiderable height, and gradually decreaſing towards the top; the largeſt is about one hundred and twenty-four yards round and twenty-ſix high. Theſe barrows are in a field in Eſſex, near Bartlow, upon the borders of Cambridgeſhire. They are ſaid to have been erected by the ſoldiers in Canute's army, after the great battle fought between him and Edmund Ironſide, at Aſhendon; but there is great reaſon to believe that this is not true, becauſe in all probability, and indeed according to the authority of the Scala Chronicle, that battle was fought at Aſhendown, near Rochford, many miles diſtant from this place: theſe are likely very ancient; Holingſhead mentions one of them being opened, and there were found "two bodies in a ſtone coffin, one "lying with his head towards the others "feet; and many chains of iron, like "the water-chins of the bits of horſes, "were found in the ſame hill." See his Chronicle, vol. I. page 256.

‡ The funerals of the Saxons after their converſion to Chriſtianity, are purpoſely omitted here, becauſe a full account of them will be given in the ſecond volume.

As amongſt the ancient Germans it was counted honourable for a prince to have a great number of followers;* ſo amongſt the Saxons, ſervants and retainers added greatly to the ſtate and magnificence of their kings, and were beſides a proper guard for his perſon. Great trains honourable.

The diet of the Germans was plain and ſimple; it conſiſted chiefly of wild apples, freſh meats, and curds or cream.† As to the diet of the Saxons, particularly in their more improved ſtate, towards the latter end of the Heptarchy, we need not ſay much; for as they were at that period well acquainted with all the various arts of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, paſturage, and agriculture, they were well provided with all the variety of food which thoſe arts could procure, and which may be as eaſily conceived as deſcribed. The tables of the kings and noblemen abounded with the greateſt plenty of all kinds of proviſions. Their diet.

Their cookery conſiſted chiefly in three kinds, roaſting, broiling, and boiling; and all theſe appear to have been done in a plain, ſimple way; for they do not ſeem to have any idea of rich ſauces and gravies, the bane of the conſtitution; by way of ſauce, perhaps, they had herbs and all the kinds of garden ſtuff, known at that time. Their cookery.

Their drinks were chiefly ale or mead; theſe they received their knowledge of from their anceſtors the Germans: they had but little wine, and the greateſt part of what they got was imported from the continent; but of all theſe liquors they were extremely fond, and would frequently drink to great exceſs; ſo that their convivial meetings were ſeldom cloſed without a quarrel, in which ſome of the parties were often hurt, and indeed frequently ſlain.‡ Their drinks; & exceſs in drinking.

Before they ſat down to meat, it was uſual with the ancient Germans to waſh, and generally in warm water,§ which was eſteemed a kind of luxury; and was afterwards improved by their deſcendants, who were fond of hot baths, and frequently uſed them; on the contrary, the cold bath was extremely diſagreeable, inſomuch, that it was often enjoined them by the prieſts as a ſevere penance.‖ When the Germans had waſhed, they inſtantly ſat down to the table, and every man had his own ſtool, and a ſeparate diſh containing part of whatever the banquet might conſiſt of. Some traces of this cuſtom we ſhall evidently diſcover hereafter, in the moſt ancient Saxon delineations.** Manner of fitting at meat.

The diverſions of the Saxons were of three kinds; as martial exerciſes, the ſports of the field, and domeſtic amuſements, all of which they received from their anceſtors: the firſt of theſe was the practice of arms, which every one was early taught: amongſt the Germans, young men were uſed to ſtrip themſelves naked, and dance and leap between ſwords and lances, ſet up round about; and this they Their diverſions

* Tacic. de Morib. Germ.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.
‖ Johnſon's Canons.
** Tacit. ut ſup.

would

would do with the greateſt dexterity: the ſecond kind were the ſports of the field, as hunting, hawking, and the like; to which a great part of their leiſure time was conſtantly dedicated: the laſt conſiſted chiefly of gaming, for which the Germans had ſuch an irreſiſtible paſſion, and would play at dice ſo eagerly, that when they had loſt their all, they would lay their perſons and liberty upon the laſt throw; and he who was overcome, entered into a voluntary ſervitude, though he were both older and more powerful than the winner,* and ſuffer himſelf to be ſold like a ſlave. It is true, the Saxons, their deſcendants, do not ſeem in general to have gone ſuch great lengths in gaming, yet we have evident traces in ancient hiſtory of their fondneſs for this pernicious amuſement.

* Tacit. ut ſup.

END OF THE FIFTH PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

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APPENDIX.

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* Vide Borlaſs's Hiſt of Cornwall.

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* Marked Claudius B. IV.
† No. 603. ſee the Harleian catalogue.
‡ Marked Junius XI.
§ Claud. B. IV.
‖ Marked Vitellius C. 3.
** Vide Monarch. François par Monfaucon.
†† No. 603. Claud. B. IV.

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* Marked Tiberius B. V.
† Claud, B. IV.
‡ This MS. is marked Nero D. IV.
§ No. 647.
‖ Ibid.

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ERRATA.

Page 1. line 10. leave out the word *now*.
3. line 18. for *Cæſar's ſhip* read *Cæſar's ſhips*.
6. line 15. for *battles* read *bodies*.
17. line 24. for *names* read *manes*.
21. the firſt marginal note, for *Aulus Didius* read *Verannius*.
33. line 1. for *wander* read *wandered*.
Ibid. for *are* read *were*.
35. Note * for *into the Genounia* read *into Genounia*.
59. line 10. for *Acremorica* read *Aremorica*.
80. line 10. from the bottom, for *he was ſhot* read *Lothair was ſhot*.
Ibid. line 5. from the bottom, leave out the word *thus*.
83. line 6. after the word *ETHELBERT* add *(the Second.)*
92. line 7. for *part of the Ciſſas* read *part of Ciſſas*.
102. line 25. for 593 read 592.
121. line 24. for *Herefordſhire* read *Hertfordſhire*.
122. line the laſt, for *Oſwy* read *Oſweo*.
125. marginal note, for *A. D.* 746. read *A. D.* 823.
142. line 15. for 653 read 633.
Ibid. line the laſt, for *and had* read *who had*.
Ibid. for *Oſtrida* read *Oſtrid*.
143. line 3. for *the biſhop* read *archbiſhop of Canterbury*.
169. line 15. for *Eaſt-Angles* read *Eaſt-Saxons*.
191. line 23. for *Paids* read *Faids*.
269. line 26. for *that* read *which*.

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THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND;

OR, A

COMPLEAT HISTORY,

CIVIL, MILITARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITONS AND SAXONS,

FROM THE

LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

WITH A

COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, HABITS, &c. OF THOSE PEOPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH STRUTT.

VOL. II.

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M.DCC.LXXIX.

PREFACE.

THE reader has already been informed, in the preface to the former volume of this work, that the intention of it was (by way of ſupplement) to give information concerning thoſe times wherein the preceding hiſtories of Great Britain have been defective, and for this reaſon it ends with the acceſſion of William the Conqueror to the Crown; and the author hopes, that the hiſtory of our Britiſh and Saxon anceſtors, which have been ſo much neglected by former writers, will here be found ſet forth in as clear a light as the imperfect materials for ſuch a work would permit.

In the courſe of the work, no leſs than forty-two copper plates are given, which explain and illuſtrate the hiſtory of the manners and cuſtoms of the Britons, and the Saxons, which part in particular of this work no pains has been ſpared to make as compleat as poſſible; and the author preſumes, the many curious and authentic particulars relative to the dreſs and particular cuſtoms of thoſe our early anceſtors, contained in theſe volumes, cannot fail of being pleaſing, as well as highly intereſting, to an Engliſh reader. And in this volume is added an account of the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and a com-

pleat

pleat ſeries of their coins, from Egbert to Harold the Second incluſive.

The author now takes his farewell of the public, to whoſe candour he ſubmits his work, deſiring they will kindly overlook the errors they may find in it; and hopes the peruſal of it may afford them at leaſt ſome amuſement.

Duke Street, Portland Chapel,
April 20, 1778.

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CHRONICLE

OF

ENGLAND.

PART I.

From the Acceſſion of EGBERT *to the Arrival of* WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR.

Introduction to the hiſt. of Egbert.

WE left the hiſtory of Weſſex unfiniſhed in the former volume, in order to purſue, in a regular channel, the accounts of the other kingdoms which compoſed the Heptarchy. The kingdom of Weſſex being left deſtitute of an heir by the death of Beorhtric, the nobles unanimouſly agreed to ſend meſſengers to France, to invite Egbert (a young nobleman *, who had quitted Weſſex, his native country, and retired into exile) to return and take poſſeſſion of the crown. This ſummons was exceedingly agreeable to Egbert, who had left Britain only on account of the jealous diſpoſition of Beorhtric, which made his ſtay there unſafe. He had taken refuge in France under Charles the Great, where he acquired that knowledge in civil and military government, which laid the foundation of his future glory. Egbert, complying with the requeſt of the Weſt Saxons, came over into Britain with all poſſible expedition, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and crowned king by univerſal conſent. A. D. 804.

* Egbert, according to the ancient chronicles, was of the blood royal of Weſſex, deſcended from Cenred, the father of Ina, king of Weſſex, as Florentius the monk of Worceſter derives his pedigree. Cenred had two ſons, Ina and Ingils, whoſe ſon was Eoppa, whoſe ſon was Eafa, whoſe ſon was Alkmund the father of Egbert.

EGBRYHT, or EGBERT,

The seventeenth KING *of* WESSEX, *and first sole* MONARCH *of the* HEPTARCHY *.

A. D. 804.

Egbert subdues the Britons in Cornwall.

ÆGBERT was no sooner seated on the throne of Wessex, than he endeavoured to secure the hearts of his people, by his prudent government, and strict administration of justice. Thoroughly sensible of the miserable effects of indolence in a nation, he trained his subjects to arms, and restored proper discipline among them. His first wars were against the Britons inhabiting Cornwall and Devon, which commenced soon after he ascended the throne, and continued some time with various success, though Egbert generally proved victorious. At length, in a campaign, made about the year 809, he proved so successful as to reduce all Cornwall to an entire subjection †.

A. D. 818.

Another expedition against the Cornish Britons.

In the fourteenth year of his reign, he took the field against the Western Britons, with a powerful army over-ran their country, and subdued them from the most eastern to the most western parts of their possessions; so that, for a considerable time, they quietly submitted to the will of the conqueror ‡.

A. D. 823.

The Britons again overcome.

However, about the year 823, they began to be weary of their yoke, and endeavoured to shake it off. They began by commencing hostilities in the West; but the West Saxons, who inhabited the borders of Devonshire, collected a considerable body of troops, and marched against them. Both armies met at a place called Gafulford §, when a bloody battle was fought with such equal success, that neither could claim the victory. However, the power of the Welsh received so considerable a shock from this battle, that they dared not to take the field again ‖.

The battle of Hendune.

The great success of Egbert soon excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes, especially of Beornwulf, king of Mercia, who, with-

* Historians in general have agreed in placing the coronation of Egbert under the year of our Lord 800; and, indeed, that year is expressly set down in the chronicle of Ethelwerd, and also in the Saxon chronicle, as well as in several other ancient authors; but some mistakes must be in dates.—The Saxon chronicle places the death of Cuthred, king of Wessex, A. D. 754, which could not be, for Edbald, king of Mercia, was not slain until the year 757, in a battle fought against this Cuthred at Sceandune; and we have the authority of several authors, that Cuthred fought with the Britons after the battle of Sceandune, so that he could not have died before the latter end of the year 757, or, which is more probable, the beginning of the year 758. After him Sidgebryth reigned near one year, Cynewulf at least thirty, and Beorhtric full sixteen; so that the death of this last prince could not have happened before the year 804, in which very year it is probable Egbert mounted the throne of Wessex.

† Malmsb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

‡ Hen. Hunt. lib. 4.

§ Camulford in Cornwall.

‖ Chron. Sax. sub ann. 823.

out

out any apparent provocation, entered the borders of Weſſex with a powerful army, and proceeded as far as Ellendune *, where he was met by Egbert. Here a bloody engagement enſued, when Beornwulf was defeated, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his army †.

Kent and Eſſex ſubdued.

The victory obtained by Egbert at Ellendune was not the only pleaſing conſequence he derived from that battle, ſince it opened his way to the conqueſt of the neighbouring kingdoms, of which Mercia was the moſt powerful. Egbert, having properly ſecured the fruits of his conqueſt, ſent his ſon Ethelwulf with a powerful army into Kent, which ſoon ſubmitted to his victorious arms. For Baldred, the king of that province, after the loſs of one battle, fled out of Kent, and left his ſubjects to ſhift for themſelves, who, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their leader, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the conqueror, who paſſed through their territories, and croſſing the Thames, entered Eſſex, which kingdom he alſo preſently ſubdued, and chaſed their king Swithed from his throne and country ‡.

A. D. 824.

Egbert aids the Eaſt Angles againſt the Mercians.

Mercia, already diſtreſſed and weakened by the loſs of that fatal battle at Ellendune, ſoon felt the effects of Egbert's ſucceſs----for the Eaſt Angles, whoſe territory Offa had unjuſtly ſeized upon after the murder of Ethelbryhte, and added to his own dominion, thought the preſent opportunity the moſt favourable for them to break their allegiance with the Mercians, and revenge the injuries they had received. They, therefore, ſent petitions to Egbert, requeſting his aſſiſtance, which they eaſily obtained. Strengthened with this powerful alliance, they commenced hoſtilities againſt the Mercians, invaded their territories, and drove them to the greateſt diſtreſs. Beornwulf vainly fought to oppoſe the torrent which was daily increaſing; his forces gradually grew weaker, and after ſome time fighting in the defence of his falling country, he was ſlain on the field of battle §.

A. D. 825.

The death of Ludican.

After the death of Beornwulf, the Mercians elected another prince, named Ludican, who, like his predeceſſor, was ſlain the following year fighting againſt the Eaſt Angles; and was ſucceeded by Wiglaf, a prince of the royal blood of Mercia, who took upon him the government, and exerted every ability he poſſeſſed to ſave his country from ruin ‖.

A. D. 827.

Mercia and Northumberland ſubdued.

Egbert, not contented with the advantages he had already gained, raiſed a powerful army, and marched againſt Wiglaf, the king of Mer-

* Wilton near Saliſbury.
† Malmſb. Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. &c.
‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§ Ibid. Ibid.
‖ Ibid.

cia, whom he defeated, and routed with ſuch great loſs, that he dared not appear again in the field, but withdrew himſelf, not only from the purſuit of the conqueror, but alſo from the knowledge of his own people. This victory was fatal to the Mercians, who were now compelled, by neceſſity, to ſubmit to the arms of Egbert, who marched through Mercia with his army in order to invade Northumberland, which, at this time, was in the utmoſt diſorder, torn with civil diſcords and diviſions amongſt the chief rulers, and afflicted with continual inteſtine oppreſſions. In ſuch a condition, they were unable to reſiſt the powerful arms of Egbert, who was haſting towards them; they therefore ſent ambaſſadors to meet him as ſoon as he was advanced to Dore in Yorkſhire, and ſubmitted to him without trying the fate of a ſingle battle*.

A. D. 828. Egbert, in the beginning of the year 828, returned from Northumberland, and entering Mercia, reſtored Wiglaf to the throne, after he had been reduced to the condition of a private man, if not to that of an exile, having paſſed four months of his abſence in a cell belonging to his couſin Etheldrida at Croyland †.——It is uncertain whether Egbert was induced to act thus through pity for the unfortunate man, or whether it was the better to pleaſe the Mercians with the appearance of a king of their own. Indeed, it was but in appearance, for Wiglaf at beſt was but little more than a viceroy under the conqueror.

Wiglaf reſtored to the throne of Mercia.

Egbert's expedition into North Wales.

The ſame year Egbert marched with a powerful army into North Wales; for their having aſſiſted their ſouthern brethren was a ſufficient plea for directing his arms againſt them. After ſeveral bloody battles, which generally ended in favour of Egbert, the whole kingdom of North Wales was ſubdued; and the Welſh were entirely driven out of their great city of Caer Legion ‡. The Welſh, however, made repeated ſtruggles to regain their liberty; but by the vigilance of Egbert, all their endeavours were prevented, and their attempts only contributed to make their oppreſſions the greater; for Egbert, incenſed at their obſtinate reſiſtance, enacted a ſevere law againſt them, whereby they were forbidden, on pain of death, to paſs the dyke which Offa had formerly made to divide the kingdom of Mercia from the poſſeſſions of the Welſh §.

Egbert takes upon him the ſole monarchy.

Egbert, after all theſe ſucceſsful undertakings, returned to Weſſex, where he applied himſelf to the regulation and prudent government of the conquered kingdoms; and ſome time, about this period, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of the whole Heptarchy, which

* Ibid.
† Ingulphus Hiſt. of Croyland.
‡ Or Caer Leyon, Weſt Cheſter.

§ Some authors ſay this law was owing to the council of Red-burga, the wife of Egbert.

was

was done with great pomp at Wincheſter; and he then gave the name of England to all his dominions *.

About four years after Egbert's return to Weſſex, the Danes (who had firſt ſhewn themſelves in Britain, about the year 793, during the reign of Beorthric, the predeceſſor of Egbert) landed in the iſland of Shepy, where they miſerably deſtroyed the country, and pillaged the inhabitants; nor were they driven from thence without much difficulty.-----The ſame year, or early in the beginning of the next, another party of theſe pirates arrived in thirty-five ſhips, and began to ravage the weſtern parts of the kingdom, againſt whom Egbert haſted with his army, and came up with them at a place called Carrum †, where a bloody and obſtinate battle was fought, which proved very unfavourable to the Engliſh, for two of the chief captains in their army, Dudda and Oſmond, beſides two biſhops, Herefrid of Wincheſter, and Wigfrid of Sherbourne, together with a prodigious number of common ſoldiers, were left dead on the field; for the Danes proving victorious, preſſed ſo cloſely upon the Engliſh that they were put to flight, Egbert himſelf eſcaping with difficulty under cover of the night ‡. A. D. 832. The Danes land in England, and the battle of Carrum.

Two years afterwards, a ſtrong party of the Danes landed in Weſt Wales, and united their forces with thoſe of the Britons, who gladly embraced this opportunity of revenging themſelves upon the Engliſh. Theſe two armies, therefore, began to pillage and deſtroy the borders of the dominion of Egbert, who, in the mean time, was not idle, but collected a powerful army, and marching forward to meet the invaders, came up with them at a place called Hengeſtdune §, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Danes, and their confederates, were defeated with great ſlaughter. A. D. 835. The Danes join the Britons, and are overcome by Egbert.

Either the firſt or ſecond year after this victory was gained, Egbert appears to have again attacked the Danes, and to have put them to flight with conſiderable loſs, after a very bloody battle; but the place where the two armies met is not recorded ‖. From this time, to the end of this monarch's reign, we do not find that any thing further happened to diſturb his repoſe. A. D. 837. Another battle againſt the Danes.

* He cauſed commiſſion (ſays Hollingſhead) to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to give commandement that, from thence forward, all people inhabiting within this land ſhould be called *Engliſhmen*, and not *Saxons*, and the land ſhould be called England, by one general name ----though (adds he) it ſhould appear that it was called ſo ſhortly after the firſt time that the Angles and Saxons got poſſeſſion thereof. Hol. vol. 1. fol. 204.

† Near the river Carr in Dorſetſhire, Milt. Hiſt. Eng. p. 224.

‡ Simon Dunelm: Hen. Hunt. lib. 4. Mat. Weſt. Chron. Sax. ſub ann. dom. 833, &c.

§ Or Hengiſt's Hill.

‖ Mat. Weſt. ſub. an. 836.

Egbert,

The death of Egbert.

Egbert, after he had reigned ſix and thirty years in greater glory than any of his predeceſſors, bid adieu to this world, and ſought a refuge from all his troubles in another.----His death is ſaid to have happened the fourth day of February, in the year four hundred and forty, and his remains were interred, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral church at Wincheſter.

The perſon and character of Egbert.

This prince, as we are told, was but of a middling ſtature, but his limbs were ſtrong, and well proportioned. He was of a lively and chearful diſpoſition, valiant in the field, and wiſe in council, poſſeſſing every requiſite to render him a great general, and a perfect ſtateſman. His unbounded ambition is clearly evident from his great undertaking, in which he was particularly fortunate, loſing only one battle, (that which he fought againſt the Danes at Carrum) amongſt the numbers to which his various expeditions led him *.

The wife of Egbert.

The wife of Egbert was named Red-burga; but the parentage of this lady is not recorded.----She was, by a law made amongſt the Weſt Saxons, (on account of the wicked Eadburge, who poiſoned her huſband Beorhtric, king of Weſſex, as we have already obſerved †) deprived of the title and honours of a queen. Some, however, have not ſpared to affirm, that ſhe had a great aſcendancy over the mind of her huſband, and that the ſevere law made againſt the Britons, as above related, was at her inſtigation ‡. By Red-burga, Egbert had iſſue two ſons and one daughter.

The iſſue of Egbert.

Ethelwulf, the eldeſt ſon of Egbert, was, in his infancy, committed to the care of Helmeſtan, biſhop of Wincheſter, by whom he was educated with the greateſt circumſpection, and trained up in learning and virtue; nor were martial exerciſes, or ſuch knowledge as was neceſſary to render him fit to take upon him the command of armies, neglected, as may be witneſſed by the conqueſts he obtained in his father's life time, both in Kent and Eſſex. This prince ſucceeded his father in the kingdom.

Athelſtan, the younger ſon of king Egbert, was, by his father, deputed vice-roy over the conquered provinces of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex §, which he valiantly defended againſt the inſurrections of the Danes, as we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to obſerve.

Edgitha, the daughter of Egbert, was brought up to a monaſtic life. After the deceaſe of her father, her brother Ethelwulf committed her to the care of Modervina, a religious devotee in Ireland, who was much reputed for the holineſs of her life.--She afterwards built a nunnery at Polleſworth in Arden, on the north border of Warwick-

* Florent. Worceſt.

† Vol. 1. page 119.

‡ Johan Bever.

§ In various charters which are yet remaining of Ethelwulf's, this prince, (his brother,) has ſubſcribed his name as a witneſs ---An original one is preſerved in the Cotton Library, where he has ſigned himſelf + Æthelſtan Rex. This book is marked Auguſtus 2, and the charter is No. 25.

ſhire,

ſhire, upon a ſpot of ground which her brother Ethelwulf gave her for that purpoſe, and herſelf became abbeſs there, where ſhe died, and was buried.---Her ſanctity of life was ſuch that ſhe was ſainted after her death, and the place was called (by corruption) from her name, Saint Editha's of Polleſworth.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELWULF.

The ſecond Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 840. ÆTHELWULF, the eldeſt ſon of Egbert, ſucceeded him in the monarchy, while his brother Æthelſtan held the viceroyſhip over the conquered provinces of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex.

Æthelwulf's natural tendency towards a religious life.

Æthelwulf was called to the crown, notwithſtanding that during his father's reign, he ſeemed to incline to a religious life. He had been placed firſt under the tuition of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and afterwards of a monk, named Swithen, a man of great learning and exemplary piety. He even took upon him the profeſſion of a monk, and was made a deacon. Some hiſtorians have affirmed, that upon the death of Helmſtan, his firſt preceptor, he was elected, if not conſecrated biſhop of Wincheſter;----but after the deceaſe of his father, being firſt abſolved from his religious vows by Pope Gregory, he reſigned his mitre to Swithen, and aſcended the throne of his anceſtors in the year 840*.

The deceaſe of Wiglaf, king of Mercia.

About this time, or perhaps juſt before the death of Egbert, Wiglaf, the ſubſtitute king of Mercia, died. Wiglaf ſeems peaceably to have enjoyed his kingdom, from the time of his being reinſtated by Egbert, until the day of his death.---He left behind him his widow-queen, named Cynethryth, by whom he had two children, who alſo out-lived him. Wigmund, a ſon †.---This prince married Elfleda, daughter of Coelwulf, king of Mercia; but he ſucceeded not his father in the government of that kingdom---and Edburga, a daughter, who married Ethelan, an earl of the province of Lincoln. Wiglaf was ſucceeded by Beortulf, who, like his predeceſſor, was tributary to the king of Weſſex.

Diſturbances occaſioned by the Danes.

In the firſt year of the reign of this prince, a large army of Danes, with a fleet of thirty-three ſhips, infeſted the borders of Weſſex, and at laſt landed at Southampton, where they deſtroyed every thing before them. Æthelwulf no ſooner heard of their arrival than he collected what forces he could, and ſent them to Southampton under the

* Rog. Hoveden. John Brompton. J. Redbourn; the laſt ſays only, "fuit dici-" pulus S. Swithini, &c. vid. fol. 120.

† The name of this ſon appears amongſt the witneſſes to an original charter made by Wiglaf, ſigned thus.

† Þꝛo Wiglaf Rex † Þꝛo Cynethryth Regina † Þꝛo Wigmund filius Regis.

This charter is dated 831, and is in the Cotton Library, preſerved in a large book marked Auguſtus 2. No. 89.

con-

conduct of a valiant chieftain, named Vulfheard, who coming up with the Danes, defeated their army after a bloody encounter, and put them to flight with prodigious ſlaughter. In the mean time, another party of the Danes had landed at Portſmouth, againſt whom Æthelwulf diſpatched another of his principal officers, named Æthelhelm, at the head of the people of Dorſet. A ſharp engagement enſued between the two armies, in which the Saxons at firſt had the ſuperiority; but the Danes (being reinforced from time to time) at laſt prevailed, and drove their oppoſers from the field with the loſs of their leader, and a conſiderable part of their army *.

Freſh attempts of the Danes.

The great ſucceſs of the Danes in their laſt attempt made them ſtill more audacious in their undertaking, ſo that the following year they came over into England in greater numbers, and at a place called Mereſware, engaged with an army of the Saxons conducted by a chieftain named Herebryht. After a ſharp conflict, the Saxons were put to flight with the loſs not only of their leader, but alſo of the greater part of their army. Theſe fortunate beginnings ſeemed to open ſo fair a proſpect of future ſucceſs, that other companies of theſe invaders were continually coming over into England. A ſtrong party of them landed at Lindſey, whilſt others over-ran the kingdom of the eaſt Angles; and a third body landed in Kent, where, like an irreſiſtible torrent, they bore down every thing before them, plundering the country, burning the towns, and wantonly murdering the miſerable inhabitants †.

A. D. 842.

The Danes purſue their conqueſts.

Animated by the victories already obtained, they returned again the following year with their armies conſiderably reinforced, and landed on the borders of Kent, meeting with but little reſiſtance. They penetrated further into the heart of the kingdom than they had heretofore done, and deſtroying the country round Canterbury and Rocheſter, they continued their deſtructive march even to London ‡.

A. D. 843.

The battle of Carrum.

Æthelwulf, who in the mean time had been greatly harraſſed by the frequent and various invaſions of theſe free-booters, gathered a large army together, and the following year marched againſt their combined forces, who landing from a fleet of thirty-five ſhips, had advanced as far as Carrum. At this place another ſevere engagement enſued, in which Fortune ſtill favoured the attempts of the Danes; and the Saxons, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were driven out of the field, whilſt their adverſaries maintained the ground they had gained §.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 837.
† Chron. Sax. &c. &c.
‡ Ibid. ibid.
§ Id. ibid.

A. D. 845. The people of Somerſetſhire, about two years afterwards, under the conduct of Eanwulf, a valiant chieftain, and aſſiſted by Eaſtan, a biſhop, and Oſric, another leader, at the head of an army from Dorſetſhire, marched againſt the Danes, and falling ſuddenly upon them, obtained a compleat victory. The Danes, flying from the field, were purſued as far as the river Pendridan *. So little did the Danes expect this ſudden attack, and ſo conſiderable was their loſs, that deſpairing of being able for the preſent to make head againſt the Saxons, they withdrew from the ſouthern parts, which ſeem, for near the ſpace of ſix years, to have remained undiſturbed by theſe lawleſs invaders.

The Danes defeated.

A. D. 850. About this time, various parties of the Danes landed in the northern parts of the iſland, and pillaged the neighbouring counties, eſpecially Northumberland, whoſe inhabitants heavily felt the cruel oppreſſions of their ſavage invaders †; but unhappily, the accounts which are handed down to us of theſe tranſactions are ſo very obſcure, that nothing regular or certain can be diſcovered, not even the ſucceſſion of the rulers; for though a variety of names are found in ſeveral hiſtorians of kings and chieftains, yet the time they aſſumed the direction of affairs, or over what part of the province they preſided, is very uncertain ‡. The inhabitants of Northumberland were at this time divided amongſt themſelves, and governed occaſionally by rulers of their own chuſing, who were ſuddenly advanced to their dignity by one party, and as ſuddenly diſplaced when another prevailed. By theſe inteſtine diſcords their country was left open to the attacks of the common enemy, the Danes, who improved every opportunity that promiſed ſucceſs.

Diſturbances in the North.

A. D. 851. The year after the commencement of theſe troubles in the north, the Danes returned again to the ſouth, and landed in Weſſex. The alarm was no ſooner given of their arrival, than the inhabitants of Devonſhire, with earl Ceorl at their head, advanced againſt them, and in a bloody battle (which was fought at a place called Weganbeorche) the Danes were put to flight with prodigious ſlaughter §. About the ſame time, another party of the Danes, who with a fleet of ſhips had infeſted the ſea coaſts of Kent, were alſo defeated by Æthelſtan, king of that province, aſſiſted by his general Ealchere. In this encounter the Danes loſt, not only a great part of their army, but alſo nine of their ſhips, which were taken by the Kentiſh men. This victory was obtained near Sandwich; but ſuch is the negligence of the early hiſtorians, that it is impoſſible to ſay whether the battle was fought by ſea or land ||.

The Danes defeated in two battles.

* Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd H. Hunt. &c.
† S. Dunelm.
‡ Vide Holingſhead, vol. 1. fol. 202.
§ Chron. Sax. an. 851.
|| Henry Huntingdon & Rog. Hoveden; indeed, both of them have it "navali præ-"lio," but the Saxon authors are ſilent upon this head.

Shortly

Shortly after this action, Æthelſtan, king of Kent, the eldeſt ſon of Æthelwulf, died, and was ſucceeded in his government by Ethelbryht his brother, the ſecond ſon of Æthelwulf. The death of Æthelſtan, king of Kent.

The two important victories obtained this year againſt the Danes, prevented not a continuation of their invaſions; for not long after their laſt defeat, a ſtrong party of them, in fifty of their largeſt ſhips *, entered the mouth of the Thames, and made excurſions as far as Canterbury, which they deſtroyed, and from thence proceeded to London, which ſhared the ſame miſerable fate †. Beorhtulf, king of Mercia, collected what forces he could, and made head againſt the Danes; but being overcome in a bloody battle, he fled, and left the kingdom to the mercy of the conquerors, who ſoon after croſſed the Thames into Surry, and proceeded as far as Ocley. In the mean time, Æthelwulf (who had been employed in raiſing forces to oppoſe the Danes) had now collected a very powerful army, and being informed of the motions of the enemy, ſo ordered his marches, that he came up with them on their arrival at Ocley. In this place, a long and bloody battle was fought between the two armies, in which Fortune ſo far favoured the Saxons, that the Danes were totally overthrown with ſuch prodigious ſlaughter as had never before been experienced. Further diſturbances from the Danes, and the battle of Ocley.

After this defeat, the remnant of the Daniſh army, who eſcaped the carnage, fled before the conquerors, and ſought refuge in the iſle of Thanet, where they abode the whole winter. This is obſerved by ancient hiſtorians to have been the firſt winter they remained on this iſland, having been accuſtomed to quit it at the approach of that ſeaſon, and return to their native lands ‡. Whether it was through fear of being intercepted by the Saxons in their courſe, or the ſhame of returning with the ignominy of ſuch a conſiderable defeat, cannot be determined. However, their ſpirits were ſo much dejected by ſo great and unexpected a loſs, that they were fearful of recommencing the war with the Saxons till they were forced to it in their own defence, as will hereafter appear.

Beorhtulf, king of Mercia, who was driven from the kingdom by the Danes, as has been already related, reigned (ſubſtitute for Æthelwulf) eleven years, during which time he does not appear to have performed any actions of conſequence worthy of being recorded.----He had a queen whoſe name was Sæthryth, and a ſon named Berhtric §. Some account of Beorhtulf, king of Mercia.

* Thus ſays the Saxon chronicle. Aſſerius (in vit. Ælfredi, fol. 1.) declares, there were 350, with whom Ethelwerd agrees; though Huntingdon and Hoveden ſay 250, but on what authority may be doubted.

† Ethelwerd, &c. Chron. Sax. ſub an. 851.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub an. 851. Ethelwerd, Hunt. Hoveden, &c.

§ This appears from an old charter of Beorhtulf's, dated 845, in which his queen and ſon ſign their names thus:

† Þꝛo Sæþꝛyþ Regina,
† Beꝛhtꝛic fil. Regiꝛ.

The

A. D. 853. Expedition against the Britons of North Wales.

After the expulſion of Beorhtulf, and the conqueſt of the Danes at Ocley, Burhred was appointed by Æthelwulf to the government of Mercia under him. Two years elapſed before any appearance of war called the Saxons to the field; but in the year 853, the Britons of North Wales (who had ſo long continued inactive) began to make incroachments upon the territories of Burhred, who, by the advice of his council, implored the aſſiſtance of Æthelwulf, that he might be in a condition to take the field immediately, and by ſuddenly attacking his enemy, gain a deciſive victory, which would ſecure the repoſe of his kingdom. Æthelwulf complied with the requeſt of Burhred, and perſonally led his army into Mercia, where, being joined by the forces of the Mercians, he opened his campaign againſt the Britons with ſuch ſucceſs, that they were ſpeedily brought under ſubjection, and peace again reſtored *.

The Danes overcome.

Whilſt Æthelwulf was thus employed againſt the Britons, Ealchere (the general who aſſiſted Æthelſtan againſt the Danes in the battle which was fought at Sandwich, as before related) with a large army of Kentiſhmen, joined by Hudda, another chieftain, at the head of a powerful reinforcement from Suſſex, attacked the Danes, who ſtill remained in the iſle of Thanet, and obtained a dear-bought victory, great numbers having fallen by the ſword on both ſides, beſides many who periſhed in the waters †.

Æthelwulf marries his daughter to Burhred.

Æthelwulf, ſoon after his return from Wales, gave his only daughter Æthelſwitha in marriage to Burhred, king of Mercia. The marriage was celebrated at Chippingham in Wiltſhire, where Æthelwulf then abode. Not long after this marriage, Æthelwulf ſent his ſon Ælfred, a child of five years of age, to Rome, accompanied by a noble retinue, where Ælfred was conſecrated king by Pope Leo ‡,

The Danes remove to Sheppy.

Towards the latter end of the year, the Danes, who had not yet recovered their ſtrength, left the iſle of Thanet, and, for the firſt time, made their abode in the iſle of Sheppy §.

A. D. 854. The clergy exempted from taxes, and military ſervices.

The prejudices of a Monkiſh education very ſtrongly affected the mind of Æthelwulf, who, in the year 854, dedicated the tenth part of the revenue of his own lands, and thoſe of his ſubjects, to the uſe of the clergy, who were, at this time, exempted from all military ſervices

The charter is preſerved in the Cotton Library, in a book marked Tiberius, A. 3. Speed gives this king another ſon, whoſe name he calls Berefred, and ſays he was the cauſe of the martyrdom of St. Wyſtan. Speed Chron. fol. 253.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 853. Simon Dunelm. &c.

† Chron. Sax. ut ſup. Aſſerius, Hen. Hunt & Hoveden ſay, that both the Engliſh leaders were ſlain—others are ſilent upon that head, but declare the victory remained doubtful.

‡ Chron. Sax. &c.

§ Ibid. ibid.

vices or taxes of any kind. In return for theſe miſplaced bounties, the clergy were obliged to ſay maſſes, to make continual prayer for the welfare of the king and his nobles, and to implore heaven to enable them to vanquiſh thoſe lawleſs enemies who were daily infeſting the kingdom *.

Ætheiwulf's journey to Rome.

Some time after, Æthelwulf, thinking that this proof of his religious zeal was not ſufficiently conſpicuous, undertook a journey to Rome, attended by many of his nobles. He alſo took with him his young ſon Ælfred, then but lately returned to Weſſex from his firſt journey. Æthelwulf, and his retinue, being well received at Rome, they continued there a year at leaſt; during which time he repaired the Engliſh ſchool which had been founded there by Offa, the great king of the Mercians, but was now falling to decay. He alſo performed ſeveral other pious acts; and in return for the kind reception he met with from the Pope, he cauſed a penny to be collected from every houſe in his dominions to be ſent yearly to Rome, partly for the uſe of the Pope himſelf, and partly for other religious purpoſes †. It is alſo ſaid, that he paid yearly three hundred marks to the Pope, to be diſpoſed of in the following manner: one hundred for the lights in the church of Saint Peter; another hundred for the lights in the church of Saint Paul; and the other hundred for the uſe of the Pope himſelf.

A D. 855. Æthelwulf marries the daughter of the French king.

Æthelwulf, after he left Rome, returned home through France, and ſtopped ſome time at the court of Charles the Bald, who then reigned there. During his ſtay in France, he fell in love with Judith, daughter to Charles, to whom he was married with great pomp. Some time after the celebration of the nuptials, Æthelwulf returned to his own dominions, having been abſent full two years ‡.

A. D. 856. The rebellion of Æthelbald.

While Æthelwulf had been thus employed abroad, Æthelbald, his eldeſt ſon, joined by ſome powerful noblemen, had formed a dangerous rebellion at home. The chief abettors of this treaſon were Echſtan, biſhop of Shirborn, and Eanwulf, earl of Somerſet. Upon the return of Æthelwulf to Britain, the rebellious party took the field, and appeared in arms againſt him. They, however, endeavoured to cover their revolt with ſome ſhew of juſtice, alledging that Æthelwulf had

*Vide W. Malmſb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2. & alia.

† The pennys thus collected were after called Romeſcot, or Peter Pence—and was firſt granted by Offa to be gathered throughout Mercia. Æthelwulf therefore renewed and extended this ſelf ſame grant. An old French chronicle, ſaid to have been written by a monk of Canterbury, contains as follows: "*Ciſt Ethelwulf dona la dune hide de tute Weſtſexe a deu franche equite de tut ſeculeres ſervices pur peſtre e veſtir le poveres et pus ala a Rome e dona a ſein pere cheſcun an de cheſcun meiſun dengletere i dener ke lom apele dener ſein pere ceo fu celi ke prienes dona la don cheſcun an treis cenz Beſanz a Rome lun cent a ſeint pere a luminarie - lautre a ſeint Pol -- le tierz a la Poſtoille.* This is from a M. S. preſerved in the Cotton Library marked Galba E. 3.

‡ Chron. Sax. &c.

taken

taken his youngeſt ſon abroad, and cauſed him to be conſecrated and crowned king, to the prejudice of Æthelbald, to whom the crown of Weſſex belonged by birthright----moreover, that in his return to his own kingdom he had married a foreign woman, and brought her home with him; and, contrary to the eſtabliſhed law of Weſſex, had conferred on her the title of queen, and placed her upon the throne *. ——This rebellion had a moſt alarming appearance, for the whole kingdom was divided in their intereſts, ſome ſiding with the father, and ſome with the ſon; but, at the time when both parties ſeemed ripe for actual war, this terrible cloud, which threatened the ruin of the ſtate, diſperſed, and that without the leaſt fatal conſequences; for Æthelwulf, who was naturally of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, rather than hazard ſo deſtructive a war, pacified his rebellious ſon by ceding to him a conſiderable part of his dominions †.

A. D. 858. Æthelwulf died two years after his return from Rome, and his body was enterred with great ſolemnities in Wincheſter cathedral ‡. Æthelwulf was a man of mild and amiable diſpoſition, naturally more inclined to peace than to war; yet when his country's ſafety rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to take up arms, he led his armies to the field, and, by his own perſonal valour, ſet an example worthy the imitation of his followers. The miſtaken notions he had imbibed in his youth from a monaſtic education, often led him into a wrong ſyſtem of politics, and ſo far engaged his attention at laſt, that following the faſhionable ſuperſtition of the times, he neglected the more material buſineſs of the ſtate.

The death and character of Æthelwulf.

The wives and iſſue of Æthelwulf.

Æthelwulf had two wives; of which the firſt was Oſburga, the daughter of a great officer in the court of Æthelwulf §, named Oſlac, who is ſaid to have been a deſcendant from the family of Stuf and Witgar, two Saxon noblemen, nephews to Cerdic firſt king of Weſſex, who ſettled in the iſle of Wight ‖. By this lady Æthelwulf had four ſons ¶, Æthelbald, Æthelbryht, Æthered and Ælfred, who all ſucceſſively

* Concerning this law, and the reaſon why it was made, ſee page 119, vol. 1. of this work.—— Carte ſays concerning this matter, that Æthelwulf gave offence to the children of the firſt marriage, who either did not like their ſtep-mother, or were alarmed at ſome ceremonies, ſuch as anointing her with oil, and putting a crown upon her head: ceremonies not yet adopted into the Engliſh ceremonial, but uſed by Hinomar, archbiſhop of Reims at her marriage.—Carte's general Hiſt. of England.

† Aſſerius ſays, all the weſtern, as well as the beſt part of his dominions.

‡ Speed informs us, that he was buried firſt at a place called Stamry, where he died, but was afterwards taken up, and reburied in Wincheſter cathedral.

§ "Famoſi pincerna Reg. Edelwulfi," Sim. Dunelm.

‖ See page 95 & 97. vol. 1.

¶ Speed from Copgrave makes mention of a fifth ſon of Æthelwulf's, named Neote, who, adds he was, in his youth, brought

ceſſively ſucceeded to the throne. He had alſo by Oſburga a daughter, Æthelſwitha, who was married to Burhred, king of Mercia, as hath been already mentioned. The ſecond wife of Æthelwulf was Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France, a lady of great beauty, but by him ſhe had no iſſue.

brought up at Glaſtonbury; and afterwards proved a man of great learning in the univerſity of Oxford, founded by his brother Ælfred; from thence he went to Cornwall, where he founded a monaſtery, which was after his deceaſe called Neoteſtock. When he died, his body was enterred with great ſolemnity in the county of Huntington, at a place then called Amilfeſbury, but after St. Neot's in honour of him. Speed's Chron.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELBALD.

The third Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 858. ÆTHELBALD, who by rebellion in his father's life time, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the larger and better part of his dominions, at his death ſucceeded to the whole. Soon after he aſcended the throne, he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, who had been his father's wife, which inceſtuous action, in open violation of the chriſtian laws, juſtly excited the hatred of his ſubjects; and it is probably owing to the indifference of his character that ſo little is recorded of the tranſactions of his ſhort reign *.

Æthelbald marries his father's wife.

During the time that Æthelbald ſat upon the throne, the Danes appear to have remained in perfect peace. It is probable, that the defeats they had received towards the latter end of the reign of Æthelwulf were ſo deciſive, that they had not as yet recovered ſtrength ſufficient to renew the war with the Saxons.

The Danes continue in peace during the reign of Æthelbald.

A. D. 860. After a reign of two years Æthelbald died, and his body was buried at Sherborne †. To delineate the character of this prince with any certainty, is impoſſible. As he was by no means a favourite of the clergy, the monkiſh writers have ſuppreſſed, or haſtily paſſed over his amiable qualities, and drawn only the dark ſhades of his character ‡; yet, whatever were his errors, he wanted not perſonal valour, of which he gave ſignal proof, while fighting under his father, at the battle of Ocley, where the Danes received ſo ſignal a defeat.

Æthelbald's deceaſe, &c.

After the death of Æthelbald, his wife Judith was ſent back to France; and, as ſhe was returning to her father's court, ſhe was ſeized upon by Baldwin, a nobleman, in the foreſt of Arden, and by him detained till ſhe conſented to marry him. Some time after, Baldwin, being reconciled to Charles, king of France, his father-in-law, he was by him created earl of Flanders. By this lady Baldwin had iſſue a ſon, named Baldwin after his father, who married Ælfreda, the youngeſt daughter of Ælfred the Great.——Æthelbald left no iſſue to ſucceed him in the kingdom.

The wife of Æthelbald returns to France.

* Aſſerius vit. Ælfredi, &c.

† Chron. Sax. ſub an. 860.

‡ Huntington, it is true, makes mention of this prince in a very favourable light; and Mat. Weſt. declares, that he repented of his inceſtuous marriage; but Aſſerius, who lived at that time, makes not the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELBRYHT.

The fourth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

ÆTHELBRYHT, who from the time of his uncle Æthelſtan's death, had held the viceroyſhip of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, upon the deceaſe of his brother Æthelbald, ſucceeded to the throne of Weſſex, and his younger brother Æthered was promoted to the viceroyſhip which he himſelf before poſſeſſed *. A. D. 860. Æthelbryht ſucceeds his brother.

Soon after the coronation of Æthelbryht, the Danes (who had now recovered their ſtrength by the arrival of freſh parties) made a deſcent upon the ſouthern parts of Weſſex, and proceeded as far as Wincheſter, which city they deſtroyed, and pillaged the country round about; but as they were returning to their ſhips in triumph, loaded with their ſpoils, they were unexpectedly met by a large army of the Saxons, commanded by Oſric, earl of Hampton, and Æthelwulf, earl of Berkſhire. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the Danes were routed with great ſlaughter, and the remnant that eſcaped fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their ſhips, leaving all their booty behind them in the poſſeſſion of the Saxon army †. This ſignal defeat damped the courage of the Danes, who returned home diſheartened, and ceaſed, for a conſiderable time, to moleſt the quiet of the Saxons. The Danes ſpoil Wincheſter, and are defeated.

Æthelbryht now ruled over his dominions in profound tranquillity upwards of four years, at which time the Danes, having ſtrongly reinforced their army, landed in the iſle of Thanet, and, in the heat of their revenge, pillaged and deſtroyed the country wherever they came; but ſoon after they made a league with the inhabitants of Kent, that, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money being paid to them, they would ceaſe all hoſtilities.----But ſoon after the commencement of the truce, the Danes, contrary to their ſolemn engagements, left their ſtrong holds by night, and waſted all the eaſtern parts of Kent; nor did they meet with much reſiſtance, for the miſerable inhabitants depending upon the continuation of the peace, were diſperſed, each following his ſeparate employment at his own home, unſuſpicious of any danger. This breach of the truce being quickly made known throughout A. D. 865. Breach of the truce, and defeat of the Danes.

* Chron. Sax. &c. † Ibid. &c.

all Kent, the people inſtantly armed to revenge themſelves, and ſoon forming large parties, they made head againſt the Danes, whom they routed with great ſlaughter, and at laſt drove them entirely out of the country *.

A. D. 866. Early in the beginning of the following year Æthelbryht died, much lamented by his ſubjects, whom he had governed upwards of five years in a prudent manner, and by whom he was dearly loved.----So haſtily have the ancient hiſtorians paſſed over the life and actions of this prince, that it is impoſſible to delineate his character with any perfection; yet, from the feeble tracings that are left, we diſcover the features of a virtuous diſpoſition, and many amiable qualities. His remains were interred, with great ſolemnity, at Shirborne †.

The death of Æthelbryht.

If he was ever married, the name of his wife is now unknown, and the iſſue, which are attributed to him, are rather uncertain. They are ſaid to have been two ſons, Ethelm and Ethelwald, both mentioned in the will of king Ælfred as his brother's children; the latter of theſe proved a dangerous enemy to his firſt couſin Edward the elder, the ſon of Ælfred the Great.

The ſuppoſed iſſue of Æthelbryht.

* Aſſerius in vit. Ælfredi, & Chron. Sax. ſub an. 865, &c. † Ibid.

ÆTHERED,

ÆTHERED, or ÆTHELRED.

The fifth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

ÆTHERED, the third ſon of Æthelwulf, ſucceeded his brother in the government of the Heptarchy. As ſoon as he aſcended the throne of Weſſex, he took into his own hands the provinces of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, which had before been held by the next heir to the crown. His younger brother, Ælfred, however, at the coronation of Æthered made a demand of theſe provinces in the preſence of all the nobility then aſſembled; alledging, at the ſame time, that he grounded his demand on the promiſe of Æthered, that he ſhould have them upon his coming to the throne of Weſſex, which promiſe Æthered now refuſed to perform. The diſpute was ſettled by a new agreement, that Æthered ſhould hold thoſe provinces in his own hand during his life, and that the whole of the kingdom ſhould deſcend to his brother Ælfred upon his deceaſe; and that, in the mean time, Ælfred ſhould have his ſhare of all the lands which ſhould be conquered by their joint forces; alſo, that their ſons ſhould ſucceed one another in their order; and, whoever ſhould be the ſurvivor, was to give the other's children all thoſe lands that the father was made heir to by Æthelwulf, as well as all that he ſhould acquire by conqueſt. This joint agreement was ratified and confirmed in a full council of all the nobility of Weſſex held at Swinburne *. A. D. 866

Agreement between Æthered and Ælfred.

In the firſt year of the reign of Æthered, the Danes again returned to England. They came now with a numerous army (under the conduct of two noblemen, who were brothers, named Hingnar and Hubba) in a powerful fleet, and landed on the borders of the province of the Eaſt Angles, where they continued during the winter, making a league with the inhabitants, on certain conditions, to forbear all hoſtilities for a time.

The Danes land in the Eaſt Angles.

In the ſpring of the year following, the Daniſh hoſt left the province of the Eaſt Angles, and paſſing beyond the Humber, entered A. D. 867.

The Danes go to Northumber and.

* See Carte's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. page 296 & 297.

the kingdom of Northumberland, and proceeded as far as York *. In their courſe they met with an army of Northumbers, led by Oſbryht, who, with Ælla, another uſurping prince, held the government of Northumberland at that time. A ſharp engagement enſued between the Danes and the Northumbers, which ended in the favour of the former; for the latter were put to flight with the loſs of their king, and the greater part of their army. This unfortunate defeat of the Northumbers opened a free paſſage to the Danes, who, when they arrived at York, took poſſeſſion of that city †. While they continued there, Ælla was informed of the overthrow of his co-partner Oſbryht, and learning where the Danes reſided, he collected all the forces he could, and marched out againſt them. In the mean time, the Danes continued at York, waiting his arrival. When he approached the city, they came out againſt him, and, in a pitched battle, the Northumbers were again overthrown with the loſs of the greater part of their army, and of Ælla their king, who was ſlain upon the ſpot; and from him, the place where the battle was fought, was after called Ælla-croſt ‡. Theſe two kings being thus ſlain, and the chief force of the Northumbers cut to pieces, the whole province was left, as it were, defenceleſs, and open to the marches of the Danes, who looked upon their footing as ſo firmly eſtabliſhed there, that they ſet up a king of their own named Guthred, who governed the whole kingdom §.

Reaſons for the rapid progreſs of the Danes in Northumberland.

It is ſufficiently evident, that the Northumbers were reduced to this miſerable condition by their own neglect; for inſtead of maintaining unity and order amongſt themſelves, they were divided into parties, and at continual variance with each other. Even the princes or kings, whom they ſet up over them, ſeem to have paid ſo little regard to juſtice, that their reigns were diſturbed with continual rebellions; nay, it is affirmed by ſome authors, that the intemperate luſt and ignorance of Oſbryht excited the reſentment of one of his chief nobles, who, in order to revenge himſelf, fled to the Danes, and perſuaded them to undertake the conqueſt of Northumberland ‖. Whilſt things were in this

* Some authors have declared, that the Danes firſt ſpoiled the iſland of Lindiſforne before they entered Northumberland, vid. S. Dunelm.

† Aſſerius in vit. Ælfredi, Chron. Sax. ſub an. 867.

‡ Ibid, & Simon Dunelm.

§ Simon Dunelm.

‖ Brompton. S. Dunelm, &c. Simon Dunelm in particular has related the ſtory at large; which is, in brief, as follows. Oſbryht, who reigned over one part of Northumberland, raviſhed a noble lady, the wife of a chieftain named Bruern Brocard, who was thereby juſtly incenſed againſt Oſbryht. He therefore left Northumberland, and went over into Denmark, and beſought Codrinus, who was king there, to revenge his cauſe; at the ſame time informing him of the weakneſs of his country through the diviſions and inteſtine troubles which exiſted there. The hopes of conquering ſo large a tract of land ſoon induced the Danes to lend a favourable ear to the intreaties of Bruern. Therefore, a large army, under the conduct of Hinger and

this dreadful ſtate, the Northumbers were obliged to make peace with the Danes in the beſt manner they could, and ſubmit quietly to the government of their king; and the conquerors, on theſe conditions, promiſed to ceaſe all hoſtilities *.

Having thus ſecured themſelves in Northumberland, the Daniſh army ſet forward the following ſummer, and proceeding ſouthward came to Nottingham, where, meeting with no reſiſtance ſufficient to diſlodge them, they continued during the winter. A. D. 868. The Danes winter at Nottingham.

In the beginning of the following year, Burhred, king of Mercia, by the advice of his council, ſent meſſengers to Æthered and his brother Ælfred, informing them where the Danes had taken up their reſidence, and the dangerous tendency of their being permitted to remain there unmoleſted, and at the ſame time begging their aſſiſtance againſt them. When Æthered and his brother received this intelligence, they ſpeedily collected what troops they could, and marched towards Nottingham, being joined on the way by Burhred and the Mercian army. As ſoon as they reached Nottingham (wherein the Danes had fortified themſelves) they laid a cloſe ſiege thereto, and ſo harraſſed the beſieged, that they were obliged to conclude a peace with them, and return to the North. They then retired to York, where they remained the winter following †. A. D. 869. The Danes driven back to York.

The ſucceeding ſpring the Danes left York, and paſſing through Lindſey, ranged along the eaſtern borders of England, till they came to a place called Thetford in the province of the Eaſt Angles. This was a bloody and deſtructive march; for the mercileſs Danes laid the country waſte with fire and ſword wherever they came; towns and cities they raſed to the ground, and miſerably butchered the inhabitants, ſparing neither young nor old, who were ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands. The monaſteries of Bradney, Croyland and Peterborough, together with the nuns houſe, in the iſle of Ely, were all totally deſtroyed ‡. Eadmund, who at this time was king of the province of the Eaſt Angles, uſed all his endeavours to ſtop the courſe of theſe invaders, who, like a torrent, overwhelmed his dominions with ruin. Having collected all the forces he was able to muſter, he followed them to Thetford; but fortune ſtill favouring their attempts, the army of the Eaſt Angles was overthrown, and Eadmund himſelf A. D. 870. The murder of Eadmund, king of the Eaſt Angles.

and Hubba, returned with him to England; and the end of his revenge was the deſtruction of his country. This, by the ſame author, is ſaid to have been the firſt cauſe of the outrages of the Danes which followed.

* Chron. Sax. ut ſup. &c.
† Chron. Sax. &c.
‡ S. Dunelm, &c.

nar-

narrowly eſcaped their purſuit. At laſt, however, he reached the caſtle at Framingham, where he fortified himſelf in the beſt manner he could. But he had not long reſided there, when the Danes, learning whither he had retired, came and laid ſiege to the caſtle, and at laſt, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the fortreſs was taken, and he himſelf made priſoner. No ſooner had they got poſſeſſion of his perſon, than they began, in the moſt cruel manner, to inflict ſevere tortures upon him, beating him with ſcourges, and lancing his fleſh with their daggers----when they were tired of tormenting him, they bound him to a tree, and ſhot him to death with their arrows.

Reaſons for the cruelty of the Danes.

Various reaſons are aſſigned by the ancient hiſtorians for the cruelty with which the Danes treated this prince; ſome affirming, that it was becauſe he would not renounce the chriſtian faith, and worſhip the dols of the conquerors *; and this appears really to have been the truth, eſpecially if we allow the pious character given of this prince by the monkiſh authors to have been juſtly drawn. Others, again, relate a ſtory concerning the murder of Lothbrock, a Dane, the father of Hingar and Hubba, with which Eadmund was falſely charged ‖.

Some account of the Eaſt Angles.

The hiſtory of the Eaſt Angles, from the death of Ethelbyrhte (at which time this province fell into the hands of Offa, king of Mercia, and afterwards became a part of the Weſt Saxon dominion) is very imperfect. We learn, however, that about the year 854, there reigned a king named Offa in this province, who, at that time undertook a journey to the Holy Land. Paſſing through Saxony, he adopted Eadmund, ſon of king Alkmund (a near relation of his) as heir to the crown. Offa dying at Port Saint George, on his return home, ſent his ring to Eadmund, thereby conſtituting him king of the Eaſt Angles. When Eadmund heard of the death of Offa, and had received

* Aſſer. ann. W. Malmſ. lib. 2. &c.

† Matthew Weſtminſter, & alia. The ſtory mentioned above in brief is thus. Lothbrock, the father of Hingar and Hubba, one day amuſing himſelf with his hawk upon the ſea ſhore, the bird fell into the ſea, to recover which, he put from ſhore in a little boat, when a tempeſt ariſing ſuddenly, he was driven out to ſea; and after having narrowly eſcaped drowning, was driven a ſhore on the coaſt of Norfolk, where he was well received by Eadmund, then king of the Eaſt Angles; who conceiving a great eſteem for him, but eſpecially becauſe of his great ſkill in managing the hawkes and hawking, inſomuch, that Berick, the king's falconer, being greatly envious and jealous of him, ſlew him privately in a wood, where his body was diſcovered by means of his favourite ſpaniel; and Berick being convicted of the murder, was condemned to be put into the ſame boat in which Lothbrock came, without rudder, oars, or ſail, and ſo left to the mercy of the waves; but fate conducted him to the very port from whence Lothbrock had firſt put to ſea, where, he being known, was ſeized by the Danes; but to free himſelf from puniſhment, he accuſed his maſter, king Eadmund, of being the whole contriver (if not the perpetrator) of this cruel murder; in revenge of which, Hingar and Hubba, the ſons of the deceaſed Lothbrock, brought a great army into England, where, proving victorious over the forces of king Eadmund, himſelf was taken priſoner, and ſhot to death with arrows. Mat. Weſt. &c.

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the ring, he came over into England with a ſuitable retinue, and being well received by the inhabitants of the Eaſt Angles, was crowned king, with great acclamations of joy, by Humberchtus, biſhop of the Eaſt Angles, in a royal city named Burna, in the year 855; ſo that he had ſat upon the throne fifteen years when he was murdered, as before related. After the Danes had put him to death, his body was taken up, and buried at a town, which, from being the burial place, was ever afterwards called St. Edmond's Bury *. Upon the death of Eadmund, the Danes took poſſeſſion of the whole province, and ſet up a king of their own named Godrun, to govern there †.

A. D. 871. The great ſucceſs which the Danes had hitherto met with encouraged them to make freſh attacks upon the Saxons; therefore, leaving the Eaſt Angles under the government of the new king, they marched further into the heart of the kingdom, and came to a town called Readingam ‡, on the borders of Weſſex, where they halted. Two days after their arrival at this town, a bloody ſkirmiſh happened between two of their chief leaders, with their bands who were foraging, and the Saxons under the command of Æthelwulf, earl of Berkſhire. The Saxons contrived to intercept the Danes when they were at a conſiderable diſtance from their camp. The Danes, perceiving their danger, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance, till at laſt, after great ſlaughter on both ſides, one of the Daniſh chiefs named Sidroc, being killed, and his party routed, the reſt were obliged to retreat in the beſt manner they could, and the Saxons obtained a compleat victory §.

The Danes go to Reading.

In the mean time, Æthered, king of Weſſex, together with his brother Ælfred, who had taken every meaſure they could to prevent the progreſs of the Danes, had now collected a powerful army together, and, four days after the victory obtained by Æthelwulf, coming up with the Danes at Reading, he gave them battle. The Danes, being ſuperior in force to the Saxons, obtained the victory, after an obſtinate reſiſtance from their opponents, and with ſo much loſs to themſelves, that they thought it not prudent, at that time, to hazard another battle. They, therefore, left Reading, and went to Aſſendune. The Saxons ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in this battle; and, amongſt the reſt, the valiant Æthelwulf, earl of Berkſhire, loſt his life ‖. Notwithſtanding the loſs on the ſide of the Saxons, and the advantage gained by the Danes, Æthered, and his brother Ælfred, reſolved, with the forces they had yet left, to follow them to Aſſendune, which they did, with ſuch expedition, that, in four days, the two armies

The battle of Reading.

* Malmſb. &c. ſub an. 871.
† Sim. Dunelm, Mat. Weſt. &c. § Ibid.
‡ Reading in Berkſhire, See Chron. Sax. ‖ Ibid.

mies met again. The Danes had now divided their forces into two bodies, one of which was led by two chiefs, who bore the title of kings, named Hleafdene and Bachfecg; and the other, by ſome principal noblemen. When Æthered ſaw the arrangement of his enemies, he alſo made two bodies of his own army, one of which he led himſelf, and the other he committed to the charge of Ælfred his brother.—Ælfred began the battle*, and being ſeconded by the king and his party, the Danes were forced from the advantageous ground they had poſſeſſed in the beginning of the encounter, and after much ſlaughter, were put to flight, when the Saxons obtained a complete victory. In this battle the Danes loſt Bachfecg the king, who was one of their chief leaders, five earls†, and many thouſand of leſs note. This victory, therefore, was eſteemed the greateſt that had been till then obtained over the Danes in England.

The battle of Baſing.

The Danes, diſheartened by the important conqueſt which the Saxons had gained over them, fled, day and night, till they reached Baſing, being ſtill purſued by the king, and his brother Ælfred. Fourteen days after the laſt action, they again fought the Danes, but were overcome, and obliged to leave the field with great loſs. After the Danes had obtained this victory‡, they moved from Baſing, and went to Mertune, where they were joined by a conſiderable reinforcement of their countrymen, who had but lately arrived in England §.

The battle of Mertune.

Æthered and his brother having recruited their army, followed the Danes to Mertune, where another bloody battle was fought. At the beginning of the engagement, the Saxons prevailed againſt the Danes, but the latter continually receiving reinforcements, the Saxons were, at laſt, overcome, and obliged to retreat after much ſlaughter, leaving the field a ſecond time to the Danes. In this battle Eadmund, biſhop of Shirborne, was ſlain, and Æthered himſelf received his death's wound.----After which he was conveyed from the field of battle to a town called Witingham, where he died the twenty-third day of April, in the year 871, after a troubleſome reign of near five years; and his body was ſolemnly buried at Winburn in Dorſetſhire ‖.

The character of Æthered cannot be drawn.

The whole time this prince ſat upon the throne, he was ſo much employed by the invaſions and diſturbances occaſioned by the Danes, that there is nothing recorded by the ancient hiſtorians concerning his political or private character. His perſonal valour is ſtrongly marked

* Æthered was, at that time, praying in his tent.---Aſſer. in vita Ælfredi.

† The names of the eârles here ſlain were Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the younger; Oſbearn, Fræna and Harold. Aſſer. vit. Ælfredi & Chron. Sax. &c.

‡ Ibid.

§ Aſſerius.

‖ With this epitaph upon his tomb: "In hoc loco quieſcit corpus ſancti Ethelredi regis Weſt Saxonum martyris, qui anno domini 871, 23 dies Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit." This tomb with the inſcription was very lately remaining. Vide Speed's Chronicle, fol. 328.

in

in the various battles he fought againſt the Danes, and his unwearied aſſiduity to protect his falling country from ruin.

The wife of Æthered is not mentioned; but his iſſue, two ſons and one daughter. Ælfred, his eldeſt ſon, is ſaid to have been grandfather to Æthelwerd, a nobleman, who wrote a conciſe hiſtory of this kingdom, from the birth of Chriſt, down to his own times. The ſecond ſon of Æthered was named Oſwald; but of him we have not the faintеſt account left *. The daughter of this prince was named Thyre, who married, as ſome have affirmed, Godrun the Daniſh king of the Eaſt Angles †. The iſſue of Æthered.

* Both theſe princes are witneſſes to a charter of Æthelſwitha's, queen of Mercia, of lands granted to Abbendon abbey, dated 868. See an ancient copy of this charter in the Cotton Library in a MS marked Claudius B 6.

† Godrun is ſaid to have iſſue, by this lady, one ſon named Harold, which Harold married Gonhild, by whom he had Sweyne, king of Demark; Iringe, king of Northumberland; and Gonhild, queen of Wales. Sweyne, king of Denmark, was the father of Cnut, afterwards king of England.

ÆLFRED.

The ſixth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 871. Ælfred meets his brother.

UPON the deceaſe of Æthered, his brother Ælfred ſucceeded to the crown of Weſſex, notwithſtanding Æthered left male iſſue behind him; but this was not only according to the agreement made between Ælfred, and the king his brother (as before mentioned) but alſo agreeable to the tenor of the laſt teſtament of Æthered, who therein declared that he bequeathed the crown to Ælfred; beſides the ſons of Æthered were not at this time of age ſufficient to take upon them the government of the kingdom.

Ælfred joyfully received by his ſubjects.

Ælfred was the youngeſt ſon of king Æthelwulf, born in Berkſhire, at a ſmall village called Wanting, in the year 849, and had juſt entered into his twenty-ſecond year when he aſcended the throne. No prince was ever received with greater joy by his ſubjects, for the great prudence and valour which he had manifeſted, in his brother's life time, led them to expect great things from his adminiſtration. He was, therefore crowned, with great ſplendour, at Wincheſter *.

The battle of Wilton, &c.

About a month after the coronation of Ælfred, he led his army againſt the Danes, who were then at Wilton in Suſſex, and gave them battle. After an obſtinate reſiſtance on the part of the Saxons, the Danes proved victorious (though not without conſiderable loſs on their ſide) and chaſed their opponents, who fled with great precipitation to the woods, where they made good their retreat. The rumour of this overthrow of the Saxon army cauſed the people from all quarters to flock to the ſtandard of their king, who finding his army very powerful, ſet forward again to meet the Danes; but they retreated before him, not thinking themſelves in a condition to reſiſt.——Ælfred, with his army, in the mean time, marched on till he came to London, where a ſtrong party of the Danes had taken up their reſidence; but not daring to enter the field againſt him, they petitioned for peace upon his own terms, and offered him as many hoſtages as he ſhould demand. Their petition was granted by Ælfred, and the ſame day, according to agreement, hoſtages were delivered up by the Danes, and they imme-

* Speed Chron. fol. 329.

diately

diately quitted London, riding day and night, till they reached Exeter, which city, contrary to their covenants of peace, they beſieged and took, and there continued. Ælfred was no ſooner informed of this breach of faith, than he cauſed the Daniſh hoſtages to be put to death, and marched his army towards Exeter. But the Danes, who had no deſire to ſtand the hazard of a battle, left the city before he approached it, and withdrew to Chipenham in Wiltſhire, doing much miſchief in their march. Ælfred, on his arrival at Exeter, underſtanding that the Danes were departed, ſtill purſued them, and that with ſuch diligence, that they were obliged to try the fortune of a pitched battle, and ſo reſolutely deſperate were they in their attack, that the Saxons were again obliged to retreat, notwithſtanding the Danes loſt ſome of their chief leaders in the conflict *.

After the defeat at Chippinham, Ælfred being joined by conſiderable reinforcements from Somerſetſhire, Wilton, and Dorſet, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved to follow the Danes, who were now at Abbendon. They accordingly ſet forward, and marching all night, reached Abbendon about nine o'clock the next morning, and ſuddenly ſet upon the Danes, who ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that, after a prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide, it was impoſſible to determine which had the victory, or which ſuſtained the greater loſs †. Theſe are ſome of the particulars of the tranſactions of this troubleſome year, being the firſt of the reign of Ælfred, and in which the Saxons are ſaid to have fought nine pitched battles againſt the Danes ‡, beſides ſkirmiſhes and excurſions out of number; and though Ælfred and his party were not always ſucceſsful, yet ſo much was the Daniſh power reduced by the end of the year, that they ſued for peace with the Weſt Saxons, ſwearing never more to make war in their territories §. The battle of Abbendune.

The year following paſſed without any action between the Saxons and the Danes. A great party of the latter, who had reſided for ſome time at Reading in Berkſhire, came quietly to London, where they made a league with the Mercians, and then returned without attempting any breach of the peace which they had ſworn to keep ‖. A. D. 872. Peace made between the Danes and Mercians.

The next year the Danes, leaving Reading, went with their army to Lindſey, and at a place called Torkſey, in the county of Northum- A. D. 873. Peace again confirmed.

* Bromton, from whom the above particulars are collected, declares, that, in this battle, the Danes loſt Hubba the brother of Hingar, and Bruern Bocard, who firſt brought the Danes into Northumberland, according to the account given by Simon Dunelm. Bromton adds, that the Danes enterred the body of Hubba with loud cries, raiſing a tumulus over it, which was after called Hubbaſtow.

† Bromton.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub an. 871. Aſſerius ſays only eight pitched battles.

§ Ibid. &c.

‖ Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

berland,

berland, remained quiet all the winter; during which time they renewed and confirmed, by freſh oaths, the peace made with the Mercians. In the mean time Ælfred was not idle, but conſtantly employed in the diſcipline of his troops, and the putting his territories in the beſt poſture of defence he was able; for the event fully proved, that, though the Danes at preſent kept up carefully the appearance of perfect peace and harmony, it was but affected for a time, ſince they were privately preparing for future hoſtilities, and their army was ſtrengthened by the arrival of a numerous party of their countrymen, under the conduct of two chiefs, who bore the title of kings, named Oſcytel and Anwynd. Theſe, together with Godrun, and the Danes, who were in the province of the Eaſt Angles, joined the main army *.

A. D. 874. The Danes conquer Mercia.

Theſe powerful reinforcements rendered the army of the Danes ſo ſtrong, that without the leaſt regard to the peace which they had ſworn to keep with the Mercians in the two former years, they now reſolved to commence hoſtilities, and accordingly entered Mercia with fire and ſword, and proceeded as far as Ripendune, where they overcame the Mercian forces, and conſtrained Burhred their king to fly from his dominions. After they had conquered Mercia, they returned to Ripendune, where they wintered, and ſet up a king of their own over the people of that province. This prince, whoſe name was Coelwulph †, had the regal dignity conferred upon him, on condition that he ſhould reſign his authority whenever they ſhould demand it of him ‡.

Death, &c. of Burhred.

Burhred, whom the Danes had compelled to leave his kingdom, was a man of great valour, and had been put in poſſeſſion of the Mercian crown by Æthelwulf, A. D. 851, and as a reward for his valiant conduct againſt the Britons, two years afterward, Æthelwulf gave him his daughter Æthelſwitha in marriage. He alſo uſed his utmoſt endeavours on the preſent occaſion againſt the Danes, until harraſſed out by their continual attacks, his army was ſo diminiſhed, that at laſt he was no longer in a condition to reſiſt them. He therefore left Mercia with Æthelſwitha his wife, and went to Rome, where he died the ſame year, and was buried there in a chapel of our Lady belonging to the Engliſh college. His queen ſurvived him fifteen years, and died at Padua in the year 889, where ſhe was honourably buried §.

A. D. 875. The Danes divide their army.

The following year, the Danes, encouraged by their ſucceſs, and ſtrengthened with freſh reinforcements, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, under the conduct of Hleafdene, marched into the conquered province of Northumberland, and ſpent the winter upon

* Ibid.
† Ibid.
‡ J. Bromton.
§ W. Malmſb. lib. 1. cap. 4.

the

the borders of the river Tine.----The ſecond party, headed by Godrun, Ocytel and Anwynd, went back to Grant Bridge * in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, where they alſo ſpent the ſummer. Whilſt theſe motions were making by the Daniſh army upon land during the ſummer, Ælfred, who was cruiſing upon the ſeas, fought ſeven of their ſhips, one of which he took, and put the reſt to flight.

A. D. 876. Early in the beginning of the enſuing year, the Danes left Grant Bridge by night, and proceeded as far as the caſtle at Warham, where they were met by the Saxon army, under the conduct of Ælfred their king, who advanced thus far in order to oppoſe them; and at this place, either by power or policy, he obtained of them a ſolemn confirmation of peace †; for the Danes not only gave hoſtages on their part, but ſwore to him on their own holy bracelet, which was kept upon the altars of their gods, that they would by no means infringe their covenant ‡.----This oath, the moſt ſolemn they could take, was ſuch as they had never ſworn before to any king or nation whatever; yet, the very night after they had thus ſolemnly bound themſelves to peace, they ſtole ſilently out of the caſtle of Warham, and rode on to Exeter, which city they entered, committing many open hoſtilities. Ælfred finding that they had departed from Warham, and already broken their oath, purſued them with all poſſible ſpeed to Exeter, at which city they had ſtopped §.

Peace concluded.

A. D. 877. Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting, the Daniſh fleet, which was ſailing round from the coaſt of the Eaſt Angles in order to reach Exeter, and join the army aſſembled there, was nearly deſtroyed by a terrible tempeſt, in which they loſt one hundred and twenty of their beſt ſhips. This dreadful accident happened to them near a place called Swanawic ‖. The Danes, who were lodged at Exeter in expectation of their ſupplies, were ſo much alarmed at the news of this misfortune, that they dared not to engage the Saxons who were now arrived, and lay before the town. They, therefore, ſued for peace, and gave as many hoſtages as Ælfred choſe to demand; after which they departed quietly into Mercia, where they abode for a time ¶.

The Daniſh fleet deſtroyed by a tempeſt.

A. D. 878. The year following, having ſtrengthened and refreſhed their army, the Danes invaded the territories of the Weſt Saxons, and proceeded as far as Chipenham, waſting and deſtroying the country wherever they

The Danes invade Wessex.

* Now Cambridge.

† Æthelwerd declares he obtained this peace for money: "Quin etiam rex pactum cum eis pacis confirmat ſimúlque pecuniam dando." Æthelwerdi Hiſt. ſub anno 876.

‡ Ibid. Aſſer. & Chron. Sax.

§ Ibid.

‖ Thought to be Sandwich.

¶ Chron. Sax. &c.

came,

came, insomuch that many of the inhabitants left their estates, and fled to foreign parts. Neither was Ælfred able to prevent their destructive ravages; for he, himself, with some few of his fast friends, were obliged to keep themselves secretly in the woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they supported themselves, as they could, by hunting, hawking, or fishing. Nor was their retreat known to the English themselves, who generally believed that their king was dead. It is indeed reported, that he was reduced to so miserable a condition as to be forced, in disguise, to seek protection in the house of a cottager in Somersetshire, named Dunwulf, where he remained for some time dependant upon him for his food, and subject to the various impertinencies of the peasant's wife. However, he bore his misfortunes with the greatest patience, and, instead of sinking under them, was ever thinking of the best methods of extricating himself from them, and of restoring tranquillity to his people *.

The Danes overthrown in Dorsetshire.

In the mean time, a large party of the Danes, under the conduct of Hlasdene, and a brother of Hingar, left Mercia, and with twenty-three ships, infested the sea coasts of Wessex, and at last landed in Dorsetshire, where they took great spoils, and proceeded with great security until they reached a strong castle called Kenwith, from whence the garrison issued out unexpectedly, and made a desperate attack upon the Danes, who, after an obstinate resistance, were put to flight, with the loss of their spoils, and twelve hundred men, who were left dead on the field †. Some authors affirm, that it was in this battle that Hubba fell, who was the brother of Hingar, both of them the sons of Lothbroc; and that amongst the spoils taken by the Saxons was the Danish standard, called Reafen, from the figure of a raven which was embroidered upon it, and said to be the performance of the three daughters of Lothbroc ‡.

Ælfred quits his confinement.

As this defeat damped the courage of the Danes, so it revived the hopes of liberty in the breasts of the Saxons; and Ælfred their king, joined by some few warriors who had discovered his retreat, built a small fortress in the isle of Etheling in Somersetshire, where they defended themselves, and frequently sallied out on the enemy. The people of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, now receiving information that their king was living, gathered themselves together, and being joined by a great number of those who had fled, in the beginning of the year, into foreign parts, and now were returned, they proceeded to Selwood, and at a place called Ecgbryhtstone, were met by their king, whom they received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and as one risen from the dead §.

* Asser. &c. ut sup.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ Alured Rivalen, &c.
§ Asser. Chron. Sax. &c.

Ælfred

Ælfred, placing himſelf at the head of this army, marched to Ethendune, where he met with the Danes, and gave them battle; and, after a very bloody encounter, obtained a complete victory. The remnant of the Danes that eſcaped the purſuit of Ælfred, fled to a caſtle which they had built not far from the place where the battle was fought, and fortified themſelves there; but Ælfred ſoon reached the caſtle, and laid cloſe ſiege thereto; ſo that after fourteen days had elapſed, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance, and diſtreſſed for the want of proviſions, they ſued for peace in a moſt humble manner, offering pledges, which were accepted by Ælfred, and they again took oath to moleſt the Engliſh no more *.

The Danes overcome at Ethendune.

At the ſame time Godrun, the Daniſh king of the Eaſt Angles, forſook his idolatrous worſhip, and, of his own accord, embraced the Chriſtian religion, being baptized by the name of Æthelſtane, at a place called Alre, not far from Ethelingſey in Somerſetſhire. King Ælfred, who was preſent at the ceremony, became ſponſor for him, and there confirmed, by free gift, his title to the crown of the Eaſt Angles †; alſo thirty of the chief Daniſh nobility received baptiſm at the ſame time with Godrun, and were honoured with peculiar marks of eſteem by Ælfred and his followers.

Godrun becomes a Chriſtian.

After the concluſion of the above peace, the Danes left Chipenham, retired peaceably to Cyrenceſter ‡, and remained one year without making the leaſt infringement on their covenant. The ſame year another large party of the Danes landed in England, and paſſing through the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, came quietly to Fullenham §, upon the borders of the Thames, where they paſſed the winter peaceably ‖.

A. D. 879.

The Danes retire, and keep peaceable.

This year the Danes, who wintered at Cyrenceſter, left that city, and returned into the province of the Eaſt Angles, which had been allotted to them. Upon their return they took poſſeſſion of all the lands, which they portioned out among themſelves, and there eſtabliſhed their reſidence. In the mean time, thoſe Danes who arrived the year before, and had wintered at Fullenham, ſeeing, perhaps, that from the preſent poſture of affairs, there remained little hopes of their

A. D. 880.

The Danes ſettle in the province of the Eaſt Angles.

obtaining

* Ibid. & Sim. Dunelm.

† The bounds of Godrun's dominions, according to this gift, are to be ſeen at the end of the laws of Ælfred, where the covenant between thoſe two princes is ſtill preſerved as follows:

" Æreſt ymb upe landgemeþa
" up on Temeſe, ⁊ þonne up
" on Ligan, ⁊ and lang ligan
" oð hiþe æþylm þonne on ge-
" þihte to Bedanforda ðonne
" upon Uran cð Wætlinga-
" ſtreet."

Let the bounds of our dominion ſtretch from the river Thames, and from thence to the water-Lea, even to the head thereof, and ſo forth ſtraight to Bedford, from thence along the river Ouſe, and let them end at Watling-ſtreet. Fœdus Aluredi, cap. 1.

‡ Chicheſter.

§ Fulham.

‖ Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

obtaining any conſiderable plunder by their ſtay, left the kingdom, and went into France *. Whilſt theſe motions were making by the Danes, Ælfred employed this interval of peace in reſtoring good diſcipline among his troops, and in re-building or repairing ſuch places of ſtrength as had been deſtroyed during the late war, and which were neceſſary for the defence of his territories.

A. D. 882. Four Daniſh ſhips taken.

The two following years, among other uſeful regulations made by Ælfred, one of the moſt important was, that of increaſing his naval force, which he employed in guarding his coaſts. The prudence of this ſtep was ſoon evinced by the ſucceſs which attended its execution; for in the year 882, as he was cruiſing from place to place, he met with four Daniſh ſhips making towards the land, and coming up with them, engaged them, when, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he took two of their ſhips, the crews of which he put to death by the ſword, or threw into the ſea. He then purſued the other two, which were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to eſcape; but they were ſo cloſely followed by Ælfred's fleet, that they were alſo taken, and on board of them, amongſt other noblemen, were two Daniſh princes †; whether thoſe taken in the two laſt ſhips were put to death like thoſe in the former, does not appear; however, it is likely that they were not, and, perhaps, the reaſon why thoſe firſt taken were treated ſo ſeverely, might be becauſe they would have impeded the purſuit of the other two.

A. D. 885. The Danes beaten at Rocheſter.

During two years after this engagement, the Saxons enjoyed a profound peace, ſuffering no inconvenience whatever from the Danes who were ſettled within the kingdom, nor from thoſe who were ſo frequently making excurſions from their own country, and infeſting the Britiſh ſeas. The Saxon fleet was ſtationed the firſt year near the river Scald, and the ſecond, they were removed to Sunnan; but the ſummer following, the year 885, a large fleet of Daniſh ſhips, which were now returning from the coaſts of France, entered the Thames mouth, and ſailed up the river Medway to Rocheſter, which city they cloſely beſieged; but the citizens made a noble reſiſtance. At the ſame time king Ælfred hearing of their danger, haſted to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army, and, coming ſuddenly upon the Danes, he put them to flight with great ſlaughter; ſo precipitate was their retreat to their ſhips, that they left behind them, in their entrenchments, all their horſes, as well as many captives, and much ſpoil, which they had taken upon the coaſts of France, and brought thither with them. As ſoon as they had gained their ſhips, they crowded all the ſail they could, and returned with heavy hearts to France ‡.

Two ſea fights.

The ſame year Ælfred ſent a fleet of ſhips to ſcour the ſea coaſt towards the borders of the Eaſt Angles, and, at the mouth of the Stour,

* Ibid, &c. † Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c. ‡ Ibid, ibid. &c.

they

they met with ſixteen Daniſh ſhips, which they attacked, and after a ſmart engagement, took the whole fleet, and put the crews to death. As they were returning home triumphant, they met with another part of the Daniſh fleet, whom they alſo attacked; but, after a bloody battle, the Danes obtained the conqueſt, and the Engliſh ſhips were put to flight with conſiderable loſs.—Towards the end of this year, the Danes who inhabited the province of the Eaſt Angles, and who had hitherto continued quiet, began to make ſome diſturbance, and violate the peace they had ſworn to; but, by ſome means or other, they ſeem to have been pacified, for it does not appear that hoſtilities were long continued, or even carried to any great length *.

The city of London repaired.

The year following Ælfred marched his army to London, which had been greatly damaged in the late wars by the Danes, and who, upon his arrival there, retired; and the Londoners, at leaſt as many as had eſcaped, and who had been driven from their houſes, returned joyfully back. Ælfred, having repaired and fortified their city, appointed Æthered, earl of Mercia, to be their governor †.

A. D. 890.

The death of Godrun.

Seven years interval of peace which followed, gave Ælfred a good opportunity of putting his dominions in a better poſture of defence than they had been heretofore, and this opportunity he carefully improved to his advantage. During the courſe of this time, no very material accident ſeems to have happened, except the death of Godrun, or rather Æthelſtan, king of the Eaſt Angles, who died in the year 890, and was buried at the town of Headley in Suffolk, which was a royal town within his own dominions ‡.

The death of Godrun ſeems to have been a matter of conſequence to the Saxons, for he appears to have performed the conditions agreed upon between him and Ælfred as faithfully as the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſubjects would permit; but, at his deceaſe, he was ſucceeded by a Daniſh nobleman named Eohric §, who, perhaps, not thinking himſelf bound by the ſame obligations as his predeceſſor, nor his ſubjects under the ſame reſtrictions, they were always ready to oppreſs the Saxons, which they did by frequent violations of the peace, and by lending aſſiſtance and protection to many of their countrymen, who afterwards infeſted the land.

A. D. 893.

Freſh parties of the Danes land in Kent.

In the year 893, another large fleet of Daniſh ſhips, amounting to 250 ſail, came from the eaſtern parts of France, and arrived in Kent at a river called Lemen, near the great wood of Andred, where they landed, and drew their ſhips four miles from the river's mouth up into the wood, having erected a fortreſs at a place called Apuldor. Scarcely had they ſettled themſelves in Kent before another fleet of eighty

* Chron. Sax. &c.
† Ibid.
‡ Stow Chron.
§ Malmſb. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Daniſh ſhips came alſo into the ſame province, under the conduct of a great chieftain named Hæſten. They entered the mouth of the Thames, and proceeded as far as Middleton, where they alſo built a fortreſs, and continued during the winter *.

A. D. 894. Ælfred marches againſt the Danes.

Ælfred, as ſoon as he was informed of the proceedings of the Danes in Kent, prepared his army to march againſt them; but firſt exacted a freſh oath of fidelity from thoſe Danes who dwelt in Northumberland and the Eaſt Angles, by which they were bound not to aſſiſt their new-come countrymen, nor to protect them from the aſſaults of the Saxons. Matters being thus prepared, and freſh hoſtages taken in the Eaſt Angles, Ælfred marched with his army into Kent, and encamped in ſuch a convenient ſituation between the two armies of the Danes, as to be ready to prevent the progreſs of either, if they ſhould have been inclined to move from their fortreſſes, as well as to ſave the country from being ſpoiled by detachments from either ſide. He ſent out parties of horſe, ſupported by as many as could be ſpared from the caſtles and places of defence, and theſe were always ready to encounter whatever parties of the Danes they might find detached in foraging parties. At other times, Ælfred divided his whole army into two bodies, and marched out one, leaving the other behind in the entrenchment; by this means he checked the progreſs of the Danes, and, in a great meaſure, protected the country from their inſults.

Battle of Aylſford in Kent.

Some time having elapſed in theſe excurſions, Ælfred met with the Daniſh army at Fernham near Alysford in Kent, when a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the Saxons were victorious. The Danes fled precipitately towards the river Thames, which they paſſed over, and entered into Eſſex, making their abode in an iſland called Brekelſey upon the banks of the river Colne, whither they were purſued by Ælfred and his army. In the mean time, a ſtrong party of the Danes who eſcaped the ſlaughter of the laſt engagement, retreated to their fortreſs, carrying with them their king, who was wounded in the battle.—When Ælfred came up with the Danes, who had fled to Eſſex, he beſieged them in their entrenchments, but after continuing there ſome time, he was obliged to retreat, being in want of proviſion †.

The Danes in Northumberland break the peace.

Whilſt Ælfred and his army were thus employed, the Danes, who were ſettled in Northumberland, contrary to their oath of fidelity made to Ælfred, came, with an hundred ſhips, coaſting round the land by the Eaſt Angles, and then proceeded ſouthward as far as Devonſhire, where coming to Exeter, they laid ſiege to that city. Ælfred, when he received this news, had but juſt recruited his army, and furniſhed them with ſufficiency of proviſion, intending to recommence the ſiege of the Daniſh entrenchments in Eſſex; but he now changed his former

* Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

† Chron. Sax. &c.

reſolution,

reſolution, and marched with his army directly towards Exeter, leaving behind him a ſquadron of the Welſh, who went to London *.

The proceedings of Hæſten the Dane.

Hæſten, in the mean time, joined the Danes, who were in Eſſex, and built a ſtrong caſtle at South Beamflet in that province, where he left a garriſon, and proceeded further up into the heart of the country in ſearch of ſpoils. The ſquadron of the Welſh, who had been left behind by Ælfred, joined by the Londoners, took this opportunity of marching to Beamflet, where they beſieged the caſtle built by Hæſten, and took it. Here they met with a rich booty which well rewarded them for their trouble, and, amongſt the captives which they took, were the wife and two ſons of Hæſten. After the victors had demoliſhed the caſtle, they burnt all the ſhipping which they found upon the coaſt, and returned to London, well contented with the ſucceſs of their expedition †.

The generoſity of Ælfred.

The wife and ſons of Hæſten, who had been made priſoners by the Londoners, were ſent to Ælfred, who commanded them to be ſet at liberty, and conveyed ſafely again to the Daniſh camp. Hæſten, ſtruck with the generous behaviour of Ælfred, took an oath of friendſhip, and, at the ſame time, ſent hoſtages to him; and Ælfred, in return, either by free gift, or by agreement, paid him a large ſum of money ‡.

Hæſten breaks the peace.

Hæſten, however, ſoon proved the faithleſneſs of his diſpoſition; for while the Saxon army was ſtill buſied at Exeter, he aſſociated himſelf with the Danes, who remained at Apuldore in Kent; and being aſſiſted by thoſe who inhabited the Eaſt Angles, and ſtrong parties from Northumberland, he returned to Beamflet, and repaired the caſtle which had been deſtroyed by the Londoners. From thence, proceeding to Schoberie, he alſo built a caſtle there, placing ſtrong garriſons within both, and pillaging the country around. From thence he proceeded with his army weſtward, ſpoiling and robbing the country wherever he came §.

The Danes beſieged.

To ſtop this torrent (in the abſence of Ælfred) three of his captains named Æthered, earl of Mercia, Æthelm and Æthelnoth, aided by ſome of the chief miniſters of the king's houſhold, with ſuch forces as they could collect together, came to Bultingaturne upon the banks of the Severn, where the Danes lay entrenched, and blocked up their camp ſo cloſely that they cut off all communication between it and the country. The Danes held out the ſiege for ſeveral weeks, but in the end were driven to the greateſt diſtreſs for the want of proviſions, and had eaten part of their horſes. Seeing there was no hope of any ſuccour, and inevitable death waiting them for want of food if they continued any longer in their entrenchments, they formed the deſperate reſolution of cutting their way through the Saxon camp with their ſwords, or periſhing

* Ibid.
† Chron. Sax.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

riſhing in the attempt, rather than ſubmit themſelves to the beſiegers, or await the approaches of a lingering death. They beſides knew, that if they could but once force their way through the entrenchments of their enemies, they might be able to join another party of their own countrymen who lay encamped upon the eaſtern banks of the river. The event was hazardous; but certain deſtruction, which ſeemed to wait them in their preſent ſituation, overbalanced the danger; and they put their deſperate ſcheme in execution with all the vigour that deſpair could enforce. A deſperate engagement enſued, in which the Danes ſuſtained great ſlaughter. However, they obtained their end, though they left the Saxons maſters of the field. Thoſe who eſcaped from the battle made a precipitate retreat, and being joined by thoſe in the other camp, fled into Eſſex; but this victory was not gained by the Saxons without great loſs of blood on their own ſide, for Ordhelm, one of the king's Thaynes, with a great number of his miniſters, and firm friends, fell in the engagement*.

The Danes raiſe another army.

Laf, one of the leaders of thoſe Danes who had been defeated upon the banks of the Severn, with great aſſiduity aſſembled together, before the winter, a large army of his countrymen from the Eaſt Angles and from Northumberland, and came into Eſſex to join his confederates. Before they proceeded upon their expedition, they ſent their wives, their children, and their wealth, into the province of the Eaſt Angles, which they eſteemed a place of ſafety for them. When they had taken this ſtep, they marched day and night towards the weſt, and came to Cheſter, which city they took before the forces of the Saxons could come up with them. After the Saxons had beſieged them two days, they gave over their attempts, and waſted the country round about, driving away all the cattle, leaving them no means of ſupport †.

A. D. 895.

The Danes abandon Cheſter.

The year following the Danes, being no longer able to keep their ſtation for want of proviſions, left the city, and invaded North Wales, where they took great ſpoils, with which they returned, ſome into Northumberland, and ſome to the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, as well as into Eſſex, where they ſeized upon a ſmall iſland called Mereſig, and continued there ſome time. The other party of the Danes, in the mean time, having raiſed the ſiege of Exeter in their return to the Eaſt Angles by ſea, landed upon the coaſts of Suſſex, and began to lay the country waſte round about the city of Ciſſeceaſter, when the inhabitants ſet upon them unexpectedly, and put them to flight. Several hundred of the Danes fell in the encounter, and ſome of their ſhips alſo fell into the hands of the Saxons.—The ſame year thoſe Danes who had ſeized upon Mereſig iſland, reſolving to winter in Eſſex, drew up their ſhips,

* Chron. Sax. &c.

† Chron. Sax.

ſome

ſome into the river Thames, and others into the river Lea, upon the banks of which laſt they built a ſtrong caſtle about twenty miles from London, with a view from thence to aſſault the Londoners, and pillage the country *.

The ſummer following the Londoners, aſſiſted by other forces, aſ- A. D. 896.
ſaulted the caſtle of the Danes which they had erected upon the banks of the river Lea; but their enemies being aware of their approach, had prepared for their defence; and the Saxons met with ſuch a ſharp reception as obliged them to retreat with the loſs of four of their king's captains †. Ælfred, hearing of this misfortune which the Londoners had ſuſtained, haſted to their relief with his army, and encamped near to the city, to prevent the Danes from moleſting the people round about during the time of harveſt. At the ſame time, obſerving the ſituation of the Daniſh fleet, which they had drawn up into the river Lea, he turned the water of that river into other channels, and, by that means, the old bed was left dry, and the ſhips without any water to float them. When the Danes ſaw the alarming effects of Ælfred's policy, they were fearful of continuing any longer in their preſent ſituation, and marched overland to Quatbridge near the Severn, where they built another caſtle, and there ſpent the winter. Mean while their ſhips, which they left behind them in the river Lea, were demoliſhed, and brought away by the Londoners; but their wives and families were yet in ſafety in the province of the Eaſt Angles, where they had left them two years before ‡.

The Danes leave Eſſex.

This year the Danes left Quatbridge, where they had wintered; and A. D. 897.
ſome of them went into Northumberland, others into the province of the Eaſt Angles; the reſt having procured ſhips, ſailed into France in hopes of meeting with greater booties.—The ſame year a heavy peſtilence afflicted the land, of which died not only a prodigious number of the common people, but many noblemen and perſons of the higheſt rank, amongſt whom were Coelmund, earl of Kent, Beorhtulf, earl of Eſſex, and Wulfred, earl of Hampſhire.

A peſtilence in England.

At the ſame time the Danes who inhabited the provinces of Northumberland, and the Eaſt Angles, were continually harraſſing the Saxons; but they were more particularly troubleſome by the frequent robberies they committed in long ſwift ſailing gallies, with which they infeſted the ſouthern ſea ſhore. Their gallies were both longer and lighter than any of the Saxon veſſels, ſo that, when they were purſued, they could eaſily eſcape. To remedy this inconvenience, Ælfred cauſed his ſhipwrights to build him gallies, of his own invention, upon a con-

The robberies of the Danes redreſſed.

* Ibid.

† Henry Huntington reverſes this account, and gives the victory to the Saxons, declaring it was four Daniſh chiefs who were ſlain.

‡ Chron. Sax.

ſtruction

ſtruction different from any that had been made before. They were twice as long as the common ones, and ſome of them carried ſixty oars, and ſome more. Their great advantage was, that they were ſwifter and ſteadier than thoſe uſed either by the Danes or Friſones who infeſted the ſeas *. Nine of theſe new-conſtructed gallies he ſent againſt ſix Daniſh pirates who were lurking about the iſle of Wight, and plundering the towns on the coaſt.—The Saxon gallies found their enemies lying near the ſhore upon the coaſts of Devon. The Danes, as ſoon as they ſaw the approach of the Saxons, put off three of their veſſels to meet them. The other three, being aground, were obliged to keep their ſtation. Six, therefore, of the Saxon gallies went againſt thoſe three of the Danes that were approaching, and the other three proceeded towards the ſhore to attack thoſe which lay there immoveable. A ſharp and bloody engagement enſued between the three Daniſh veſſels which were out at ſea, and the ſix gallies of the Saxons; but in the end, after great carnage on both ſides, the Danes were overcome, and two of their veſſels were taken; the third, indeed, made its eſcape with only five men on board, all the reſt being killed, and returned to the province of the Eaſt Angles. Whilſt this was performing at ſea, the three Saxon gallies that went againſt thoſe of the Danes which lay upon the ſhore, being too ventureſome, ran ſo far aground that it was impoſſible for them to get off again to rejoin their companions. When the Daniſh ſoldiers ſaw this accident, they left their ſhips, and wading through the water, attacked the Saxon gallies with the utmoſt fury; nor could the other ſix gallies of the Saxons give any aſſiſtance to their fellows. From the nature of their ſituation they were, therefore, obliged to defend themſelves with all their power. After a bloody and doubtful conflict, in which the Danes loſt one hundred and twenty men, and the Engliſh forty-two, amongſt whom were ſome of the chief officers, the tide flowed high enough to ſet the gallies afloat. The Danes quickly retired to their veſſels, and put them off to ſea, in order, if poſſible, to eſcape; but the wind being againſt them, and the Saxon gallies very ſwift, they were ſoon overtaken. The engagement was now ſo very unequal (for all the Saxon gallies were at liberty, and ſurrounded the Danes) that conqueſt ſoon declared for the Saxons, who took the Daniſh veſſels, and made priſoners of all who remained alive after the battle. The priſoners were ſent to Wincheſter, where Ælfred then reſided, who commanded them all to be put to death immediately †.

A. D. 900. Ælfred's death. After theſe long ſucceſſions of troubles, Ælfred had ſo well ſecured his dominions that his enemies returned no more to moleſt him during his reign. All the interval, until his death, he employed for the welfare of his ſubjects, and their improvement: he regulated the laws, and paid the ſtricteſt regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice: he ar-

* Chron. Sax.

† Chron. Sax. John Bromton, &c.

duouſly

duouſly ſought the advancement of learning in his dominions, and was a great encourager of religion and piety. He died juſtly lamented by all his ſubjects the twenty-eighth day of February, in the year nine hundred, after a reign of twenty-nine years and ſix months, and in the fifty-firſt year of his age. His body was firſt buried in the cathedral church of St. Peter's in a beautiful monument of porphyry *; from whence it was afterwards removed, by his ſon Edward, into the church of the new monaſtery †.

The character of Ælfred.

Ælfred was tall and handſome, of a graceful and pleaſing carriage, and courteous in his ſpeech; his perſon and accompliſhments were ſuch as made the moſt favourable impreſſion upon the minds of his beholders; his memory was very tenacious, and his diſcourſes were mixed with lively and agreeable expreſſions; his valour and his policy are plainly evinced from his public actions; the firſt by the battles he fought againſt the Danes, and the laſt by the prudent meaſures he adopted to prevent their excurſions. He was alſo, in his youth, very expert in the polite amuſements of hunting and hawking, which at that time were conſidered as the great requiſites in the education of a young nobleman. When he aſcended the throne, that no duties belonging to his high office might be neglected, he divided each day into three parts, in which he regularly went through all buſineſs whether public or private. His great love for learning led him to dedicate as much of his time to ſtudy as the avocations of government would permit; yet even this, in which he took ſo much delight, he turned to the advantage of his ſubjects, which ſeems to have been the grand object of all his actions; for in him the nobles found a prudent governor, the ſoldiers a valiant general, the religious a defender, and the poor and oppreſſed one who was always ready to relieve and protect them—He was neither dejected in adverſity, nor elated in proſperity; he was liberal and temperate, and though frequently oppreſſed with a bodily diſeaſe, he bore his afflictions with all the patience and reſignation of a pious chriſtian.

The wife and iſſue of Ælfred.

The wife of Ælfred was Ælfwitha the daughter of Æthelred (ſirnamed Mucill ‡) earl of the Mercians, who lived near Gainſborough in Lincolnſhire §; her mother was named Eadburg, a lady born of the noble blood of Mercia. She was married in the year 868, and ſurvived her huſband four years, dying in the year 904: ſhe was buried in the monaſtery of nuns which ſhe had founded at Wincheſter ‖. By this lady Ælfred had ſix children, two ſons and four daughters ¶.

* Aſſer. in vit. Ælfredi.

† Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 4.

‡ That is *great*, thus explained in the margin to Aſſerius in vit. Ælfredi "Mucill eo quod erat corpore magnus."

§ Gainorum comitis, Aſſer. in vit. Ælfredi.

‖ S. Dunelm.

¶ J. Redbourne.

Edward,

Edward, his eldeſt ſon, was born in the year 871, and, upon his father's deceaſe, ſucceeded him in the royal dignity.

Ethelwerd, his ſecond ſon, was born in the year 880, and was, by his father's appointment, educated at the univerſity of Oxford, as well for his own improvement, as for an example for the nobility to follow, in bringing up their children to learning and a knowledge of the polite arts.—The education which was beſtowed upon Ethelwerd was not loſt, for he became a man of erudition, and a great philoſopher. His father, by his laſt will, bequeathed to him the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Southampton, which he governed with great juſtice and wiſdom. He died the 16th of October, in the year 922, aged forty-two, and was buried at Wincheſter.

Ælfleda, his eldeſt daughter, was married to Æthered, earl of Mercia, to whom, in conſideration of that marriage, the government of Mercia was committed.

Æthelſwitha, his ſecond daughter, was married to Baldwin the ſecond, ſirnamed the Bald, Earl of Flanders.

Efledam and Elfgivam, the two youngeſt daughters, were never married, but paſſed their days in the cloyſters. The latter of theſe was, by her father's appointment, placed in the monaſtery of Shaftſbury in the county of Dorſet, founded by him, where ſhe became the abbeſs, and there died, and was buried.

EDWARD

EDWARD, *ſirnamed The* ELDER.

The Seventh Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

ON the deceaſe of Ælfred, his eldeſt ſon, Edward, was choſen by the Weſt Saxons to ſucceed him in the throne, to which he was advanced the ſame year, and crowned, with great pomp, at Kingſton upon Thames. A. D. 900. Edward ſucceeds his father

Soon after the coronation of Edward, Æthelwald, an ambitious young nobleman, laid a claim to the crown of Weſſex, and, being aſſiſted by a ſtrong party of diſcontents, broke out into open rebellion, and ſeized upon the town of Winbourne, near Bath, which he made his place of reſidence.—This young man, it ſeems, was ſon to Æthelbryht, the ſecond ſon of Æthelwulf, and brother to Ælfred; ſo that king Edward was his firſt couſin. He was too young, upon the deceaſe of his father, to take the charge of the government, and was afterwards withheld by his uncles *; however, by aſſerting his claim at this time, he proved a dangerous enemy to his couſin Edward. Being lodged with his party at Winbourne, he declared to them, that he was reſolved to defend himſelf there againſt the aſſaults of Edward, or die in the attempt.—Edward, in the mean time, hearing of this rebellion, marched with his army towards Winbourne, and arriving at Banbury, in the neighbourhood of Winbourne, he encamped before the city. A. D. 901. The rebellion of Æthelwald.

Æthelwald, fearful of the event, notwithſtanding his former boaſtings, ſtole out privately by night, and fled into Northumberland, where he joined the Daniſh army, which lay encamped on that ſide of the Humber. After the departure of Æthelwald, the city of Winbourne was ſurrendered up to Edward, who entering in amongſt other perſons, found the wife of Æthelwald, a woman whom he had forced from a convent (where ſhe had taken the veil) and married, contrary to the ſtrict commands of the church; but ſhe was reſtored to her former ſituation, by the command of Edward. As ſoon as the flight of Æthelwald leaves his army

* This is the moſt general and moſt probable account of Æthelwald; ſome authors indeed have affirmed that he was couſin german, and others that he was brother to Edward. The latter of theſe is by no means likely.

Æthelwald was made known to the king, he ſent out a party of his troops in purſuit of him, but all their endeavours to take him proved unſucceſsful.*

A. D. 905. Æthelwald protected by the Danes.

Æthelwald, after he had joined the Daniſh army, made known to them the occaſion of his flight from England, and the claim which he had to the crown of Weſſex. They received him with great demonſtrations of friendſhip, and promiſed him to eſpouſe his cauſe, no doubt being glad of ſuch a plauſible pretext for the violation of the peace which yet exiſted between them and the Saxons; moreover, they might expect that, whilſt the claim of Æthelwald was ſupported, a diviſion might thereby be made in the Saxon ſtate in favour of him, which could not fail of terminating to their advantage†.—Three years after they went, under his conduct, into the Eaſt Angles, where they were joined by the Danes who inhabited that kingdom; and the year following (905) they broke the league of peace, and entered Mercia with their army, pillaging and deſtroying the country as far as Cricklland, where they paſſed the Thames, and entering Wiltſhire, proceeded to Baſingſtoke; after which they returned back into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, loaden with ſpoils.—Edward, hearing of theſe dangerous proceedings, marched with his army after them, and entering the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, laid the country waſte between the Dyke and the Ouſe, and northward as far as the Fenns; when, being deſirous of returning, he began his march, firſt ſtrictly ordering that his whole army ſhould follow cloſely after him: but the Kentiſh-men, who formed a conſiderable body, for ſome cauſe or other diſobeyed his orders, and ſtaid behind, notwithſtanding ſeven meſſengers were diſpatched to them, from the king, to deſire them to follow immediately. —In the mean time, the Danes, who had watched their opportunity, finding that the king was departed with the greater part of his army, fell upon thoſe who ſtaid behind, and a bloody battle enſued. The Kentiſh-men made a valiant reſiſtance; and though, after great carnage on both ſides, they were obliged to quit the field, yet it was not before they had ſo far reduced the power of the Danes, that they had but little cauſe to boaſt of the victory. Beſides the great number of common men the Saxons loſt in this battle, the two earls Sigewulf and Sigelm, Eadwold, one of the king's miniſters, Cenwulf an abbot, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were found among the ſlain. —— On the ſide of the Danes, were killed Eohric, king of the Eaſt Angles, who had ſucceeded Godrun in the

* Bromton, &c.

† Some authors have affirmed that the Danes, to give the greater conſequence to Æthelwald, inveſted him with the title and authority of a king. Chron. Urivallenſis. Monaſt.

year

year 890, and Æthelwald, the ſeditious author of the war, as alſo ſeveral noble men, and a prodigious number of private ſoldiers.*

What ſteps were taken immediately after this important battle, either by Edward or the Danes, do not appear; the latter, however, ſeem to have ſuffered ſo ſeverely by this dear-bought victory, that they were not deſirous of renewing the war; and the Saxons, on the other hand, were no leſs inclined to peace. Accordingly, two years after, a peace was concluded between the Danes, as well in Northumberland as in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and the Saxons, which was ratified by king Edward and his nobles.† A. D. 907. Peace concluded.

This truce continued three years unviolated, at which period the war was again renewed; but what provocation was given, or to which party the infringement of the treaty was owing, is not recorded. However, at this time king Edward cauſed a powerful army to be raiſed in Weſſex and Mercia, which he ſent beyond the Humber, againſt the Danes who reſided in Northumberland. The Saxon forces entered Northumberland with fire and ſword, and after ſtaying there five weeks, during which time they made prodigious ſlaughter amongſt the Danes, they returned home, laden with the ſpoils of their enemies.‡ A. D. 910. The Danes in Northumberland ſlain.

The following year, the Danes, rejecting all offers of peace, entered Mercia, and retaliated the injuries which they had received; but being met by a ſtrong party of the Saxons, at Tetnal in Staffordſhire §, they were overthrown in a ſet battle. In the mean time king Edward was in Kent, and had collected about an hundred ſail of ſhips, and was met by others which had been cruiſing upon the ſouthern coaſts. The Danes (hearing how Edward was employed, and imagining the greateſt part of his army was ſent on board the veſſels) collected all the forces they could, and advancing beyond the Severn into Weſſex, plundered every part of the country they paſſed through. The king, hearing of their proceedings, marched againſt them with all expedition, and came up with them, unexpectedly, at a place called Wodensfield, in Staffordſhire ‖, as they were returning home: a bloody battle enſued, in which the Danes, after a deſperate reſiſtance, were totally overcome, with the loſs of ſome thouſands of their army, A. D. 911. The Danes invade Mercia, &c. and their ſucceſs.

* Chron. Sax. &c.

† S. Dunelm ſays, "Rex Edwardus, "neceſſitate compulſus, pacem firmavit "cum Orientalibus Anglis & Northan-"hymborum," &c.

‡ Chron. Sax.

§ Forent. Bromton, &c.

‖ Others ſay this action happened at Cantbrig, in Glouſterſhire; vid. Milton's Hiſt. of Eng. fol. 253.—"Wodensfield "(ſays Stow) is a mile north from Wolfrune "Hampton, in Staffordſhire."

together with Ecwils their king, and ſeveral others of their chief noblemen and leaders.

A. D. 912. The deceaſe of Æthered.

This important victory was of great conſequence to Edward, for at the ſame time that it damped the ſpirits of his enemies, it animated his friends, and ſecured him the love of his ſubjects, who looked upon him as their protector. Some time now elapſed in peace, the Danes not daring to renew the war, which time Edward prudently employed in fortifying his dominions, in order to ſecure them from the future attempts of his enemies.—In the year 912 died Æthered, the earl of Mercia, brother-in-law to Edward; and upon his deceaſe, the king took the cities of London and Oxford, with the country adjoining, into his own hands, which had before been committed by his father,* Ælfred, to the keeping of Æthered. The government of the other parts of Mercia, which Æthered had held, was ſtill poſſeſſed by Æthelfled his widow, ſiſter to king Edward, a woman of a courageous and martial ſpirit.†

A. D. 913. Towns built by Edward.

The following year, Edward repaired, or rebuilt, the town of Hertford, upon the river Lea, and leaving a ſufficient number of people to carry on that work, he marched into Eſſex, and continued at Maldon whilſt another town was building at Witham, about ſix miles from thence. Theſe proceedings had ſuch an effect upon the inhabitants round about, many of whom had long been in ſubjection to the Danes. that they yielded themſelves to his protection, which he readily granted them.‡

A. D. 917. The Danes diſcomfited.

Four years more of peace elapſed, in which Edward uſed every endeavour, that art or policy could deviſe, to put the frontiers of his dominions in a better poſture of defence than they had formerly been. But in the year 917, the Danes from Leiceſter and Northampton, having recruited their army, broke the peace, and marched into Oxfordſhire, deſtroying ſeveral towns, and taking great ſpoils; whilſt another party of the Danes, taking the advantage of the inſurrection of their fellows, entered Herefordſhire with the ſame intentions; but the inhabitants of that country united, gave battle to the inſurgents, and beat them back, with the loſs not only of the ſpoils they had taken in Herefordſhire, but alſo of others elſewhere obtained, as well as a prodigious quantity of armour, which, in the confuſion of their flight, they had left behind them.§

The prowеſs of Æthelfled.

About the ſame time, Æthelfled, the governeſs of Mercia, ſent a ſtrong army into Wales, where the Mercians made war with great

* Chron. Sax.
† Huntingdon, &c.
‡ Chron. Sax.
§ Ibid.

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, and took from the Welſh a caſtle belonging to them at Brienammere, near Brecknock, together with a great number of priſoners, amongſt whom was the queen of that country.—Not long after, ſhe led her army to Derby, at that time in poſſeſſion of the Danes, which town ſhe blocked up, and at laſt took by aſſault. For the encouragement of her ſoldiers, ſhe commanded in perſon, and, during the action, was in ſuch danger, that four officers of her body-guard were killed by her ſide; yet would ſhe not deſiſt, but perſiſted in making good the entrance.—This conduct of Æthelfled had ſuch an effect upon the Danes who inhabited Yorkſhire, and the northern environs of Mercia, that many of them voluntarily became her ſubjects, whilſt the greater part of the reſt ſubmitted quietly to her, and entered into ſolemn engagements of peace*.

A. D. 918. A freſh party of the Danes arrive, and their ſucceſs.

The year enſuing, another ſtrong party of the Danes came from their own country to England, and landed at Lidwie, in Devonſhire, from whence they ſailed weſtward round the Land's-End, and entered the river Severn. This army was conducted by two chiefs, named Ochtor and Hroald; they landed upon the Welſh coaſts, where they pillaged the country, and from thence proceeded to the borders of Herefordſhire, as far as Irchenfield, where they took priſoner a biſhop, named Cameleac, and carried him with them to their ſhips. He was afterwards redeemed for the ſum of forty pounds, which king Edward ordered to be paid to the Danes for that purpoſe †.

The Danes overthrown.

While theſe Daniſh forces were buſy in pillaging the borders of Herefordſhire, the people of that county roſe in arms, and being joined by the inhabitants of Glouceſterſhire, they fell upon the Danes, and, after a bloody battle, put them to flight, with the loſs of Hroald, one of their leaders, and the brother of Ochtor. The remnant that eſcaped took refuge in a wood, where, being ſurrounded by the Saxons, they were compelled to give hoſtages, and promiſe to depart immediately.—At the ſame time king Edward, with his army, lay not far off, upon the ſouth of the Severn, in order to ſecure the paſſes in that part of the country, as far as the Avon. By this means the Danes were ſo confined, that they did not dare openly to make any attack upon the Saxon territories; however, they twice ventured, under cover of the night, to land, but were repulſed with ſuch loſs, that their numbers were greatly reduced; therefore, finding no hopes of ſucceeding, they embarked on board their ſhips, and ſailed to an iſland called Bradanrelice, where they were driven to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that many of thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle periſhed by famine; however, in the Autumn they left the iſland, and taking to their ſhips, went over into Ireland, where they reſided ‡.

* Hen. Hunt. &c. † Chron. Sax. ‡ Ibid.

The

Thurcytel, the Dane, ſubmits to king Edward.

The ſame year king Edward, with his army, went to Buckingham, where he ſtaid one month, and built two caſtles, one on each ſide of the Ouſe; and before he left that place, Thurcytel, a Daniſh chief, with the leaders and principal people inhabiting Bedfordſhire and Northampton, ſubmitted themſelves to him of their own accord, and ſought his protection *.

A. D. 919.

King Edward goes to Bedford

The year following king Edward went with his army into Bedfordſhire, and took poſſeſſion of the town of Bedford, where he ſtaid one month, and at the ſame time cauſed another town to be erected on the ſouth ſide of the Ouſe.

A. D. 920.

Many Danes go to France.

The ſummer following the king went again to Maldon in Eſſex, which town he repaired and fortified. About the ſame time, Thurcytel, the Daniſh chief, having firſt obtained permiſſion of the king, paſſed over into France, with as many of his countrymen as choſe to follow his fortune †.—The prudent meaſures which Edward had purſued for the defence of his kingdoms, had been ſuch, that this chief had but little hopes of making his ſtay in England advantageous to him; which, without doubt, was the cauſe of his leaving it, in ſearch of more proſperous adventures.

A. D. 921.

Danes break the peace, and their ſucceſs.

Early in the following year, king Edward rebuilt the city of Tofeceaſter ‡, in Northamptonſhire; he alſo conſtructed another city not far from it, called Wigingamere.—Theſe proceedings alarming the Danes who inhabited Leiceſter and Northampton, they broke their covenants of peace ſoon after the departure of king Edward, and laid ſiege to Tofeceaſter, aſſaulting it for the ſpace of one whole day; but the inhabitants of the city valiantly defended themſelves, and the people reſiding round about being alarmed, gathered an army together, and haſted to the relief of the beſieged. The Danes therefore, fearful of the event, raiſed the ſiege by night, and retreated: but the beſieged, being now joined by thoſe ſuccours which came to their aſſiſtance, purſued them with great alacrity, and ſurprized them at a place between Burnewuda and Ægleſbyrig §. After a trifling ſkirmiſh, the Danes were entirely routed, and a great number of priſoners, as well as the greateſt part of their cattle and baggage, fell into the hands of the Saxons ‖.

Other Danes break the peace.

About the ſame time the Danes who inhabited Huntingdon (being joined by others from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles) left their

* Chron. Sax.
† Ibid.
‡ Now Towceſter.

§ Birnwood and Ailſbury; vide Milton Hiſt. Eng. fol. 256.
‖ Chron. Sax.---Chron. Marian. Scotus.

former

former ſituation, and went to Temsford, where they built a ſtrong fortification, and began from thence to make excurſions, and annoy the bordering country. Not long after, they began their march to attack the city of Bedford; but the inhabitants of that city, aſſiſted by ſome ſuccours from the places adjoining, ruſhed on the enemy, and put them to flight with conſiderable loſs *.

The Danes again overthrown.

Soon after the above expedition, a large army of the Danes, from Mercia and the Eaſt Angles, marched to the new-built city of Wigingamere, to which they laid cloſe ſiege for one whole day; but the garriſon within reſiſted their efforts with ſuch vigilance and bravery, that, having no hopes of ſucceſs, they left the city, and retreated, driving away all the cattle which they found in their way.—Theſe proceedings of the Danes enraged the Saxons, who, collecting an army from the different towns which lay round about the Daniſh fortification at Temsford, laid ſiege to that place, and took it by aſſault, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance which was made by the Danes. The Saxons, in this engagement, ſlew the Daniſh king, together with Toglos and Mannan, two earls, and as many more as made reſiſtance; the reſt were taken priſoners, and carried away by the conquerors †.

Colcheſter taken from the Danes.

The great ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied the attempts of the Saxons againſt their enemies, encouraged the inhabitants of Surrey, of Kent, and part of Eſſex, to unite their forces, and revenge, in ſome ſort, the injuries they had ſuſtained. They accordingly marched into Eſſex, and laid ſiege to the town of Colcheſter, in that county, which was then in poſſeſſion of the Danes. The beſieged made a long and gallant reſiſtance; but at laſt, by the unwearied aſſiduity of the Saxons, it was wan by aſſault, and all that were found therein were put to the ſword. However, many of the Danes, when they found that the town could be no longer held, got away over the walls, and ſo eſcaped from the fury of the Saxons ‡.

The Danes again overcome.

The town had not been long in the poſſeſſion of the Saxons, before a ſtrong party of the Danes arrived from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles to ſuccour their countrymen, and oblige the Saxons to raiſe the ſiege; who ſeeing they came too late to be of any ſervice, altered their courſe, and, going towards Maldon, beſieged that town; but the Saxon forces from the adjacent places coming time enough to ſuccour the inhabitants, the Danes left the place; but the Saxons purſued them with ſuch alacrity, that they loſt ſeveral thouſand men in their retreat §.

The Danes ſubmit to king Edward.

In the mean time the main army, under the conduct of king Edward, marched to Paſham upon the Ouſe, where they remained to guard the country whilſt a ſtone wall was building round the city of Toſeceaſter.

* Chron. Sax.
† Ibid.
‡ Chron. Sax.
§ Ibid.

Whilſt

Whilſt Edward lay at Paſham, Thurferth, a Daniſh chief, with other lords, and their army, which lay round about the country to the north, as far as Weolud, came to him, and placed themſelves under his protection. From thence he went with another part of his army (many of his forces having been diſmiſſed at their earneſt requeſt) to Huntingdon, which city he repaired, and all the people round about the country returned again to their obedience, and ſought his protection. After this the king went into Eſſex, and repaired the town of Colcheſter—After which all the Danes inhabiting the Eaſt or Weſt Angles, ſubmitted to king Edward; as did the army which lay at Grantbrige, all of them ſwearing allegiance to him both by ſea and by land *.

A. D. 922. King Edward goes to Stamford.

The following Summer, king Edward marched his army to Stamford in Lincolnſhire, where he built a ſtrong fortreſs upon the ſouth ſide of the river, and all the inhabitants round about that part of the country came thither, and voluntarily ſubmitted to him †.

The death of Æthelfled.

During the abode of Edward at Stamford, his ſiſter Æthelfled, governeſs of Mercia, the widow of Æthered, the earl of that province, died at Tamworth in Warwickſhire, and was buried in the monaſtery of St. Peter, in the town of Gloceſter, founded in the life time of her huſband by their joint conſent and aſſiſtance.—This remarkable woman, after the deceaſe of her huſband, not only took upon her the government of Mercia, but alſo greatly aſſiſted her brother in his wars, and contributed not a little to the ſuppreſſion of the Danes. Such of theſe inſurgents as lay round the borders of her dominions, ſhe brought under ſubjection, and alſo conquered a part of the Welſh, as hath been already obſerved; and in order the better to ſecure her territories from the aſſaults and encroachments of her enemies, ſhe prudently erected a great number of towns and fortreſſes in the moſt convenient places, which ſhe ſupplied with ſtrong garriſons, and proper ammunition ‡. She left behind her only one child (a daughter) at whoſe birth her pains were ſo violent that ever after ſhe abſented herſelf from her huſband's bed, declaring ſhe would not again expoſe herſelf to the like torture. This daughter did not ſucceed her mother in her government; for after the death of Ethelfled, king Edward took the whole kingdom of Mercia into his own hands §.

* Chron. Sax.

† Ibid.

‡ Amongſt the reſt of her works, the following ſeem to be the chief. She repaired the city of Cheſter; and built the towns of Tamworth, Litchfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewſbury, Finborow, Weddeſbury, Edbury, and Legeceaſter, beſides a vaſt number of caſtles, &c. one of the chief of which was built upon the banks of the river Merſey, called Runcorne; beſides theſe ſhe alſo made a bridge over the Severn.

§ Chron. Sax. &c.

No

No ſooner was Edward poſſeſſed of Mercia, than Howell, Cledauc, and Jeothwel, kings of North Wales, ſubmitted themſelves to him; after which he went with his army to the town of Nottingham, which he repaired and fortified, when all the inhabitants of Mercia, as well Danes as Saxons, came thither and ſwore fealty to him *.

The Mercians, and thoſe of North Wales, ſubmit to king Edward.

King Edward ſupported, with the higheſt degree of prudence, the great ſucceſs that accompanied his expeditions; and the daily increaſe of his glory, ſo far from flattering his pride or vanity, or lulling him into a ſtate of indolence, ſeems to have contributed to make him more aſſiduous in his endeavours to ſecure the peace of his ſubjects, and, with a powerful arm, to maintain the conqueſts he had won.—— About the Autumn of the following year in which he reduced the Mercians, he marched with his army into Cheſhire, where he cauſed a town, called Thelwall, to be built and fortified; and whilſt he abode there, another part of his army was ſent from Mercia into Northumberland, in order to repair and fortify the town of Mancheſter †.

A. D. 923.

The prudence of king Edward.

About the middle of the following Summer, he went again to Nottingham, and built another town oppoſite to it, on the other ſide the river, over which he erected a bridge, in order to facilitate the communication between the town new built and the old one. From Nottingham he marched northward into the Picts land as far as a place called Bedecanwillan, where he alſo cauſed a city to be built, which he ſtrongly fortified; and during his ſtay there, the king of the Scots did homage to him, as did all the Scottiſh nation.—At the ſame time Regwinald and Eadulfes, two Daniſh princes, together with all the inhabitants of Northumberland, whether Saxons or Danes, ſubmitted to him ‡; as did alſo the king of a certain people in thoſe parts called Strægledweala §, with all his ſubjects.

A. D. 924.

Northumberland, and other places, ſubmit to king Edward.

The year following, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years, king Edward died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, at a place called Farington in Berkſhire. His body was conveyed to Wincheſter, and ſo-

A. D. 925.

The death and burial of king Edward.

* Sax. Chron.

† Ibid. &c.

‡ The homage thus done to king Edward was not, ſays Milton, undeſerved; for Buchanan himſelf confeſſes that he, with a ſmall number of men compared to his enemies, overthrew, in a great battle, the whole united power of Scots and Danes, ſlew many of the Scottiſh nobility, and forced Malcomb, whom Conſtantine, the Scottiſh king, had made general, to ſave himſelf by flight, ſore wounded—but he ſo far confounds times and actions, as to make this battle the ſame with that fought by Æthelſtan, A. D. 938. Milton, page 259. The Saxon annals make no mention of any battle, nor any other authentic writer.

§ Theſe Camden thinks were part of the North Welſh inhabiting Stratcluid in Denbighſhire; but ſays Milton, in his hiſtory of England, they were rather (perhaps) the Britiſh people of Cumberland.

lemnly buried in the new church there, founded by his father Ælfred, and compleated by himſelf.

The character of king Edward.

This noble prince far exceeded his father in power and extent of dominion; but he was not equal to him in learning. His valour, however, which he frequently exerted in the defence of his country, and the prudence with which he ſecured his conqueſts, made him juſtly amiable to his ſubjects. His diſpoſition ſeems to have been mild and endearing *, and his ambitious views were ſo bounded by moderation, that they always terminated in the welfare of his ſubjects, which ſeems at all times to have been the chief, if not the only object that excited his undertakings. Almoſt the whole iſland of Britain was ſubject to him, and the kings of the ſeveral parts payed him homage, ſo that none of his anceſtors ever extended their conqueſts ſo far, or ſat upon the throne with equal glory.

The concubine of king Edward.

King Edward had but two wives, for Egvina, with whom he firſt cohabited, is ſaid, by hiſtorians in general, to have been his concubine †. She was a lady of mean parentage, but of ſingular beauty, and had been brought up by the woman who nurſed Edward while he was an infant. It one day happened, that, as he was hunting he called upon his nurſe, where he beheld this damſel, and being ſmitten with her charms, took her ſecretly to his bed ‡. Some have thought, and perhaps not unjuſtly, that he was really married to her, but becauſe of her low birth, and that he feared the anger of his father, who was then living, the marriage was kept ſecret. However this may be, he had by her, according to report, two ſons and one daughter.

Æthelſtan §, the eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom, and he was, by Ælfred his grandfather, made a knight, which ceremony the king performed with his own hands.

* This is ſtrongly evinced (if the anecdote be true) by a quotation from William Mapœus given by Speed: "What time, ſays he, Edward the Elder lay at Auſteline, and Leolin prince of Wales at Betheſley, intending a parley - Leolin refuſed to come down, or to croſs the Severn; whereupon Edward took boat, and entered the river towards him; which, when Leolin ſaw, and knew who he was, he caſt off his rich robe wherewith he was clad, and which he had prepared for that royal aſſembly, and entered the river breaſt high, where, claſping the boat, with a ſubmiſſive embrace, he ſaid—'Moſt ſage king, thy humility 'hath overcome my inſolence, and thy 'wiſdom hath triumphed over my folly; 'come, ſit upon my neck, which I have '(fool as I am) lifted up againſt thee, ſo 'ſhalt thou enter into that land which 'thine benign mildneſs hath this day made 'thy own.' So after he had taken him upon his ſhoulders, and carried him on ſhore, he would needs have him ſit down upon his royal robe, and ſo putting his hands jointly into his, did him homage. Speed Chron. p. 335."

† Alured Rivalen calls her "Nobiliſſima "Fœmina Egvina."

‡ This ſtory is related by Malmſbury, and other writers. Vid. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6. de Geſtis Reg. Angl.

§ John Pike in vet. MS. Julius D. 6. ſays, that Æthelſtan was the ſon of queen Elfleta, wife of king Edward, and with him the author of the Scala Chronica agrees; and yet afterwards declares that Æthelſtan was a baſtard.

Ælfred,

Ælfred, the younger ſon, is ſaid to have been beloved by his father Edward beyond any of his children, inſomuch that he cauſed him to be crowned in his own life-time, and made him partner with him in the government; but he died ſoon after theſe honours were conferred upon him, and long before the death of his father. He was firſt buried in the monaſtery of Wincheſter, from whence he was afterwards removed to Hyde.

Editha, the daughter, was, in the life-time of her brother Æthelſtan, married to Sithric, the Daniſh king of Northumberland.

The firſt wife of Edward was Elfled, the daughter of a Saxon earl named Ethelhelme, and ſuppoſed to have been a man of great repute in the court of Ælfred, being ſent ambaſſador from that prince to Rome. By this lady he had two ſons and ſix daughters. The firſt wife of Edward, and her iſſue.

Elfward, or Ethelward, the eldeſt ſon, who was born in the beginning of his father's reign, was carefully educated and inſtructed in the liberal arts. The promiſing diſpoſition of this young prince led many to expect that he would ſucceed his father in the throne, which appeared very probable; but dying ſuddenly a ſhort time after him, at Oxford, he was carried to Wincheſter, and buried at the ſame place, and at the ſame time, with his father.

Edwine, the younger ſon, came to an unfortunate end, during the reign of his brother Æthelſtan.

Elfleda, the eldeſt daughter, was a nun in the monaſtery of Ramſey, ſituated upon the banks of the river Teſt in Southamptonſhire, where ſhe became abbeſs, and there died, and was buried.

Egvina, the ſecond daughter, was married to Charles the third, ſirnamed the Simple, king of France, by whom ſhe had iſſue, Lewis the third, who was educated at the court of his uncle Æthelſtan; and Gillet, a daughter, afterwards married to Rollo the Norman, who had with her the dukedom of Normandy confirmed upon him. Egvina ſurvived her huſband, and was afterwards married to Herbert, earl of Vermandys; but this marriage diſpleaſed the nobility, and alſo ſo much diſguſted Lewis, her ſon, that he purſued her on her journey to meet her huſband, and brought her back.

Ethelhild, the third daughter, took upon her the vow of virginity, and became a nun in the monaſtery of Wilton in the county of Wilts.

Eldelhild, the fourth daughter, was married to Hugh the Great, earl of Paris, and conſtable of France, in the year 926, and died before her huſband without any iſſue.

Edgith, the fifth daughter, was married to Otho, ſon of Henry, emperor of Saxony. She died before her huſband at the city of Quedlingburgh in Saxony, the 27th of Auguſt, 947, and was buried in a chapel in the ſame city which herſelf had built.

Elgiva, the ſixth and laſt daughter, was, with her ſiſter, Edgith, ſent into Saxony, where ſhe was honourably entertained at the court of the emperor Henry, and was, after the marriage of her ſiſter to Otho,

the emperor's ſon, herſelf married to an Italian nobleman, whoſe name is not recorded.

The ſecond wife of king Edward, and his iſſue by her.

The ſecond wife of king Edward was named Edgiva, the daughter of a Kentiſh earl named Sigeline. She was married to him in the year 916, being the ſixteenth of his reign, and ſhe out-lived him nearly forty years. By this lady he had two ſons, and two daughters.

Edmund, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the year 921, and after the deceaſe of his father, was educated under the immediate tuition of his mother. He ſucceeded his half brother Æthelſtan in the kingdom.

Edred, the youngeſt ſon, was born in the year 923, being alſo educated under the inſpection of his mother, and upon the death of his brother Edmund, he mounted the throne of Weſſex.

Eadburg, the eldeſt daughter was, in her infancy, ſent by her father to a monaſtery in Wiltſhire, where ſhe became a nun, and was famous for her piety. In the ſame monaſtery ſhe died, and was buried. It is reported of this maiden, that her father made trial of her inclinations in the following extraordinary manner:—He cauſed to be ſet before her the richeſt dreſſes, with trinkets and jewels, and every requiſite to adorn the perſon in the moſt ſumptuous and attracting manner. He then ſhewed her the New Teſtament, with ſome other religious books, and bid her chuſe whether ſhe would rather have thoſe fine ornaments, or the books. Though yet an infant, without any heſitation, ſhe choſe the books. This circumſtance ſo highly delighted her father (who thought that the will of heaven concerning the child was thereby declared) that he caught her up in his arms in an extaſy of joy, and kiſſed her, ſaying, "Go, in the name of God, whi-"ther he hath been pleaſed to call thee."—And accordingly he ſent her inſtantly to the religious houſe.

Edgiva, the ſecond and laſt daughter, is ſaid to have been married to Lewis prince of Acquitain.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELSTAN.

The Eighth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

THE ſudden death of Elfward, the elder ſon of Elfleda, firſt wife of king Edward (who died ſo ſoon after his father as to be buried with him) cauſed an immediate alteration in the affairs of the ſtate; for, as he was greatly beloved by the people, it was generally ſuppoſed that he would have ſucceeded his father. Edwine, the other ſon of king Edward by Elfleda, was too young to take upon him the adminiſtration of the affairs of the kingdom; and the two ſons by his laſt wife, Edgiva, were as yet but infants. Æthelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, (reported to be illegitimate) was therefore advanced to the throne *, but not without a powerful oppoſition, which was formed againſt him in favour (as is ſuppoſed) of young Edwine.—The chief promoter of this ſedition was a nobleman named Ælfred, who, with his accomplices, had determined to ſeize upon him whilſt he abode at Wincheſter, and put out his eyes; but the plot being accidentally diſcovered to the friends of Æthelſtan, he eſcaped their malice, and Ælfred, the principal conſpirator, was taken into cuſtody: but he poſitively denying his being concerned in any deſign againſt the prince, was, by his command, ſent to Rome, that he might clear himſelf from the accuſation by a ſolemn oath, which, on his arrival there, he took before the altar of Saint Peter, in the preſence of pope John the Tenth. This oath was no ſooner taken by Ælfred, than he fell down in ſtrong convulſions, and being carried out of the church by his own ſervants, expired three days after, when the pope refuſed to permit him to be buried, until he had received permiſſion to do it from Æthelſtan †.

A. D. 925.

Treaſon of Ælfred diſcovered

In the mean time Æthelſtan, having thus eſcaped the ſnare which his enemies had laid for him, was, by his friends, conveyed to Kingſton upon Thames, where he was crowned king, by Athelmus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon a high ſtage erected for that purpoſe in the

The coronation of Æthelſtan.

* According to Malmſbury, king Edward, by his laſt will, declared that Æthelſtan ſhould inherit the kingdom after him. ---Malmſ. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 6.

† Malmſb. ut ſup.

market-

market-place, that he might be the better ſeen by the multitude, who expreſſed great joy and ſatisfaction at his advancement. The ceremonies attending his coronation are ſaid to have been conducted with much more pomp and ſolemnity than had been uſed before for any one of his anceſtors *.—He began his reign in the year 925, the ſame in which his father deceaſed.

A. D. 926. The Danes in Northumberland break the peace.

Not long after the coronation of Æthelſtan, the Danes who reſided in Northumberland began to make freſh diſturbances, and ſome of them, under the conduct of a chieftain (who bore the title of a king) named Reginald, beſieged the city of York, and took it. In the mean time another Daniſh chief, named Sithric, murdered his brother Nigell, and uſurping the dominion over the Northumbers, went with an army into Cheſhire, and took Davenport, by force, from the Saxons.—What were the ſteps taken by Æthelſtan and his ſubjects, in order to revenge this breach of peace, is not recorded; however, not long after, a peace was concluded between the Danes and the Saxons, and Editha, the ſiſter of Æthelſtan, was given in marriage to Sithric, who, as ſome report, upon that occaſion embraced the Chriſtian faith †.

A. D. 927. The two ſons of Sithric defeated.

The year following the above marriage, Sithric died; and his two ſons, Anlaf and Godfert (who were greatly offended at their father's renouncing his religion, which they imagined was done chiefly by the inſtigations of his wife) in order to revenge themſelves, having perſuaded the Northumbers to join them, they began hoſtilities in the north, and proceeded to open rebellion. Editha, Sithric's widowed queen, immediately after the death of her huſband, returned to her brother, and being deſirous of ſpending the remainder of her days in religious exerciſes, ſhe obtained of her brother, by gift, a portion of ground at Tamworth in Warwickſhire, where ſhe built a monaſtery for nuns, and reſided therein till her death ‡.—In the mean time Æthelſtan, as ſoon as he received information of the death of Sithric, and of the mutiny of his two ſons, marched with his army into Northumberland, where proving victorious, the rebellious parties were diſperſed, and Anlaf fled into Ireland, whilſt his brother Godfert took refuge in Scotland §.

* Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6.

† S. Dunelm---Chron. Urivallenſis.---Chron. Lindisforn, &c.

‡ The Scottiſh writers call this lady Beatrice, and fable of her, that ſhe cauſed her huſband to be poiſoned, for which offence ſhe was taken by the two ſons of Sithric, and put to a cruel death; in revenge of which, war was by the Saxons commenced againſt them. But all this is an idle tale, taken from Hector Boetius.

§ S. Dunelm, &c.

After

After this defeat, the Northumbers were reduced to obedience, and A. D. 932.
ſome time elapſed in peace; ſo that Æthelſtan had leiſure to attend to his affairs at home, where the praiſes which were daily beſtowed upon his brother Edwine excited his jealouſy. This prince, who was now advancing towards manhood, was of ſuch an amiable diſpoſition, that he was highly beloved by the people in general. This alarmed the jealouſy of Æthelſtan, who, fearing perhaps that his brother might hereafter ſet up his claim againſt him, conſidered his ſeat on the throne as precarious, till ſome means were deviſed of removing Edwine from any attempts of that kind; and therefore he formed the deſign of deſtroying the hapleſs prince*

The death of Æthelſtan's brother.

Seven years after the defeat of the two ſons of Sithric, Æthelſtan A. D. 934.
commenced war againſt the Scots; and the reaſon aſſigned for this undertaking was, that Conſtantine, the Scottiſh king, had openly received and protected the ſeditious Godfert, his enemy, and refuſed to deliver him up. He therefore, with a powerful army, and a large fleet of ſhips, attacked Scotland both by ſea and land, and laid the country waſte. His army, upon the land, proceeded as far as Dunfeoder and Watermore; and his fleet, by ſea, as far as Caithneſs.—Conſtantine, ſeeing the alarming turn which his affairs had taken, was reſolved to ſubmit himſelf to Æthelſtan, which Godfert being informed of, he made his eſcape from Scotland; and Conſtantine, joined by Eugenius, king of Cumberland, met Æthelſtan at a place called Dacor, in that province, where they ſubmitted themſelves, and did him homage, offering him their crowns, which he reſtored to them.

The kings of Scotland and Cumberland do homage to Æthelſtan.

* The common ſtory is, that this young prince was, by his brother's command, put into a little boat, without any tackle, accompanied by only one perſon, and in this condition ſent out to ſea. The prince, ſeeing no hopes of gaining the ſhore, in a fit of deſpair, caſt himſelf overboard, and was drowned; but the attendant, being endued with more patience, making uſe of his hands (Malmſbury ſays his *feet*) by way of oars, at laſt regained the ſhore, and ſo ſaved his life. In the mean time the dead body of the prince being caſt aſhore upon the coaſt of Flanders, was taken up by Adulfe, earl of Boloine, his couſin german, and (being known) was by him honourably interred.---However, ſome authors have endeavoured to make it appear that Æthelſtan was quite innocent of the death of his brother, and particularly Milton; "for" (ſays he) "this very ſtory Malmſbury" (the moſt authentic author by whom it is mentioned) "confeſſes to be ſung in old ſongs, not "read in warrantable authors; and Hun"tingdon ſpeaks as of a ſad accident to "Æthelſtan, that he loſt his brother Ed"wine by ſea, for the more credible is, "that Æthelſtan, as is written by all, "tenderly loved and bred up the reſt of his "brethren, of whom he had no leſs cauſe "to be jealous." Milt. p. 263.---However this may be, Æthelſtan ſeemed to have lamented ſorely his brother's death, and alſo ſent great preſents to Adulf, for the honourable interment which he had given to the dead body. Vide W. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6.

Conſtantine,

A. D. 938. The battle of Brunanburh.

Conſtantine, however, notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion to Æthelſtan, was highly exaſperated at his invaſion of Scotland, and, with a view of revenging the injuries he had ſuſtained, he invited Anlaf*, the other ſon of Sithric, who had taken refuge in Ireland, to come to his aſſiſtance. This invitation he chearfully accepted, and, with 615 ſhips, came over to his aid. Conſtantine alſo perſuaded the king of Cumberland to join him: ſo that, with the whole power of Scotland, and the aſſiſtance of thoſe from Cumberland and Ireland, he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to throw off the maſk of peace, and recommence hoſtilities againſt the Saxons. Accordingly, about four years after the commencement of the peace, which had been ſigned between Æthelſtan and him, he and his confederates entered the Humber with their fleet, and began to deſtroy the neighbouring country.—Æthelſtan in the mean time was not idle; for, on the firſt account of his enemies having taken the field againſt him, he aſſembled his army, and, in company with his brother Edmund, marched to oppoſe them. Both armies met at a place called Brunanburh, where was fought the bloodieſt battle that had been recorded in the preceding annals of England; for it was ſupported, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from the morning till the evening. Æthelſtan, however, in the end proved victorious, although at the expence of many of his beſt ſoldiers; but on the vanquiſhed ſide, the loſs was prodigious. Five kings were ſlain upon the field of battle, together with ſeven of Anlaf's chief leaders, and Froda, a Norman earl†.—Anlaf, with the ſmall remainder of his troops, fled to their ſhips, and returned to Ireland. As for Conſtantine, according to the report of ſome authors, he was ſlain in the battle‡; but others affirm that he eſcaped§, and was afterwards reſtored to his throne by the clemency of Æthelſtan, who at the ſame time declared, that it was more honourable to make a king than to be one‖.

After the battle of Brunanburh, Æthelſtan marched with his army into North Wales, where he overcame Ludwal, the Welſh king, and conquered the country; but he afterwards reſtored Ludwal to his throne, who did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted to pay him yearly a tribute of twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand head of oxen¶, beſides a certain number of hawks and hunting dogs.

* Some ſtile him king of Ireland and the Iſles; vid. Malmſb.

† Thus ſays the Saxon Chronicle; but Malmſbury ſays five kings and twelve leaders.

‡ Chron. Urivallen. Monaſt. S. Dunelm. &c.

§ Chron. Sax.

‖ Malmſb. de Geſt. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 6.

¶ Thus Malmſb.---The Chron. Urivallen. has it, "Quinque millia beſtiarum." The ſame alſo an old French MS. in the Cotton Library, mark'd Galba, E. 3. has it, "V. mille vaches."

Upon

Upon his return home to Weſſex, Æthelſtan expelled the Corniſh Britons from the city of Exeter, and drove them further towards the weſt, making the river Tamar the boundary of his dominions; ſo that his territories were more extenſive than even thoſe of his father Edward had been *.

Three years after the battle of Brunanburh, Æthelſtan died at the town of Gloceſter, the ſeventeenth day of October, A. D. 941, after an honourable reign of ſixteen years, and was buried with all due ceremonies at Malmſbury †.—Æthelſtan was thirty years of age when he came to the crown, and forty-ſix when he died; but it does not appear that he was ever married, or that he left any children behind him ‡. A. D. 941. The death and burial of Æthelſtan.

Æthelſtan was a man of middling ſtature, extremely well made, of a comely and chearful countenance, and of a graceful carriage: his hair was yellow, which in thoſe days was eſteemed a beautiful ornament §.—The courteous diſpoſition of this prince obtained him the love of his friends and his ſubjects, whilſt his valour and intrepidity in the field made him dreaded by his enemies. In his higheſt proſperity his moderation was admirable, for when he had conquered his foes he forgave them.—His policy and piety are no leſs remarkable; and, if we can but ſuppoſe him innocent of the death of his brother Edwine, his whole character will be without a blemiſh.—In ſhort, ſuch was the glory with which he held the ſcepter of his anceſtors, that ſeveral foreign princes ſought an alliance with him, ſome of them marrying his ſiſters, and others ſending him rich and valuable preſents. *The perſon and character of Æthelſtan.*

* The author of the Book of Lindiſforne, quoted by Leland, ſcruples not to ſay, "Ethelſtanus, rex primus omnium "totius Britanniæ, monarchiam obtinuit." Alſo other authors have declared, that he was the firſt ſole monarch of all the iſland of Britain.

† Malmſbury, Chron. T. Redbourn, Bromton, &c.

‡ John Rous and others have ſaid that he had a daughter, named *Leoneat*, married to Reynburne, earl of Warwick, ſon of the great Guy of Warwick; but the whole of this is but a ſuſpected ſtory.---Vide Speed's Chron. page 342.

§ He was, ſays an old French MS. chronicle of England, "Le plus beau "bacheler, ke pout eſtre & mellur de ſun "cors & perſonage, ciſt on Engleterre," &c.---MS. in the Cotton library, marked Galba, E. 3.

E D M U N D.

The Ninth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 941. Edmund ſucceeds his brother.

UPON the deceaſe of Æthelſtan, his brother Edmund, then but eighteen years of age, ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned, with great pomp, at Kingſton upon Thames, in the year 941; nor was his youth any objection to his advancement, for his valour had been tried at the battle of Brunanburh, where he commanded under his brother, and obtained a large ſhare in the honour of that ſignal victory.

A. D. 942. The Danes loſe ſeveral cities.

Soon after his coronation, the Danes who were quartered in Mercia began to make ſome diſturbance in that province; but the year following they were ſubdued by Edmund, who took from them the towns of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leiceſter, and Stamford, and brought all Mercia entirely under his ſubjection.—In the mean time a chief, named Anlaf*, came into Northumberland with a powerful army, and, being joined by the Danes who inhabited thoſe parts, marched ſouthward from the city of York, waſting the country and pillaging the people. They extended their march to Northampton, which city they took, and were met by king Edmund and his army at Leiceſter. Here a peace was concluded upon without any blood-ſhed, by the intreaties and management of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, by which it was agreed that Anlaf was to hold all the country to the north of Watling-Street. The ſame year Anlaf received baptiſm, and king Edmund was ſponſor at the font for him. At the ſame time he held Regenolde, another Daniſh king, whilſt the biſhop confirmed him †.

* By all that can be gathered from the different accounts of theſe and the two following years tranſactions, it appears very plain, that this Anlaf could not be the ſame with him that was the ſon of Sithric, who had been ſo troubleſome to Æthelſtan, and who alſo began a new revolt, A. D. 944, and was put to flight by Edmund. Huntingdon declares he was another, and the Saxon Chronicle ſeems to diſtinguiſh them by calling the latter "*Anlaf, ſon of Sithric,*" "Anlaf, Syhtricef runn."—Vide ſub an. 944.

† S. Dunelm, &c.

Anlaf,

Anlaf, king of the Northumbrian Danes, died, as it appears, the year after his baptiſm, and after him, Anlaf, the ſon of Sithric before-mentioned, was received by the Danes as their king. He joined Regenald, the ſon of Guthwurthes, and began a freſh diſturbance in the North, which obliged king Edmund to take the field again. He marched with his army into Northumberland the year following, where he fought with ſuch ſucceſs, that he effectually quelled the diſturbance, and compelled the two ringleaders of the revolt, Anlaf and Regenald, to leave the land*; at the ſame time he took the government of Northumberland into his own hands, and held it without the aſſiſtance of a viceroy †. A. D. 944. Northumberland conquered

The next year king Edmund, aſſiſted by Leolin, king of North Wales, entered Cumberland, which was at this time a kingdom by itſelf, and inhabited by a ſet of people who took every opportunity of plundering the Saxon borders, and thereby occaſioned this expedition of Edmund. The Cumbrian forces were ſoon overthrown, and the whole country was ſubdued by Edmund ‡, who gave it to Malculme, king of Scotland, to hold of him; and Malculme was thereby bound to aſſiſt him in his wars, either by ſea or land.—Having thus prudently ſecured the northern parts of his dominions, from whence the moſt frequent irruptions ſprang, he returned to Weſſex, and there eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſalutary laws for the advantage of his ſubjects §. A. D. 945. Cumberland conquered.

The following year king Edmund was ſlain by a very remarkable accident. As he was ſitting at dinner with his nobles, on Saint Auguſtine's day, at Puclechurch in Gloceſterſhire ‖, he ſaw a thief, named Leof, whom he had condemned to exile, ſitting at the table with the reſt of the gueſts, when, ariſing inſtantly from his ſeat in great anger, he ſeized upon the culprit, and threw him to the ground. Leof, imagining, from this rough uſage, that the king intended to kill him, drew a knife and ſtabbed him in the breaſt, when the king inſtantly expired. The attendants, perceiving that the king was ſlain, preſently ſurrounded the murderer, and killed him, but not till he had wounded ſeveral of thoſe who were the foremoſt to attack him. The body of the king was taken up, and afterwards buried at Glaſtonbury ¶ with all due ſolemnities. He was murdered in the twenty-third year of his A. D. 946. The death of king Edmund.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 944.

† *Subregulus*, as in the old hiſtorians.

‡ Mat. Weſt. ſays, that Dunmail, king of Cumberland, fled the kingdom, but his two ſons were taken by Edmund, who cauſed their eyes to be put out.---Mat. Weſt. ſub. an. 946.

§ Theſe laws are yet extant.

‖ An old French MS. chronicle in the Cotton Library, marked Galba, E. 3. and Will. Thorne, make this accident to have happened at *Canterbury*. --- Vide Chron. W. Thorne, cap. 5. ſect. 9.

¶ W. Thorne ſays it was carried to *Wynton* to be buried.---Vide ut ſup.

age, after he had reigned rather better than five years; and his death was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects.

The character of Edmund.

Edmund was a young man of invincible courage, joined with ſingular prudence; his diſpoſition was noble and generous, his behaviour courteous and winning, and all his actions juſt and equitable. Theſe virtues, which ſo evidently diſplayed themſelves in his ſhort reign, cauſed him to be highly revered by his ſubjects, who were thence led to form the greateſt expectations from his future adminiſtration.

The wife and iſſue of king Edmund.

The wife of Edmund was named Elfgifa, to whom he was married in the year 941, and in the firſt of his reign. The parentage of this lady is not recorded; but ſhe ſurvived him many years, leading a life of ſuch exemplary piety, that, after her death, ſhe was honoured with the appellation of ſaint.—By this lady Edmund had two ſons, who were too young immediately to ſucceed him in the throne; but, after the death of their uncle Eadred, they received that honour.

EADRED.

EADRED.

The Tenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

EADWIG and Eadgar, the two ſons of Edmund, being too young to take upon them the charge of the government, Eadred, their uncle, the youngeſt ſon of king Edward, was appointed their protector; but he ſoon afterwards aſſumed to himſelf the regal dignity, and was crowned at Kingſton, the ſeventeenth day of Auguſt, in the year 946, by the hands of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then in the twenty-third year of his age*. A. D. 946. Eadred ſucceeds his brother.

The crown was but juſt placed upon the head of Eadred, when the inhabitants of Northumberland began a dangerous inſurrection, notwithſtanding the covenant which had been made between the late king Edmund and Malculme king of Scotland, by which the latter ſtood engaged to keep them in peace. Eadred, therefore, no ſooner heard of the revolt, than he marched with his army into the north, and having entirely ſubdued the turbulent Northumbrians, he entered Scotland, where he met not with the leaſt reſiſtance; but, on the contrary, was ſhortly after joined by Malculme, who, with all his ſubjects, ſubmitted to him, and took an oath of allegiance. Theſe proceedings ſoon eſtabliſhed a peace, which was confirmed between the Saxons, the Northumbrians, and the Scots.—The commotions thus appeaſed, Eadred returned with his army into Weſſex †. The Northumbrians ſubdued.

No ſooner was Eadred departed, but the Northumbrians, entirely regardleſs of the conditions of the peace which had been concluded between them and the Saxons, ſent preſſing invitations again into Ireland, to Anlaf the ſon of Sithric, which he complied with, and, with a powerful army, entered Northumberland, where he was ſoon choſen king. This title and dignity he held four years ‡ unmoleſted by Eadred, who probably, knowing the changeable diſpoſition of the Northumbrians, waited quietly to ſee what turn the affairs of that kingdom would take, and till a more favourable opportunity might A. D. 947. The Northumbrians break the peace.

* Chron. Sax. S. Dunelm.
† S. Dunelm, &c.
‡ Ibid. et Chron. Lindisforne, et Chron. Urivallen. &c.

offer

offer for him to attack them, when they had weakened themſelves by inteſtine diſcords; which, in fact, ſhortly after was the caſe.

A. D. 951. The disquiets in Northumberland brought to an end.

The Northumbrians, after four years peace, began to be diſſatisfied with the king they themſelves had ſo lately choſen; ſo that forming ſtrong parties againſt him, they at laſt depoſed him, and purſued him with ſuch rigour, that he was obliged once more to quit the kingdom, and take refuge in Ireland, his former aſylum. In the mean time, the rebellious Northumbrians ſet up another chieftain named Eoric to govern them in his ſtead. Whilſt theſe feuds were agitating, Eadred collected his army together, and marched into Northumberland, conſidering this as a very favourable opportunity to reduce them to obedience. The Northumbers hearing of his approach, retreated before him, ſo that he entered the country without meeting any reſiſtance. Enraged at this policy, he proceeded to waſte the kingdom with fire and ſword, in order to provoke them to the field; but when he found that all his endeavours were fruitleſs, though he had deſtroyed many places, and burnt the monaſtery of Rippon to the ground *, he ordered his army to return home. As the ſoldiers were upon their march, which was negligently made, ſome parties ſtraggling here and there (not in the leaſt expecting to meet with any reſiſtance from an enemy who had hitherto fled before them) the rear ward was attacked by the Northumbrians, under the conduct of Eoric their king, who had diligently watched their motions, and kept himſelf ready to fall upon them if he could do it advantageouſly. The Saxons were thus ſurpriſed by the policy of Eoric, and a conſiderable number of them were ſlain before they could gain the main body of the army, or arrange themſelves in proper order. Theſe proceedings ſo highly exaſperated Eadred, that he inſtantly reſolved upon returning into the North, at the ſame time threatening great revenge, which being made known to the Northumbers, and fearing that thoſe threats ſhould be put in execution, they depoſed Eoric their king, and ſlew Amanaus, the ſon of Anlaf, one of their chiefs. They then diſpatched meſſengers to Eadred, with many valuable preſents, at the ſame time declaring their willingneſs to ſubmit themſelves to his government. This method of proceeding had the deſired effect; for Eadred, pleaſed with the gifts which he had received, accepted of their ſubmiſſion, and a peace was ſoon after concluded between both parties.——From this time the whole kingdom of Northumberland ceaſed to be governed by kings of their own, and the management of that ſtate was committed to the care of earls, who were elected for that purpoſe; and Oſulph was, by Eadred's command, the firſt that aſſumed that office †.

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. & Chron. Lindisforme, & Chron. Urivallen, &c.

The

The ſame year Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, was ſuſpected of having countenanced the revolt of the Northumbers *, and was likewiſe accuſed of being acceſſary to the murder of ſome citizens of Thetford in revenge of the death of Adelm an abbot, who had been ſlain in that city ſome time before.—On theſe ſuſpicions, Eadred cauſed him to be committed to priſon; however, not long after the eſtabliſhment of the peace between the Saxons and the Northumbers, he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his former dignity †. The archbiſhop of York impriſoned.

Eadred, after his return from his ſecond expedition into Northumberland, enjoyed his crown in perfect tranquillity for the ſpace of four years, which he ſpent not idly; for he ſeems to have been anxious for the welfare of his ſubjects, being a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, and an impartial adminiſtrator of juſtice. But falling ſick in the very flower of his youth, he died, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, in the year 955, after a ſhort reign of nine years, and in the thirty-ſecond of his age, when his body was buried in the cathedral church of Wincheſter ‡. A. D. 955. The death of Eadred.

In valour and in prudence this prince equalled any of his brethren, in piety and religious duties he excelled them; it is true indeed that he was often led by his zeal for religion to give countenance to various idle ſuperſtitions, for he not only ſubmitted to all the decrees of the clergy, but ſuffered even his own body to be chaſtiſed by Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtenbury, who ſtood very high in his favour. His ſteady adherence to juſtice, and the protection which he conſtantly afforded to the diſtreſſed, juſtly entitled him to the eſteem which he enjoyed whilſt living, and the good report that was made of him after his deceaſe. Character of Eadred.

The wife of Eadred is not mentioned in the ancient records; but it appears that he had two ſons, one named Ælfred, and the other Beorthferd, who are only known by their names being annexed to certain charters of their father's §. The iſſue of Eadred.

* W. Malmſbury.
† S. Dunelm.
‡ J. Redbourne.
§ Theſe charters are yet extant, amongſt various others, in an old MS preſerved in the Cotton Lib. marked Cladius B. vi. After this name is put "fil. regis," which is authority ſufficient.

EADWIG,

EADWIG, or EDWYN.

The eleventh Monarchy of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 955. The coronation of Eadwig.

AFTER the death of Eadred, his nephew Eadwig, the eldeſt ſon of Edmund, ſucceeded to the throne. He was crowned at Kingſton by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 955, being at that time but juſt turned of thirteen years of age. The ancient authors, in general, have accuſed this young prince of great irregularities, and ſcruple not to declare that on the very day of his coronation, he withdrew himſelf from the company of his nobles, in order to wanton privately with a near kinſwoman of his *, who had proſtituted herſelf to him. This proceeding of the king offended the nobility in general, but more eſpecially the clergy, who ſent Dunſtan, the boldeſt man amongſt them, to perſuade the king from the embraces of his favourite. Dunſtan accordingly, with great reſolution, entered the chamber where the king and Ælfgifa (for ſo the lady was named) were ſitting, and after rebuking her very ſeverely, he laid hold of the king's hand, and, by force and perſuaſion, led him back to the banquet.

A. D. 956. Dunſtan baniſhed the kingdom.

However, though the boldneſs which Dunſtan had ſhewn was at that time over-looked, it remained fixed in the memory of Ælfgifa, who never ceaſed to perſuade the king againſt him, till ſhe prevailed on him to conſent to his baniſhment, which the year following ſhe accompliſhed †. The revenge of Ælfgifa ſtopped not here; for ſhe ſuf-

* Here we ſhould note, that Henry Huntingdon mentions this prince in a much more favourable light. The account as here given is from William of Malmſbury, who was likely more ſevere than juſt in the delineation of Eadwig's character; and that becauſe the monaſtery of Malmsbury wherein himſelf was brought up was, by this prince, given to the ſecular prieſts, or as he terms it, "made a ſtable of clerks." Modern authors have villified the character of Eadwig ſtill more by ſaying, that on this day he raviſhed this kinſwoman againſt her will, ſhe being the wife of a nobleman of his realm, and that he afterwards cauſed her husband to be ſlain that he might the more ſecurely enjoy her;—but the ſtory may well be exploded, ſince not mentioned even by his enemy W. Mamsb. Others allowing the account given above, ſay, he cohabited with the mother of the harlot alſo.

† Perhaps the true reaſon of Dunſtan's baniſhment was, becauſe he could not give ſo clear an account of the treaſure, which had been committed to his charge by king Edmund, as could have been expected; but on this head more will be ſaid hereafter in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, part the 2d of this volume.

fered

fered Eadwig to take no repoſe till ſhe had inſpired him with a ſettled hatred for all the monks. The monaſtery where Dunſtan had reſided was ſtripped of all that was valuable, and the monaſtery of Malmſbury was given to the ſecular prieſts *.

A. D. 957. Eadwig loſes great part of his kingdom.

Some time after, Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, pronounced a ſeparation between the king and his favourite Ælfgifa, which he was, at length, obliged to ſubmit to. Notwithſtanding which, the affronts he had put upon the clergy, and the conſtant miſinterpretations that were made of all his actions, alienated the hearts of his ſubjects, but more eſpecially thoſe of Mercia and Northumberland, who openly revolted, and ſet up his brother Eadgar as king over them, though then a youth of only fourteen years of age; ſo that to Eadwig was left only the kingdom of Weſſex, bounded by the river Thames.

A. D. 959. The death, &c. of Eadwig.

Theſe proceedings of his ſubjects, which he could by no means prevent, had ſuch an effect upon the ſpirits of Eadwig, that he pined away with grief, and, about two years after the advancement of his brother, died of a broken heart early in the beginning of the year 959. His body was enterred at Wincheſter in a new abbey called Hyde, erected without the walls of that city.

His character difficult to draw, and why.

It would be to no purpoſe to attempt to delineate the character of this prince, ſince the monks (who are the only hiſtorians of thoſe times) were his profeſſed enemies—therefore all his virtues were undoubtedly obſcured, his good intentions miſinterpreted, and his vices expoſed in the moſt aggravated colours; in ſhort, we may, with ſome juſtice conclude, that he was not really ſo bad as he is repreſented. All that can be added of certainty is, that his perſon was ſo perfectly beautiful, that the epithet of Fair was beſtowed upon him. It does not appear that he left any iſſue behind him †.

* W. Malmsb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 7.

† What became of this lady after the ſeparation is not, I believe, recorded;——but, notwithſtanding the above account, ſome authors have poſitively aſſerted that ſhe was his lawful wife. Thus Speed, quoting John Capgrave, declares as follows: "Elfgive, his wife, was a lady of "ſingular beauty, nobly deſcended; ſome "ſay rather too near a relation. Her fa-"ther's name is not recorded, but her mo-"ther was called Ethelgive. She has by "ſome been ſcandalized as his concubine, "and the only cauſer of Dunſtan's ba-"niſhment. However, the monks thought "proper to find fault with his marriage, ſo "that an. 3. they forced her to a ſepara-"tion:"—but of all this the authentic authors make no mention; therefore the account muſt ſtand as above, until ſome better authority ſhall be found than the Legends of Capgrave. Vide Speed, Chron. fol. 348.

EADGAR, *firnamed The* PEACEABLE.

The Twelfth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A. D. 959. Eadgar ſucceeds his brother.

ON the death of Eadwig, Eadgar his brother, who before ruled all Mercia and Northumberland, ſucceeded to the government of the whole kingdom of England, being at that time only in the ſixteenth year of his age. He no ſooner aſcended the throne than he called Dunſtan out of Flanders (where he had made his abode during the time of his exile) and made him one of his chief counſellors *; his others were Ethelwold, abbot of Glaſtonbury, and Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, every one of them great favourors of the monks, and profeſſed enemies to the ſecular clergy. By their advice, Eadgar reſtored all thoſe honours to the monks which they had been deprived of by his brother; by which means he ſoon obtained their commendations.

The prudence of Eadgar.

All the time this prince ſat upon the throne, a profound peace continued throughout his dominions, for which reaſon he obtained the ſirname Peaceable; but though he was undiſturbed by any war, yet was he always well prepared to defend his territories from the attempts of his enemies, if their inclinations ſhould lead them to commence hoſtilities; and he not only ſecured the internal parts of his dominion, but alſo prudently took care to guard the ſea coaſts from the attacks of any foreign power; to effect which, he provided a vaſt fleet of ſhips †, which he divided into four ſeveral ſquadrons. Theſe were ſtationed at appointed diſtances from each other, ſailing North, Eaſt, South, and Weſt; and after they had reached the bounds aſſigned them, they returned, and met each other at the place from whence they firſt ſet out. In the Summer time, Eadgar himſelf would uſually ſail with one ſquadron or other, and ſee that their duty was properly attended to ‡.

His juſtice.

During the Winter ſeaſon, Eadgar uſually made the circuit of his kingdom, and viſited all the chief courts of juſtice to ſee that a due

* Malmſbury, &c.

† Hoveden, and others, ſay, this fleet conſiſted of 3600 ſail of ſhips; but Math. of Weſtminſter extends their number to 4800.

‡ W. Malmsbury de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8.

regard



regard was payed to the laws, and that juſtice was equally adminiſtered by the magiſtrates *. Such as he found aſſiduous and careful he rewarded; but, on the contrary, he puniſhed thoſe moſt ſeverely whom he found neglectful or unjuſt; and as he was a conſtant friend and protector to the poor and oppreſſed, ſo was he as ſtrict in bringing to juſtice thoſe who were indolent and diſhoneſt, by which means thieves and vagabonds were almoſt totally ſuppreſſed. Neither would he permit any little ſtraggling alehouſes to be kept within his dominions, juſtly eſteeming them as nurſeries of indolence and vice; but made a ſtrict law, ordaining that only one public houſe ſhould be allowed in any one village or ſmall town, and more only in proportion to the ſize of larger towns or boroughs. In order alſo to ſtop the progreſs of *inordinate drinking*, which the Engliſh had learned of the Danes, ſuch regulations as were neceſſary were, at the ſame time, ordained †.

Inſtead of the tribute which Æthelſtan had impoſed upon the Welſh, Eadgar demanded yearly to be ſent to him the ſkins of three hundred wolves; by which means (without any expence to his ſubjects) the whole land was, in the ſpace of little more than two years, cleared from thoſe rapacious animals by which it had formerly been much infeſted ‡. The land freed from wolves.

Thus did Eadgar keep his kingdom in conſtant peace and felicity, and reſtored ſuch good order amongſt his ſubjects that great exceſſes, pilfering, robberies, or murder, or other calamities (the effects of the neglect of juſtice, and the due attention which ought to be paid to the execution of the laws) were ſeldom heard of throughout his dominions; and theſe prudent proceedings not only ſecured him the hearts of his ſubjects, but rendered him terrible to his enemies, and highly conſequential to thoſe who were tributary to him. The effects of Eadgar's prudent adminiſtration.

It may ſeem extraordinary (yet from the beſt authorities it appears to have been true) that Eadgar, notwithſtanding he entered upon the government of the kingdom immediately after the death of his brother, and took upon him the title and dignity of a king, yet he was not crowned until the year 973, being the thirtieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign §, when this ceremony was performed at Bath, with great ſplendour, by Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of all the nobles of the realm ‖. A. D. 973. The coronation of Eadgar.

* Ibid.

† Malmsbury, &c.

‡ Ibid.

§ The only reaſon that can be collected from ancient records for this delay is, that it was enjoined him by way of penance for the faults which he had committed in his amours.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub. an. 973. & Wil. Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 8.—Polydore Vergil confidently affirms, that Eadgar was crowned in the firſt year of his reign before the return of Dunſtan from his exile; but on what authority this opinion is grounded, we are left in the dark.

A. D. 974. Eadgar's pride.

Eadgar, the year after his coronation, went to Cheſter, where he ſummoned all the kings, who were tributary to him, to attend him, which they obeyed, and there did him homage. They were eight in number, and their names are recorded as follow: Kunadius king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Maccuſſe king of Man and the iſlands *, with Duſwal, Hewal, Giferth, Jacob, and Judethal, all five kings of Wales.—After theſe princes had done him homage, he cauſed every one of them to take an oar, and, entering with them into a boat, was by them rowed upon the river Dee, whilſt himſelf ſat at the helm and ſteered; at the ſame time vain-glorioufly exulting, that his deſcendants might truly ſtile themſelves kings of England, when they enjoyed ſuch honours as were granted to him †.

A. D. 975. The death of Eadgar.

The duration of human glory is ſo ſhort and tranſitory, that they who enjoy it, in the greateſt degree, ought not to be vainly oſtentatious, but ſhould ſtill remember, that, while they are boaſting, they may be ſtanding upon the verge of ruin. So was it with the Engliſh, who, during the reign of Eadgar, thought their happineſs compleat; but, after his death, the ſtate fell ſuddenly into decay, when their enemies became conquerors, and triumphed in their turns.—Eadgar was ſnatched away from his people in the very prime of his life and the zenith of his glory. His death happened in the month of July, in the year 975, the thirty-ſecond of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign, when his remains were interred with great pomp at the abbey of Glaſtonbury.

The perſon of Eadgar.

Eadgar was a man of ſmall ſtature, and ſlender of body, yet his limbs were very ſtrong and well made, ſo that he was able to contend with men much larger and ſtouter than himſelf, which he would frequently do, deſiring them to exert their utmoſt abilities to overcome him, without paying the leaſt compliment to his dignity ‡.

* Malmſbury ſtiles him "*Archipiratam Maccuſium*"—Lib. 2. cap. 8.

† About the ſame time Eadgar gave many rich preſents to the king of Scotland, particularly the whole country of Louthian, to hold of him, on condition that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould repair to the Engliſh court at high feſtivals, when the king ſat crowned, and gave him alſo many lodging places by the way, which, till the days of Henry the Second, were held by the kings of Scotland.---Milton's Hiſt. p. 276.

‡ The following remarkable ſtory is told of this prince:---That one day, the king of Scotland, while he was ſitting at table at the court of Eadgar, caſt ſome reflection upon his ſmallneſs of ſtature; which being told him again, he called the king of Scotland aſide, and ſhewing him two ſwords, bid him take one, "for (ſays he) we will "now try who ought to be ſubject to the "other;" adding, at the ſame time, that it was a ſhame for a king to boaſt at his table, and ſhrink from the battle. The king of Scotland, aſhamed of what had been ſaid, which he found had been told to Eadgar, fell down at his feet, and beſought him to pardon what he had unwittingly ſpoken, without the leaſt intention of diſparagement to him.---Malmſ. ut ſup.

Eadgar

The character of Eadgar.

Eadgar may juſtly be eſteemed a valiant and a political prince. His diſpoſition appears to have been courteous, and his behaviour chearful and agreeable. He was endued with many virtues, and poſſeſſed the chief requiſites of majeſty, as mercy and juſtice; but, on the other hand, his inordinate love of women frequently led him to commit ſuch actions as will always remain as blemiſhes to his character, notwithſtanding ſome authors have attempted to extenuate them.—In religious opinions, he appears to have been bigotted in favour of the Monkiſh clergy, whoſe parts he at all times took againſt the Secular prieſts, whom he has been thought ſometimes to have treated too ſeverely. He is alſo accuſed of being more favourable to foreigners than was conſiſtent with the intereſt or welfare of his own ſubjects *.

The firſt wife of Eadgar.

Eadgar's firſt wife was named Ethelfleda, a lady ſo fair that ſhe was ſirnamed the White †. She was the daughter of a nobleman named Ordmar (who reſided in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles) and ſaid to have been married to Eadgar in the ſecond year of his reign: it is alſo reported that ſhe died two years after her marriage, A. D. 963.—The moſt authentic authors ‡ have not denied that this lady was the lawful wife of king Eadgar; yet, notwithſtanding this, ſome writers of later times have diſputed this point §, declaring that he violated her chaſtity, and made her his concubine; at the ſame time avowing that the young prince Edward, who appears to be the only child that Eadgar had by her, was illegitimate; they further add, that, for the injury which Eadgar had done to this lady, his coronation (by way of penance) was deferred ſeven years ‖. But ſurely, after all they have ſaid upon this head, they have advanced no argument of authority enough to overturn the repeated affirmations of ſeveral ancient writers, who have poſitively declared themſelves in her favour ¶.

Iſſue by his firſt wife.

Edward, the only child that Ethelfleda bore to Eadgar, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom.

The ſecond wife of Eadgar.

The ſecond wife of Eadgar, was called Elfrida, the daughter of Ordgarus, a duke of Devonſhire. She was a lady of ſuch exquiſite beauty, that her praiſes were frequently repeated at Eadgar's court, and at laſt reached the king's ears (who had not long, it ſeems, been left a widower, by the death of Ethelfleda) and he, being ſtruck with

* For, ſays Malmſbury, of the *foreign Saxons* the Engliſh people learned rudeneſs, of the *Flemiſh* daintineſs and ſoftneſs, and of the *Danes* drunkenneſs.

† In Saxon, Hpit, by the Latin authors, *Candidus*.

‡ W. Malmſbury, Rog. Hoveden, Mat. Weſt. Randulf Higden, Henry de Knyghton, &c.

§ John Paris.---Osborn in Vita S. Dunſtani.

‖ Fox in his Book of Martyrs, Speed's Chronicle, &c.

¶ Ranulf. Higd. Mat. Weſt. Hen. de Knyghton, &c.

the

the accounts that he had heard of her, was desirous of examining further into the truth of these reports; he therefore commissioned a certain nobleman of his court, named Ethelwold, to go to her father's house, and contrive some method of seeing the lady, and, if he found her as beautiful as she had been reported to be, he should declare to her father, that the king was desirous to make her his queen.—Ethelwold, thus commissioned by his sovereign, went instantly into Devonshire, and saw the lady; when, being himself smitten with her charms, he entirely neglected the commands of his master, and preferred his own suit to the lady, by whom he was graciously received, and the father consenting, he obtained her in marriage.—In the mean time he returned to the court, and made so cold a report of her beauty to the king, that he quietly dropped all further thoughts concerning her, until some time after the marriage of Ethelwold, when he was informed of his treachery by some of that nobleman's enemies. Eadgar was highly provoked at the unfaithfulness of his servant, but dissembling his resentment, he told him it was his intention to visit him and his bride. Ethelwold accepted of the invitation with all appearance of joy, but hasted home, to be there before the arrival of the king; and having first informed his wife of the deceit which he had practised to obtain her, intreated her to dress herself in the most unbecoming manner she could, as his life depended thereon.—Elfrida, angry that she had thus been deprived of a throne, in order to revenge herself upon her husband, dressed herself with the utmost pomp, and set off all her charms to the greatest advantage. Her art had the desired effect; for Eadgar no sooner beheld her, than he was smitten to the heart by her beauty, and therefore determined to punish the deceit of Ethelwold, which he effected soon after, as he was hunting with the unfortunate nobleman in the forest of Harewood, where he ran him through with a dart *. Soon after the death of Ethelwold, he married Elfleda †, and by her had issue two sons.

Issue by his second wife.

Edmund, the eldest son of Eadgar, by Elfrida, was born in the sixth year of his father's reign, A. D. 965, and died in his infancy, in the year 971, being then but just six years of age. His body was buried, with all due ceremonies, at a monastery of nuns, at Ramsey in Hampshire, which had been founded by his father.

* Malmsbury declares, that a base son of Ethelwold's happened to pass by at the same time, and the king sternly asked him "how he liked that sort of hunting;" to which he submissively answered, "that, if it pleased the king, it might not displease him." His answer so much pleased Eadgar, that he took an affection for him, and advanced him high in his favour, endeavouring by that means to make him amends for the loss of his father.

† Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8. &c. &c.

Ethelred,

Ethelred, the youngeſt ſon of Elfrida, was born in the ſeventh year of his father's reign, A. D. 966. After the murder of his brother Edward, he ſucceeded to the throne.

Eadgar's laſciviouſneſs.

The firſt inſtance of the laſciviouſneſs of Eadgar, was his violating the chaſtity of a virgin, named Wolfhild, whom he took forcibly from a nunnery, where ſhe had been placed to avoid his purſuits; for which fault he was moſt ſeverely reprehended by Dunſtan, and obliged to do a penance of ſeven years, by having his coronation ſo long deferred. And this is moſt likely to have occaſioned that penance, rather than that cauſe before-mentioned, admitting that Ethelfleda had really been the concubine of Eadgar, and not his wife, not only becauſe it is affirmed by the beſt authors *, but becauſe the crime in itſelf would doubtleſs have been eſteemed greater in the violation of Wolfhild than of Ethelfleda; for, in the former caſe, the decrees of the church were trampled upon, which of courſe would make the clergy more outrageous.

His iſſue by Wolfhild.

By Wolfhild, Eadgar had one child, a daughter, named Edgitha, who was afterwards a veiled nun in the monaſtery of Wilton, and, as it ſeems, was made abbeſs there, at fifteen years of age, by her father. She died the fifteenth day of September, in the year 954, aged twenty-three. She was very beautiful, but ſo chaſte and pious, that after her death ſhe obtained the title of ſaint †.

The deceit put upon king Eadgar.

After the death of Ethelfleda, the firſt wife of Eadgar, report was made to him concerning the beauty of a young virgin, the daughter of the duke of Andover. Being taken with the commendations he had heard beſtowed upon her, he went to her father's houſe, where he ſaw her, and being pleaſed with her perſon, demanded that ſhe might be brought to his bed. The mother of the damſel, anxious for the honour of her child, was determined (although at the hazard of her life) by ſome deceit to evade the cruel command, which ſhe dared not openly to reſiſt; for this purpoſe ſhe ſuborned a young female ſervant of her houſhold, and led her in the dark to the king's bed.—In the morning the damſel was haſting to ariſe, when the king detained her, demanding why ſhe hurried from him; to which ſhe replied, that the taſk which her miſtreſs had aſſigned her was great, ſo that ſhe ſhould ſcarcely find time to perform it. The king was amazed at this declaration; but the damſel, kneeling down, informed him, that, at the command of her miſtreſs, ſhe had ſupplied her daughter's place; and beſought him, that, ſince ſhe had been ſo highly honoured as to be advanced to her ſovereign's bed, ſhe might no longer be ſubject to the hard ſervice that her miſtreſs impoſed upon her. The king, though much moved at the deceit which had been put upon him,

* Malmsb. Hoveden, Mat. Weſt. &c. † Ibid, &c.

diſguiſed

diſguiſed his reſentment, and took the damſel home with him, whom he loved tenderly, and continued true to her bed until he married his ſecond wife, Elfreda *. But it does not appear that he had any iſſue during his intercourſe with this woman.

* Malmsb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 8. &c.---Thus an old French chronicle informs us, that Eadgar was *geune bacheler home de grant valur e bunte ame de deu e de tut bon gent*; after adding, *Nul ne ſe ſont ne nepout blamer ſi de treys choſes*; *nun del cunte Ethelword*; *edel duc Dondore*; *ede la Moneyne, kil treiſt a force de ſa abbee pur ſa beaute*, &c. which may be thus Engliſhed: "A young man of great valour and goodneſs of heart towards God and all good people. He was only blameable for three things; the one for the earl Ethelwold; the other for the duke of Andover; and the laſt for the Nun, which he took from her abbey for her beauty." Which ſhort account refers to, and confirms, the three particulars above related.---The MS. from whence this is extracted is to be found in the Cotton library, marked Galba, E. 3.

EDWARD,

EDWARD, *firnamed The* MARTYR.

The thirteenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

NOTWITHSTANDING Eadgar, upon his death bed, had appointed his ſon Edward to ſucceed him in the kingdom, his eyes were no ſooner cloſed than the advancement of Edward was oppoſed by a powerful party, at the head of which was Elfrida, the ſecond wife of Eadgar, who was ambitious of raiſing her own ſon Æthelred to the throne. Amongſt the nobles who ſided with her, the moſt potent was Alferus, earl of Mercia, whoſe intereſt was ſuch, that the claim of Edward would certainly have been rejected had it not been for the artifice of Dunſtan his faſt friend, who, taking the advantage of a meeting which was convened to argue the claim of the two princes, came into the aſſembly arrayed in his official habit, and ſuddenly proclaimed Edward king. This proceeding ſurpriſed the council in general; but as the greater part of them were compoſed of the clergy, the point was carried to the great diſappointment of the oppoſing parties *. A. D. 975. Diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion.

The diſpute being ſettled in this manner by Dunſtan, Edward was permitted to aſcend the throne; and, although he was then but twelve years of age, he was crowned by Dunſtan at Kingſtone in the year 975 †. The coronation of Edward.

During the ſhort reign of this unfortunate prince, his dominions were not diſturbed by any war; but the peace which had continued all his father's life time ſtill exiſted; therefore few or no particulars relative to the civil or military hiſtory of this period can be collected with any degree of certainty. The early part of Edward's reign was ſpent in ſharp debates between the monks and ſecular prieſts, which will neceſſarily form a portion of the ſucceeding part of this work ‡. The peaceable ſtate of the kingdom.

* Malmsb. &c.
† Ibid.
‡ Vide the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, part 2. of this volume.

A. D. 978. The murder of king Edward.

Elfrida, and her party, who had been diſappointed in their hopes of advancing Æthelred to the throne by the ſudden proceeding of Dunſtan, though they ſmothered the appearance of reſentment, were ſtill no well-wiſhers to Edward, eſpecially the queen herſelf, who relying upon the intereſt of her friends, was plotting his removal, and at laſt effected her bloody purpoſe in the following treacherous manner.—The king, being one day hunting in a foreſt near Corfe Caſtle *, the habitation of his ſtep-mother Elfrida, and deſirous of paying his reſpects to her, left his company following the chaſe, and rode, without attendants, up to the gate of the caſtle. His arrival being ſignified to Elfrida, ſhe came forth to meet him, and, with many flattering compliments, entreated him to alight from his horſe, and enter her dwelling; but he, deſirous of rejoining his company, politely refuſed her requeſt; at the ſame time, aſking for a cup of wine to allay his thirſt, his requeſt was inſtantly granted; but whilſt he was drinking, one of the ſervants of Elfrida, whom ſhe had corrupted, ſtabbed him in the back. The unhappy youth, feeling himſelf wounded, ſpurred his horſe in order to eſcape from his murderer, and rejoin his companions; but he had not rode far before the loſs of blood, which flowed plenteouſly from his wound, rendered him ſo weak that he fell from his horſe; but one of his feet ſtill hanging by the ſtirrup, he was dragged up and down the foreſt for a conſiderable time, and at laſt left dead in the way, whither his body was traced by the tract of blood which flowed from him. His corpſe was at firſt buried, without any funeral pomp, at Warham; but, about three years after, it was removed from thence by Ulferus, earl of Mercia, and, with all due ſolemnities, re-buried at Shafteſbury. Edward was murdered in the year 978, being then only fifteen years of age, after he had reigned three years; and from his receiving ſo unworthy a death, he afterwards obtained the title of Martyr. The murdereſs afterwards, repenting the foulneſs of her crime, ſpent the reſidue of her days in ſorrow and penance †.

The outlines of the character of Edward.

Edward was of a modeſt diſpoſition, and endowed with ſuch a ſweetneſs of temper, that he was juſtly admired, even by his enemies. His piety, and other virtues alſo, were ſo conſpicuous, that people, in general, had formed great expectations from his government when he ſhould have arrived at fit age to take it wholly upon himſelf. Such are the mere outlines of the character of this prince, whoſe death was generally lamented. He had no wife, nor iſſue to ſucceed him.

* Called Corveſgate in the ancient authors, and ſituated, ſays Camden, in the iſle of Purbeck.

† W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 9. & alib.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELRED, *ſirnamed The* UNREADY.

The Fourteenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

AFTER the murder of young Edward, Æthelred, the ſon of Eadgar by Elfrida, was advanced to the throne, although ſorely againſt the will of many; for as he came to his dignity through the blood of his brother (notwithſtanding he was perfectly innocent of the crime *) he could never ſecure the good-will of his ſubjects in general, from whence aroſe many civil diſcords within the kingdom, as well amongſt the nobles, as amongſt the people of the common rank †. A. D. 979. Æthelred ſucceeds his brother.

Dunſtan, it is ſaid, not only at firſt refuſed to inveſt this prince with the regal dignities, but was deſirous of advancing Edgith, the illegitimate daughter of Eadgar (born to him by the nun Wolfhild) to the throne; but ſhe having already ſeen the miſerable end of her brother Edward, would, by no means, conſent to the entreaties of the archbiſhop, preferring her preſent humble ſituation, in a monaſtery, to the glories of a crown with ſuch appearances of danger ‡. Dunſtan refuſes to crown king Æthelred.

Archbiſhop Dunſtan being diſappointed in his deſign of placing Edgith upon the throne, at laſt conſented to the advancement of Æthelred, and crowned him, with his own hands, at Kingſton on Eaſter-day, being the 24th day of April, in the year 979, he being then juſt turned of twelve years of age. This unproſperous beginning of Æthelred's reign was rendered more conſpicuous by ſeveral unuſual appearances in the heavens, which, by the diſcontented clergy, were interpreted as dreadful omens of enſuing troubles; and ſuch interpretations were as confidently believed by the credulous multitude §. The unfavourable beginning of Æthelred's reign.

* Inſomuch that it is ſaid, that upon the report of his brother Edward's death, he wept ſo heartily that his mother was exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that ſhe beat him ſeverely with a wax taper, ſo that he hated the ſight of a wax taper ever after. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.

† Malmſbury, &c.

‡ Vita S. Editha.

§ Dunſtan, indeed, is ſaid to have openly propheſied of the evils that were to enſue. It is alſo further advanced, that when he was baptized, his water ran from him into the font, and polluted it. Whereupon Dunſtan exclaimed with an oath, that he would prove a ſluggard if he lived. All theſe pretended omens and ſuperſtitious interpretations heightened the diſcontent of the people. Vid. Malmſb. &c.

A. D. 981. The diſlike which the people in general bore towards their young king was the ſubject of various diſputes and frequent diſcords, by which means the power of the nation was divided into ſeparate parties, and continually weakened. Theſe unhappy diſſentions were ſoon noticed by thoſe enemies of the ſtate, the Danes, who conſidered the preſent as a favourable opportunity to accompliſh their deſigns. They therefore fitted out ſeven large veſſels, and a ſtrong party of them ſailed round the coaſts of Kent, where they plundered the country bordering upon the ſea, but more eſpecially the iſland of Thanet, which they entirely pillaged; from thence they went to Southampton, which city they deſtroyed, and either killed or took priſoners all the inhabitants. At the ſame time, a ſtrong party of Norway pirates plundered the country bordering about Weſt Cheſter *.

The Danes renew their attack.

A. D. 982. The Danes finding that their attacks, inſtead of animating the people of England againſt them, and cauſing them to unite their forces together, ſerved only to increaſe the diſcord which prevailed in the nation. This made them more bold and daring in their undertakings; ſo that the ſame army which had deſtroyed Southampton coaſted round the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, and pillaged the ſea coaſts of Devonſhire and Cornwall. About the ſame time another party of the Danes, with three large ſhips, ſailed to Dorſetſhire, and harraſſed the country round about Portland. To theſe misfortunes alſo another ſevere one was added, for, in the ſame year, the whole city of London was burnt to the ground; but whether this was the effects of a calamitous accident, or occaſioned by the hand of the enemy, is not recorded. However, from the manner in which it is related by hiſtorians, it appears rather to have been owing to the former cauſe †.

The Danes commit freſh outrages.

A. D. 986. One great cauſe of the diſreſpect under which Æthelred laboured, was the great intereſt that the monkiſh clergy had with the people, and who becauſe they ſtood not ſo high in Æthelred's favour as the ſecular prieſts, were continually irritating the people againſt him; and unhappily, in the ſixth year of his reign, he was involved in a grievous quarrel with the biſhop of Rocheſter. Æthelred, in order to revenge himſelf upon the prelate, beſieged the city of Rocheſter. This matter coming to the ears of Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and he being offended at the ſteps which the king had taken, ſent meſſengers, beſeeching him to deſiſt, at the ſame time telling him, that he would highly incenſe St. Andrew, who was patron of that city, if he damaged the lands that were dedicated to his uſe, or otherwiſe hurt his votaries. This craft (which was not uncommon in thoſe days among the prieſts

Quarrel between the king and the biſhop of Rocheſter.

* S. Dunelm.

† Ibid. &c.

for,

for the preſervation of their lands to entail them on certain ſaints) had not the deſired effect; for the king ſtill continued the ſiege, wherefore Dunſtan propoſed the payment of an hundred pounds to the king. This propoſal was by him accepted, and accordingly the money being paid down, he raiſed the ſiege, and departed with his forces. When Dunſtan heard that the king would not be pacified without the payment of the money, he reprehended his avarice, and denounced many evils which he ſaid were by God ordained to happen to him *. This accident, and Dunſtan's exclamation, increaſed the diſlike which Æthelred's ſubjects had conceived againſt him.

The year following ſtrange fluxes carried off a great number of people, and the cattle ſuffered prodigiouſly by a grievous murrain which afflicted them.—The ſame year, or early in the beginning of the next, a large party of the Danes landed upon the coaſts of Devonſhire, where they began as uſual, to pillage the country. But Goda, who was the governor of that diſtrict, being joined by a chieftain named Sternwold, marched with a ſtrong army againſt them, and after a bloody battle, the Danes were put to flight. This victory, however, was dearly bought by the Saxons, who loſt both Goda and Sternwold their leaders, in the encounter †. A. D. 987. The ſucceſs of the Danes.

From this time to the year 991, the Danes ſtill continued committing various piracies, ſometimes in one part of the kingdom, and ſometimes in another; and being emboldened by the ſucceſs they met with, they then landed in the eaſt, under the command of Juſtin, and Guthmund the ſon of Steytan, two valiant leaders, and deſtroyed the town of Ipſwich, continuing their courſe, uninterruped, and plundering the country till they came near Malden in Eſſex, where they were met by Brithnoth, earl of the Eaſt Angles, with whom they fought, and after an obſtinate and bloody battle, the Saxons were totally overcome with the loſs of their leader, who was left dead upon the field, and the far greater part of their army. This victory, as it added to the conſequence of the conquerors, ſo it intimidated the people who inhabited thoſe parts, inſomuch that the Danes went whither they would, plundering and pillaging the country, and none were bold enough to make any reſiſtance. Æthelred, in the mean time, was not able to make head againſt them; for the ſtate was divided into various parties, which obſtinately refuſed to unite with each other. In this diſtraction of affairs, a council of ſtate was ſummoned, in order to conſult upon the moſt proper methods that were to be purſued in this emergency. Here ſome few offered aſſiſtance to the king, but the greater part (amongſt which were Siric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with A. D. 991. Peace bought of the Danes.

* Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.

† Simon Dunelm, &c.

Ethel-

Ethelward and Alfric, two chief noblemen *) propoſed the purchaſing a peace by money. The matter being agreed upon, ten thouſand pounds was paid to the Danes, who thereupon promiſed to withdraw their forces †.

A. D. 993. The Danes renew the war.

The great ſucceſs which the Danes had met with in England the preceeding year, and more particularly the money which had been paid to them, was an irreſiſtible temptation to them, or others of their countrymen, to make freſh efforts to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of a declining kingdom.—Therefore, the ſecond year following, with a large fleet, they ſailed into England. The rumour of their coming was quickly ſpread amongſt the people to their univerſal terror and diſmay. In the mean time Æthelred, with the greateſt difficulty, collected a fleet in order to oppoſe them, The command of this fleet was committed to Alfric, the ſon of Elfer, duke of Mercia—a man, who was but juſt returned from baniſhment, whither he had been ſent by the king for ſome great offence, which being now forgiven, he was reſtored to favour, and inveſted with the command. The fleet which Æthelred had fitted out, it is thought, would have been more than ſufficient to have oppoſed that of the Danes had the command been given to a faithful man; but Alfric having nothing leſs at heart than the intereſt of his country, treacherouſly gave the enemy notice of his approach, ſo that they readily eſcaped the danger. Soon after falling in unavoidably with part of the enemy's fleet, he was reduced to the neceſſity of engaging with them, which he pretended to do, whilſt in reality he was only giving them leiſure to eſcape; and not content with this manifeſtation of his treachery, he fully confirmed it at laſt by an actual revolt from the king's fleet, and joining that of the Danes. This behaviour ſo exaſperated the other Saxon chieftains, that they purſued the fleet of the Danes, and at laſt retook the ſhip in which Alfric had made his eſcape, with all his ſoldiers, and his armour, but he ſuſpecting their deſign, had been careful to ſecure himſelf on board ſome other veſſel. However, when they found not the prize they ſought for on board the ſhip, they wreaked their vengeance on thoſe that were there, and put every one of them to the ſword. The Saxon chieftains, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion, were named Theored, Elſtan and Eſcwin; but notwithſtanding all their efforts, the king's fleet ſuſtained ſome conſiderable loſs—and the fleet of the Danes ſecured their retreat for the preſent with but

* The Saxon annals ſay, that Ælfeges, biſhop of Wincheſter, was alſo one of the chief who gave this council.

† Simon Dunelm. The Saxon annals place this tranſaction under the year 993, and declare, that the fleet of the Danes conſiſted of 390 ſhips, under the command of Unlaf, a great chieftain; whilſt others make Unlaf to be the conductor of thoſe who came the ſucceeding year.

little

little damage *; but ſoon after, being met by the Londoners, they were defeated with prodigious loſs.

In the mean time another party of the Danes pillaged the city of Bedbanburgh, near Durham; and ſailing from thence, entered the mouth of the Humber, waſting the country on both ſides, in Lindſey and Yorkſhire. To oppoſe theſe, Æthelred ſent his army under the conduct of three captains, named Frema, Godwine, and Fredegiſt. Theſe men, it ſeems, were of Daniſh pedigree, and the faſt friends of thoſe they were ſent to oppoſe: the battle therefore was not long begun, before they all left their own army to ſhift for themſelves, and joined the forces of the Danes; by which treachery the Saxon forces were entirely overthrown, and the Danes, without much loſs, obtained the victory.—Theſe proceedings juſtly alarmed the inhabitanrs who dwelt in thoſe parts, ſo that they joined their forces together, and fell upon the Danes ſo ſuddenly that they were obliged to make a haſty retreat, with conſiderable loſs.

The treachery of Æthelred's generals.

Theſe misfortunes, occaſioned by the treachery of the chief commanders of the Saxons, and the rapid progreſs that the Danes made towards a conqueſt of the land, were ſo far from rouſing the martial ſpirit of the people in general, that they ſeemed only to have exaſperated them the more againſt the king, who was at this time in a very perplexing ſituation, not knowing how to proceed, nor whom to truſt: however, he endeavoured to revenge himſelf upon Ælfric for his treaſon, by cauſing the eyes of his ſon to be put out †.

The perplexing ſituation of king Æthelred.

A. D. 994.

Theſe calamities were ſoon ſucceeded by others; for, either the latter end of the ſame year, or early in the beginning of the next, Unlaf, king of Norway, and Sweyne king of Denmark, with ninety-four large galleys, came up the Thames as far as London, which city they cloſely beſieged; but the Londoners ſo bravely reſiſted their attacks, that, after many fruitleſs attempts, in which they ſuſtained great loſs, they were obliged to retreat; which they did, exaſperated to the higheſt degree by their repulſe; and, in revenge, they waſted the coaſts of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex, with fire and ſword, deſtroying every place they came to, and ſlaughtering every miſerable inhabitant that fell into their hands, without paying any regard to their age or ſex. With this wanton cruelty they held their courſe uninterrupted, until they reached Southampton, where they abode the winter.—In the mean time, Æthelred, utterly unable to make head againſt them, referred the matter to council, and it was agreed upon, that peace ſhould again be purchaſed with money; therefore a treaty was opened with the Danes, who inſiſted upon the payment of ſixteen thouſand pounds; which exorbitant demand was agreed to by the Saxons ‡.

Freſh attacks of the Danes.

* Huntindon, & S. Dunelm. † S. Dunelm, Bromton, &c. ‡ Ibid.

After

Unlaf, king of Norway, is baptized.

After the treaty of peace was concluded upon between the Saxons and the Danes, Æthelred ſent an invitation to Unlaf to come and viſit him at Andover, where he then lay; which invitation was accepted by Unlaf, who, on his arrival, was well received by Æthelred, and entertained in a princely manner. At the ſame time Unlaf, of his own accord, embraced the Chriſtian faith, and was there baptized, Æthelred being his ſponſor at the font. Nor was Unlaf diſmiſſed from the Saxon court until he had received ſeveral valuable preſents; whilſt he, in return for the friendly reception he had met with, took a ſolemn oath never to moleſt the kingdom again; which oath he faithfully kept, without the leaſt infringement *

A. D. 997. Other attacks of the Danes.

The ſtipulated ſum being paid to the Danes whilſt they abode at Southampton, the following ſpring they departed, and the kingdom was left in peace for the ſpace of three years; at the end of which the Daniſh fleet, that had made its eſcape through the treachery of Alfric, being joined by other parties of the Danes who reſided in England, ſailed about Cornwall, and entered the mouth of the river Severn, pillaging the country on both ſides of its banks; from whence marching farther into the country, they conſumed Lydford, and burnt the abbey of Saint Ordulfe at Eſſinſtock, carrying vaſt ſpoils to their ſhips. In their return, they ravaged Dorſetſhire with fire and ſword, without meeting with any reſiſtance; for the people in general were ſo much diſheartened by their calamities, and ſo reduced, that they were not able to make head againſt the conquerors.—The Danes, thus ſucceſsful in their expedition, ſpent the winter in the Iſle of Wight, from whence they made frequent incurſions into Hampſhire and Suſſex †.

A. D. 998. The bad conduct of the Saxons.

In the mean time, the Saxons, who inhabited thoſe parts, had frequently raiſed armies to encounter with their foes; but as often as they were brought to action, either from the irreſolution of the parties, the treachery of the leaders, or ſome other misfortune, they were conſtantly overcome: and theſe imprudent proceedings (the effects of dreadful inteſtine diviſions) ſecured the conqueſt to their enemies, and was the great ſource of all their calamities ‡.

A. D. 999. The Danes leave England.

In the ſpring of the year 999, the Danes quitted the Iſle of Wight, and entering the mouth of the Thames, ſailed up the Medway to Rocheſter, which city they beſieged; but the Kentiſh-men aſſembled together, and took the field againſt them. A ſharp engagement enſued between the two parties, in which, however, the Danes at laſt were conquerors, though their victory was obtained with conſiderable loſs. After the Danes had overcome the Kentiſh-men, they pillaged

* S. Dunelm, &c. † Ibid. &c. ‡ Ibid.

the

the eaſtern parts of the country, and with great ſpoils returned to their ſhips.—Æthelred in the mean time, with much difficulty, had raiſed an army to oppoſe them; but, either through the diſcontent amongſt the ſoldiers, or the treachery of their leaders, nothing effectual was done to hinder the progreſs of the Danes.—After the Danes had pillaged Kent (for what reaſon is unknown) they hoiſted their ſails, and croſſed the ſea to Normandy, where they abode during the winter*.

A. D. 1000. Æthelred conquers Cumberland.

Æthelred determined to take the advantage of the abſence of thoſe Danes who were gone to Normandy, to attack thoſe who were left at home; he therefore undertook an expedition, both by ſea and land, into Cumberland, where the Danes chiefly inhabited; who, being unable to reſiſt the army of Æthelred, he, by way of retaliation, waſted the country with fire and ſword, ſlaughtering all that he met with, and driving away the reſt: thoſe Danes alſo ſhared the ſame fate, who were planted in the Iſles of Angleſey and places adjacent.—The ſucceſs of this expedition ſomewhat raiſed the expectations of the people, and led them to think a little more favourable of their king; but the ſucceeding misfortunes ſoon obliterated the remembrance of this exploit †.—The ſame year Elfgifa, the wife of Æthelred, died ‡.

A. D. 1001. The Danes return from Normandy, and their ſucceſs.

The following year the Danes, who had been in Normandy for the ſpace of a twelvemonth, returned again to England, and entering the mouth of the river Ex with their fleet, laid cloſe ſiege to the city of Exeter; but the citizens ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that they could not take the city. Enraged at their repulſe, they revenged themſelves upon the ſurrounding country, which they pillaged and deſtroyed without the leaſt mercy or remorſe.—The people of Somerſet and Devon, hearing of the depredations which their enemies were committing, aſſembled themſelves at a place called Penho, where they fought with the Danes, but were overthrown with great ſlaughter.

The Danes gain ground in the kingdom, and why.

From this time the Danes got ground daily in the kingdom; for all the attempts of the Engliſh to extricate themſelves from theſe evils proved ineffectual. For want of proper counſellors, the affairs of the ſtate were badly conducted, and the want of unity fruſtrated all their expeditions. The chief nobles were many of them ſecretly the friends of the Danes, and as often as they were put in employment revolted to the enemies: and, notwithſtanding the great expences that were daily falling upon the nation, the clergy in general refuſed to bear any ſhare in them, pleading their privileges; ſo that the whole devolved upon the commoner people, who were moſt cruelly harraſſed, and ſtripped of every thing they had, whilſt nothing beneficial was effected

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. ‡ John Bromton.

by all the treaſure extorted from them. Thus the nation was reduced to the loweſt ebb.—As for Æthelred, he was from his own nature irreſolute and inactive, but rendered ſtill more ſo by the diſcords of his nobles, and diſlike that his ſubjects bore to him; however, in order to ſtrengthen his houſe by ſome powerful affinity, he ſought in marriage Emma, the daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, and his ſuit being approved of by her father, ſhe was accordingly ſent over into England the following year, A. D. 1002, and was married to him immediately upon her arrival *.—But whilſt all this was tranſacting at the Saxon court, the Danes, who had been victorious at Penho, and had plundered the greateſt part of Devonſhire, returned to the Iſle of Wight with the ſpoils they had gained, and from thence began afreſh their attacks upon Hampſhire and places adjoining. The Hampſhire-men, however, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the incurſions of the Danes; but, being put to flight in an unfortunate encounter, with the loſs of Æthelward their general, the whole country was left open to the mercy of the conquerors, who plundered and deſtroyed every place they came to, exerciſing all kinds of wanton cruelty †.

A. D. 1002. The maſſacre of the Danes.

Not long after his ſecond marriage, Æthelred, preſuming on the conſequence his alliance with the duke of Normandy had given him, determined upon a ſtep which ended in the final ruin of the nation: this was a maſſacre of all the Danes who inhabited within his dominions. For this purpoſe, therefore, he ſent letters privately to every town and city, that all might be ready, at one appointed day and hour, to execute the bloody command. The day fixed for this purpoſe was the thirteenth of November ‡, being the feſtival of Saint Brice, when it was put into execution with the moſt rigid ſeverity by the Saxons, who, in the madneſs of their rage, made no diſtinction between the guilty and the innocent; for, amongſt the reſt, were ſlain, Gunhild, a ſiſter to Sweyne, king of Denmark, with her huſband Palingus, a nobleman of great repute, who were both Chriſtians, and had been delivered by Sweyne as hoſtages of peace, when he agreed with the Saxons, at Southampton, to forbear hoſtilities, on condition of the money then received; and what made the murder of theſe two innocent perſons the more heinous, is, that they were conſtant advocates for the Saxons, and uſed all their endeavours to befriend them §.

A. D. 1003. Sweyne, king of Denmark, invades England.

The news of this maſſacre, and particularly of his ſiſter's death, being reported to Sweyne, he was ſo exaſperated againſt the Saxons, that, breathing vengeance, he collected a powerful army, and haſtened to England. His firſt attack was upon the city of Exeter, which,

* S. Dunelm, W. Malmſb. &c.
† Chron. Sax.
‡ Milton makes it the 9th of July.
§ W. Malmſb. S. Dunelm, &c.

either

either through the treachery or negligence of the governor of Devonſhire, was taken, and the wall levelled to the ground, from the eaſt to the weſtern gate. The governor was a Norman, named Hugh, who was advanced to that poſt by the favour of queen Emma.—The Danes, after having pillaged the city, and conveyed the ſpoils to their ſhips, proceeded to Wiltſhire, waſting the country as they marched along. —Theſe proceedings of the Danes cauſed the inhabitants of Wiltſhire and Hampſhire to aſſemble together in order to oppoſe them. After they had raiſed a powerful army, Ælfric, who had ſo lately manifeſted his treaſon, and who was again recalled from exile, was appointed general, and, with great ſhew of zeal, marched towards the enemy; but when they were come in ſight of them, and ſhould have been preparing for the battle, he ſuddenly feigned himſelf ſick, and left the army, deſtitute of a general, to their own diſcretion. The ſoldiers, being thus diſappointed, and having none amongſt them that would readily undertake the charge of the command, in the heat of their diſcontent diſbanded themſelves, and left the enemy to purſue their courſe, who took the towns of Wilton and Saliſbury, and waſted the country round about; but hearing at laſt that Æthelred was himſelf preparing to take the field againſt them, they returned to their ſhips, enriched with prodigious ſpoils.

The next year Sweyne, having augmented his fleet, ſailed to England, and landed upon the coaſt of Norfolk, where he deſtroyed the country, burnt the city of Norwich, and ſlaughtered the citizens.—Theſe proceedings of Sweyne ſoon reached the ears of Ulfkettel, earl of the Eaſt Angles, a man of great valour; but he not having time enough to collect a ſufficient body of forces, for the preſent, to oppoſe the enemy, after ſome conſultation, made peace with Sweyne, and his army, who promiſed not to moleſt them any more:—but about three weeks after the concluſion of the truce, Sweyne, with his forces, ſilently left their ſhips, and went to the city of Thetford, where they abode that night, and in the morning burned it to the ground. In the mean time, Ulfkettel, who had carefully watched the motions of the Danes, marched againſt them with his army, which he had greatly encreaſed, and fell upon them ſo ſuddenly, that, had the orders of Ulfkettel been properly obeyed, they would in this encounter have obtained a compleat victory; for, before he joined battle with Sweyne, he gave command that a ſtrong party ſhould, during the conflict, march down to the water-ſide, and ſet fire to the Daniſh ſhips, in order to cut off their retreat; but, either through fear or neglect, this command was left unperformed, ſo that, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Danes being overcome, fled to their ſhips, and putting off from ſhore, eluded the purſuit of the Saxons. The loſſes that were ſuſtained on either ſide, during this engagement, were very great, but more

A. D. 1004. The Eaſt Angles attacked by Sweyne.

particularly by the Danes, who had not met with ſuch reſiſtance for a conſiderable time; and their forces were ſo much reduced, that they made no further attack upon the Engliſh during that year*.

A. D. 1005. A famine in England.

The year following, a grievous famine added to the calamities which diſtreſſed the hapleſs Saxons, and which proved ſo ſevere, that even the Danes, who took every advantage of plundering the land, were ſo much affected by it, that they were at laſt obliged to hoiſt their ſails, and return to their own native homes to ſupply themſelves with food.—During all theſe heavy misfortunes which fell upon the Engliſh people, they ſtill continued to foment their own private diſcords; ſo that, what by the frequent attacks of the Danes, the dreadful effects of the famine, and the extortions made by the chief nobles, the whole land was brought to ſuch grievous diſtreſs as had not before been experienced by the Saxon inhabitants †.

A. D. 1006. Æthelred marches againſt the Danes, and his ſucceſs.

The next year, the Danes, having encreaſed their navy, and conſiderably augmented the number of their ſoldiers, returned into England, and ſpread themſelves over the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex, where they took great ſpoils, which they conveyed to their ſhips. In the mean time, Æthelred levied an army out of Mercia, with which he marched againſt the Danes; but they, not thinking it prudent to hazard an engagement with him, retreated before him, and ſecured themſelves on board their ſhips, with which they coaſted about from place to place, to avoid the Saxon army, and plundered the country wherever they came, being careful to convey their ſpoils to their ſhips, and flying thither themſelves, when they apprehended the king, with his forces, was approaching near them. Thus they harraſſed the land by their frequent invaſions, and obtained great ſpoils, without much danger to themſelves. In this manner they vexed the Saxons all the Autumn, ſo that the harveſt was neglected in many places, and in others trodden down by the marches of the army, which added to the diſtreſs of the people.—Æthelred's army, wearied with the vain purſuit that they had made of the Danes from place to place, returned home in the Winter, diſheartened by their unſucceſsful expedition; whilſt, on the other hand, the Danes carried their ſpoils to the Iſle of Wight, where they abode until Chriſtmas, at which time, finding that the Saxon army was diſbanded, they marched boldly through Hampſhire into Berkſhire, as far as Reading and Wallingford, and from thence to Aſhdune, and other places which fell in with their rout: from whence returning home another way, they found many people in arms near the river Kennet, prepared to oppoſe them; but they being put to flight after a ſhort engagement, the Danes returned ſafe to their ſhips, bear-

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid.

ing

ing with them prodigious ſpoils. All the countries through which they paſſed ſuffered dreadfully by this march; for the Danes wantonly burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, whatever they could not carry away *. Mean while Æthelred was in Shropſhire, where it was thought he cauſed, by the council and aſſiſtance of Edric Straton, a nobleman named Alfhelm, to be treacherouſly put to death, and afterwards ſeized upon his two ſons, and cauſed their eyes to be put out †; but the reaſon of this cruel proceeding of Æthelred is not recorded ſo as to give any degree of ſatisfaction to the reader.

Æthelred, the next year, made Edric Straton duke of Mercia, and gave him his daughter Edgitha in marriage. Edric was a man of obſcure birth; but from his eloquent ſpeech, and pleaſing deportment, had amaſſed together vaſt treaſures, with which, as ſome have reported, he purchaſed his advancement ‡. A. D. 1007. The advancement of Edric.

The ſame year Æthelred ſummoned a council together, in order to conſult upon the meaſures to be taken againſt the Danes; for the unſucceſsfulneſs of the laſt year's expedition had ſo much diſheartened both the king and the people, that they did not ſeem inclined to take the field again: therefore, by the council of Edric, the new made nobleman, and others ill affected to their native country's intereſt, it was agreed upon, that peace ſhould again be purchaſed of the Danes, whoſe demands, before exorbitant, were now ſtretched to thirty thouſand pounds, which vaſt ſum, to the almoſt total ruin of the kingdom, was exacted of the people, and paid to the greedy demanders. The heavy impoſitions that the nation was burthened with to pay this ſum, made the people juſtly outrageous, and more particularly they expreſſed their diſlike of Edric, whom they conſidered as the chief contriver of the tax; nor did they heſitate to declare, that it evinced his partiality for the Danes, and want of love to his native land. But all theſe clamours were overborn by the ſmooth ſpeeches of Edric, who, by his flattering artifices, prevailed ſo much with the king, that he not only refuſed to hearken to any accuſations that were brought againſt him, but, on the contrary, raiſed him the higher in his eſteem—being by him perſuaded that all thoſe complaints proceeded only from envy and malevolence. So much was the king infatuated, that he made him his ambaſſador to the Danes, when, it is reported, he treacherouſly revealed to them the weakneſs of the land, and proved chiefly inſtrumental in its total deſtruction §. Peace purchaſed of the Danes.

* S. Dunelm.
† Horent.
‡ Ibid. & M. Weſt.
§ Malmſbury, &c.

poſe.

A. D. 1008. Wulnoth rebels, and his ſucceſs.

The next year Æthelred ſeemed determined to put his kingdom into a better poſture of defence than it had hitherto been. For this purpoſe he ordered, that out of every three hundred and ten hides of land, a ſhip ſhould be fitted out, and from every nine hides a corſlet and helmet for his ſoldiers. All this being performed, the fleet and armaments were brought together at Sandwich, and the people in general had great expectations from the operations of this combined force; but ſome fatal diviſions enſuing amongſt the nobles of Æthelred's court, prevented the effect for which they were deſigned; for Bithric, brother to the favourite Edric, accuſed one Wulnoth, a great officer preſiding over the South Saxons, of treaſon. This charge, though it is ſaid to have been falſe in itſelf, had, however, gained ſo much ground in the king's thoughts, that Wulnoth ſoon found that his ſtay in the kingdom would be dangerous: wherefore, having prepared twenty ſhips, he, and his friends, went aboard of them, and ſupported themſelves by piracies upon the ſea coaſts. Æthelred was very much moved againſt Wulnoth when he heard of the ſtep he had taken, and readily accepted of the propoſal of his accuſer Bithric, who declared that he knew where Wulnoth reſided with his fleet, and, if the king would give him the command of a certain number of thoſe ſhips which had lately been fitted out, he would engage to ſurprize, and take him. Accordingly, eighty ſhips were appointed for this expedition, which ſailed from Sandwich under the conduct of Bithric; but a violent tempeſt overtaking them ſoon after they they had put out to ſea, they were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, and driven on ſhore, where, being found by Wulnoth, he took the advantage of their calamity, ſet upon them with all his force, and burnt them all. Æthelred, diſheartened by this dreadful misfortune, with a heavy heart left Sandwich, and retired to London, whither the remaining part of his navy alſo followed him. Thus was all this great preparation, which ſeemed to promiſe ſafety to the land, rendered of but little uſe *.

A. D. 1009. Turkill lands in England.

The next year, a powerful army of the Danes, under the conduct of a valiant chief named Turkill, landed in the iſle of Thanet, where they continued until the beginning of Autumn, when they were joined by a ſtill greater party, lead by two chieftains named Hemning and Ilaff. Theſe combined forces ſoon after left Thanet, and coaſting to Sandwich, they there landed, and marched directly to Canterbury, which city they beſieged with great fury; but the citizens, and the inhabitants of the eaſtern parts of Kent, fearing they ſhould not be able to oppoſe them, opened a treaty of peace with the beſiegers, who, in conſideration of the payment of three thouſand pounds, raiſed the ſiege, and departed from thence, proceeding to the iſle of Wight, robbing and

* S. Dunelm.

deſtroying

deſtroying the country as they went along. Æthelred, in order, if poſſible, to check the progreſs of the Danes, iſſued freſh commands, and raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe them; and, being ſenſible that whilſt the whole of them were kept together, the Danes would not wait their coming, or hazard the fortune of a pitched battle, but continue to harraſs the country in ſuch places where the whole army could not follow them; he, therefore, ſtationed large parties of his forces in different places, that they might be ready, at all times, to protect the coaſts; but, whether from the diſobedience of orders, or from being improperly ſtationed, cannot eaſily be determined; yet certain it is, that the Danes were not thereby prevented from making their uſual excurſions *.

The Danes eſcape through the treachery of Edric.

The ſame year, whilſt the Danes were advanced into the land a conſiderable diſtance from their ſhips, Æthelred, with the main body of his army, being not far from thence, and watching their motions, marched to an advantageous place, where he intended to ſurround them in their turn, which it is thought he might eaſily have done, and by ſuch a ſignal defeat have ſecured the peace of his kingdom for a time at leaſt. Amidſt theſe preparations, and while all his men ſeemed deſirous of revenging the injuries their country had ſuſtained from the cruelties of their enemies, Edric Straton, with much policy and ſubtle diſcourſe, perſuaded Æthelred to drop the deſign which he had formed; ſo that he withdrew his forces, and permitted the Danes to paſs to their ſhips without any moleſtation, who were not a little rejoiced at ſuch a lucky and unexpected eſcape. After this, the Danes coaſted about Kent, and, during the Winter, cruiſed on the borders of the Thames, frequently invading Kent and Eſſex, and forcing large contributions from the inhabitants; they alſo made ſeveral attempts on the city of London, which proved ineffectual; for the Londoners, whenever they were attacked, made a very gallant reſiſtance, and repulſed their enemies with great loſs †.

D. A. 1010.

The Danes march into Oxfordſhire.

The following Spring the Danes left their ſhips, and marching over the land through Chiltren wood into Oxfordſhire, came to the city of Oxford, which they beſieged and took; and after they had pillaged and murdered the inhabitants, they burnt the city to the ground. From thence they returned home, and divided their army into two parties, which marching along the banks of the Thames, pillaged and deſtroyed the country on either ſide, until hearing that the Londoners were coming againſt them with a powerful army, thoſe on the north ſide of the river croſſed over it at Staines, and joined their fellows, and thence paſſing through Surry, returned to their ſhips laden with ſpoils ‡.

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

After

The Danes overcome the East Anglians in battle.

After having employed ſome time in repairing their ſhips, about Eaſter they ſailed round to the eaſt, and landed in the province of the Eaſt Angles, and, marching by Ipſwich, went on till they came to a place called Ringmere, where they were met by Ulfkettel, the valiant governor of that country, by whom they had ſome time before been put to flight. Both parties joined battle, and a ſharp encounter enſued, which ended in the defeat of the Saxons, though the conflict was long ſupported by the valour of the inhabitants of Cambridgeſhire*. In this battle Æthelſtan, the ſon-in-law of Æthelred, and many others of the Saxon nobility, were ſlain. The Danes having obtained this victory over the Eaſt Anglian forces, marched about the country for three months without meeting with any further reſiſtance, pillaging alſo the borders of Lincolnſhire and Huntingdonſhire, and burning in their march the towns of Thetford and Grantbridge; the abbies and churches wherever they came they deſtroyed, and cruelly butchered all the inhabitants of that country as were ſo unfortunate as to fall in their way; and in this manner they continued their march through Eſſex until they reached their ſhips †.

The progreſs of the Danes.

They did not long remain quiet in their ſhips; for they no ſooner depoſited the riches they had acquired by plunder, than, being deſirous of adding to what they had already got, they began a ſecond expedition into Oxfordſhire, which they paſſed through, and took in their march the counties of Bedford, Buckingham and Hertfordſhire, where, as they had before done in the Eaſt Angles, they pillaged, and depopulated the country wherever they came, paying no regard to places, however ſacred, nor to the ſex or quality of ſuch miſerable people as fell into their hands. In this march, having taken great ſpoils, they returned to their ſhips.

Other expeditions of the Danes.

Not long after, theſe inhuman plunderers (not content with the ruin and devaſtation they had occaſioned, and the innocent blood they had ſpilt) undertook another excurſion, and paſſing through Northamptonſhire, burnt and plundered the town of Northampton, and deſtroyed the country round about; from thence they continued their courſe into Wiltſhire, and ſo back again to their ſhips in triumph. All this time, the miſerable Saxons, ruined and diſtreſſed by the frequent and cruel excurſions of their enemies, had neither power nor courage to make head againſt them, ſo that thoſe mercileſs conquerors ſet no bounds to their rapacious deſigns and wanton cruelties, which they carried to ſuch a pitch as is truly ſhocking to relate ‡.

* Holingſhead ſays, "the Suffolk and Norfolk men gave way firſt; but the Cambridgeſhire men ſtood firm, winning eternal fame, but at the expence of the lives of their chief nobility: at length one Turkettell Wurencheved, of Daniſh parents, firſt began to fly," &c.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ Ibid.

The

The next ſpring they ſallied again from their ſhips with the ſame ferocity as they had manifeſted the preceding year, ruining the country on either ſhore of the Thames: on one ſide, as far as Huntingdon, and on the other, as far as Wiltſhire and Southampton.—In the mean time, Æthelred, unable to oppoſe them, by the advice of his council, propoſed again to purchaſe peace, by the payment of certain ſums of money. To theſe propoſals they lightly liſtened, but in the mean time forbore not to exerciſe their wonted cruelties; for, being now returned towards their ſhips, about the month of September * they laid ſiege to Canterbury, and ſome time after took it, by the treachery (as is reported) of Almere, the archdeacon. They had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the city, than they began to manifeſt the barbarity of their diſpoſition, by the wanton cruelties they exerciſed on the miſerable inhabitants; throwing ſome of them over the walls, puſhing others into the fire; murdering the little infants, torn from their mothers breaſts, by toſſing them upon their ſpears, or by throwing them under the wheels of loaded carriages; whilſt the women themſelves were dragged up and down the city by the hair of their heads, and made, by force, ſubſervient to the beaſtly luſts of their tormentors. Amongſt the reſt of thoſe whom the Danes took in the ſacking of the city, was Alphegus, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man utterly deteſted by them, becauſe he was contrary to their party, and, by his prudent councils, endeavoured to reconcile his own countrymen to their proper intereſt: in ſhort, he was a man of exemplary piety, and much beloved in the city. Him they ſeized upon, and (wounded as he was, by ſome means, in the dreadful conflict) hurried on board a noiſome ſhip, where they kept him long time cloſe impriſoned. After this, they ſet fire to the city, and, of all the inhabitants, one out of ten alone was ſpared.—Seven months after the deſtruction of Canterbury, the archbiſhop had his ranſom propoſed to him, which was the enormous ſum of three thouſand pounds; and, becauſe he refuſed to burthen thoſe under him to raiſe the money, he was, after many inſults, cruelly ſtoned to death. His body was afterwards conveyed to London, where it was buried, but from thence, in after-times, to Canterbury †.

A. D. 1011. Canterbury deſtroyed by the Danes.

The year following, before Eaſter, Æthelred aſſembled the nobles of the realm in council, at London, when it was agreed upon once more to purchaſe peace with the Danes; accordingly, forty-eight thouſand pounds (which was by them demanded) was paid, and they again took oath to depart, and no more moleſt the kingdom. This

A. D. 1012. Money again paid to the Danes.

* Vita S. Alphegi, apud Leland. Collect. vol. 1. fol. 19.---et vide Milton, Hiſt. of England, fol. 296.

† Vita S. Alphegi, Simon Dunelm, &c.

oath taken, and the money received by them, they diſperſed their fleet, and returned home contented for a time, except Turkill their chief, who, with forty-five of their ſhips, abode at London, where he offered willingly his ſervice to the king, and took an oath of allegiance, to defend the land from the future incurſions of the foreign foe, on condition only of being received into pay, and his men cloathed and fed at the expence of the Saxons. Theſe conditions were accepted of by Æthelred; but the future events plainly proved the deceitfulneſs of Turkill, whoſe reaſons for ſtaying behind ſeem only to have been with a view of examining the nation's ſtrength, and, as ſome have alledged, to give information accordingly to his countrymen, that they might renew their attacks upon the land in a time that ſhould prove the moſt advantageous *.

A. D. 1013. The year following, and, as ſome report, about the month of July, Sweyne, king of Denmark, came over into England with a powerful fleet, and landed at Sandwich, where, after he had abode ſome few days, he put off to ſea, and coaſted about the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and from thence proceeded to the mouth of the Humber, and entering the Trent with his fleet, landed his ſoldiers at Gainſborough, where he encamped.—His arrival cauſed ſuch fear amongſt the Northumbrians, that the whole province, with Uthred their earl, ſubmitted to him without making the leaſt reſiſtance, or hazarding one battle. The example of the Northumbrians was quickly followed by the inhabitants of Lindſey, and thoſe of Tiſburg, and ſhortly after by all thoſe who poſſeſſed the country on the north of Watling-Street.—From theſe he exacted pledges of their obedience, and alſo commanded them to furniſh his army with horſes and proviſion; which being done, he left the government of the provinces which had ſubmitted to him, to his ſon Cnut, and, with his army, marched ſouthward into Mercia, depopulating the places wherever they came, and burning and deſtroying the towns and cities that ſtood in their way, wherever they met with the leaſt reſiſtance; ſo that, at laſt, either through force or fear, the people in general ſubmitted to him.—In the courſe of this rout, he took the cities of Oxford and Wincheſter, and from thence continued on till he came to London; but in his paſſage, croſſing the Thames at an improper place, where there was no ford, he loſt many of his men. Upon his arrival at London, he inveſted that city, and cloſely beſieged it. King Æthelred himſelf was at the ſame time within the city, with Turkill the Dane, who was under his pay.—Sweyne, ſhortly after his arrival, fiercely aſſaulted the city; but the citizens, encouraged perhaps by the preſence of their king, reſiſted with ſuch bravery, that the Danes were beaten off. At the ſame time

The arrival of Sweyne, king of Denmark, & his ſucceſs.

* S. Dunelm.

ſtrong

ſtrong parties took the advantage of ſallying out upon them, and ſlew a prodigious number, ſo that the whole of the Daniſh army was thrown into great confuſion, and at laſt obliged to quit the field with great loſs, Sweyne himſelf hardly eſcaping from the fury of the conquerors *.

The ſucceſs of Sweyne after his defeat.

After this unfortunate attempt upon London, Sweyne marched with his army, with the utmoſt precipitation, to Wallingford, and from thence to Bath, where he abode ſome little time, and refreſhed his troops. During his ſtay at Bath, Ethelme, earl of Devonſhire, with many other great weſtern officers, ſubmitted themſelves to him; and Sweyne, finding his affairs went on ſo proſperouſly, returned to his ſhips †.—In the mean time, the Londoners, fearing that he would reviſit them with an augmented army, and that they ſhould then be made the victims of his cruel rage, concluded with themſelves that it would be better for them to ſeek to pacify him; which they ſoon after did, by following the example of the greater part of the kingdom, and ſubmitting themſelves to him ‡.

Æthelred goes over into Normandy.

Æthelred, their unfortunate king, in the mean time retired to Greenwich, where he abode a ſhort time with Turkill the Dane, who, with his fleet, had ſtationed himſelf there. But ſoon after, finding his affairs ſtill declining, he ſent his queen Emma, together with his two ſons, and all his treaſure, into Normandy, where they ſought the protection of Richard duke of Normandy, her brother.—Mean while Æthelred ſtill continued with Turkill, but ſoon after left Greenwich, and went to the Iſle of Wight, where he ſpent the greater part of the Winter; but at laſt followed his wife into Normandy, where he was well received, and entertained in a moſt friendly manner, by his brother-in-law Richard §.

* S. Dunelm.

† Some have added, that, after Sweyne's return to his ſhips, want of proviſion, and the loſſes he ſuſtained in the defeat at London, cauſed him, after he had exacted a certain ſum of money from the Saxons (and by the payment of this money, adds Holingſhead, Æthelred thought to free himſelf from his enemies, but his nobles thought otherwiſe, and adviſed him to prepare for war) to return into Denmark, in order to refreſh and augment his army.—He ſoon returned from Denmark again, and was met immediately by the Saxons, when a ſharp conflict enſued, in which the Saxons bid fair for conqueſt; but, by the revolt of their leaders, the day was finally loſt, and the Danes obtained a compleat victory; and afterwards purſuing their conqueſts, gained the major part of the kingdom.---See Holingſhed and Speed's Chron. &c.

‡ S. Dunelm.

§ Malmſb. et S. Dunelm.

SWEYNE.

The firſt Daniſh Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A.D. 1014. AFTER the flight of Æthelred, Sweyne met with little or no oppoſition, being almoſt univerſally acknowledged as king of England; but the authority he exerciſed was that of a moſt ſavage and inhuman tyrant, laying moſt cruel impoſitions upon the people himſelf, and ſuffering his army to wanton in the diſtreſſes of thoſe who had ſubmitted to him, and whom he ought to have protected. They were not content with extorting from the wretched Saxons all the fruits of their labour, but, to gratify their inordinate luſts, the wives and daughters of thoſe defenceleſs people were ſeized upon at their pleaſure, and abuſed even before the faces of the diſconſolate huſbands or diſtreſſed parents; whilſt, in every place where thoſe inſulting conquerors came, by way of diſtinction and eminence, they were called Lord Danes, and treated with the greateſt reſpect, even by thoſe they were ſo horridly injuring. Monaſteries and churches, and all other ſacred places, were burnt or otherwiſe deſtroyed, unleſs the diſtreſſed people redeemed them at ſuch vaſt prices as their conquerors thought proper to inflict.—Nor were theſe all the misfortunes that fell upon the Saxons, eſpecially thoſe in the ſouth; for what was ſpared to them by the mercileſs exactions of their tyrannizing monarch, was ſeized upon by Turkill and his party, who ſtiled themſelves their friends and protectors *.

The ſufferings of the realm.

The death of Sweyne.

Some time after Sweyne had aſſumed the dignity and title of a king, he returned to Gainſborough †, where he called a great parliament; and, whilſt he was ſitting in the midſt of his council, he was ſuddenly ſeized with ſome ſtrange diſorder, which ſoon put a period to his life ‡.

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† S. Dunelm, Scala Chronica, &c.---Others ſay the following accident happened at Thetford, in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

‡ According to the legendary ſtory of king Edmund---Sweyne demanded an enormous price to ſave the ſhrine of Edmund, at Edmund's Bury, from deſtruction; but, becauſe the diſtreſſed inhabitants declared their inability to comply with his demands, he threatened to deſtroy not only the ſhrine, but alſo to burn the bones of the martyr. For which cauſe, whilſt he was ſitting in his council, an appearance of Edmund in compleat armour entered the room, and ſmote him with a ſpear, or ſword, ſo that he died, crying out that he was ſmitten by king Edmund: but no man (himſelf excepted) ſaw the apparition, or whence the ſtroke came.---Vide Mat. Weſt. Hoveden, &c.

The

Proceedings in consequence of Sweyne's death.

The ſudden death of Sweyne cauſed a great alteration in the affairs of the kingdom; for, although the Daniſh army immediately afterwards made Cnut, the ſon of Sweyne, their king, yet the Engliſh noblemen ſpeedily withdrew their allegiance, and once more inclined their thoughts to the re-advancement of Æthelred, their own natural ſovereign; wherefore they inſtantly ſent meſſengers into Normandy, inviting him to return, at the ſame time promiſing to ſtand by him with all their power. Æthelred received this news with great joy, and accordingly ſent his ſon Edward with ambaſſadors into England, promiſing his forgiveneſs to all who had hitherto manifeſted themſelves his enemies, and at the ſame time declaring that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to protect the realm from the incurſions of its enemies. Edward was received by the nobles with great demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction, and the meſſengers returned to Æthelred, declaring their willingneſs to re-advance him to his throne.—After this, Æthelred made no delay, but inſtantly returned to England, where he was received with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction.

The policy of Cnut.

In the mean time Cnut was not idle, but uſed every endeavour to ſtrengthen himſelf, and get his army in readineſs to oppoſe the advancement of Æthelred. At this time he ſtill reſided at Gainſborough, where his father died, and where both his army was encamped and his fleet attended. He not only made every proviſion that he could to carry on the war, but with ſingular prudence endeavoured, by the ſtricteſt juſtice and bounty, to ſecure the hearts of thoſe Saxons as had quietly ſubmitted to him, and ſtill continued to aſſiſt him, which were principally the inhabitants of Lindſey and parts adjoining *.

* S. Dunelm.

ÆTHEL-

ÆTHELRED *again reſtored.*

Cnut leaves England.

ÆTHELRED was no ſooner reinſtated in his regal dignity, than he placed himſelf at the head of his army, and entering Lindſey, revenged himſelf ſeverely upon the inhabitants for their revolt, by burning their country, and putting many of them to death. —Cnut, hearing of his approach, and not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to ſtand the deciſion of the field, retired with his army to his ſhips, leaving his confederates to the mercy of Æthelred—and haſted round, with all poſſible ſpeed, with the fleet to Sandwich, where he ſeized upon the hoſtages which had been given to his father Sweyne, and having cruelly mangled them, by cutting off their ears, ſlitting their noſes, and chopping off their hands, he ſet them on ſhore. He then hoiſted ſail, and returned to Denmark, hopeleſs for the preſent of ſubduing England *.

Money paid to the Danes.

However, the land was not releaſed from all its grievances by the flight of Cnut, for the Daniſh fleet at Greenwich now demanded their pay; and accordingly the Saxons, already much impoveriſhed, were burthened with freſh impoſitions, in order to raiſe the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds, to ſatisfy the demands made by thoſe pretended auxiliaries. And theſe miſeries were ſtill increaſed by an accidental calamity; for about the month of October, the ſea riſing much higher than uſual, overflowed many towns upon the coaſts, and drowned a prodigious number of people †.

A. D. 1015. Edric's treachery.

The next year a grand council of the nobles was, by Æthelred, convened at Oxford, in order to conſult upon the affairs of the kingdom. But here nothing of any conſequence appears to have been done, for the nobles were, as uſual, divided in their opinions, and parties on one ſide propoſing what was rejected by the other; and, to crown the whole, the traytor Edric, during the ſitting of the aſſembly, cauſed two Daniſh noblemen, named Sigeferth and Morkar, to be murdered: theſe were the ſons of a nobleman named Earngrun, who poſſeſſed certain lands in Northumberland.—Edric, it ſeems, in order the better

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid.

to

to colour this murder, brought a charge of treaſon againſt them *, which being credited by Æthelred, he ſoon after ſeized upon their eſtates, and cauſed Elgitha, the wife of Sigeferth, to be kept at Malmſbury, where ſhe was ſeen by Eadmund the third ſon of Æthelred, who being ſmitten with her charms, married her againſt the conſent of her father, and then went into Northumberland, and took the lands which belonged to the murdered noblemen as his own right †.

Cnut returns into Britain.

Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting at home, Cnut was buſy at Denmark in preparing a ſtrong fleet ready to renew the war with the Engliſh, being informed, as ſome report, of the diſſentions of the people, and weakneſs of the kingdom, by Turkill the Dane, who reſided here. Having, therefore, collected two hundred large ſhips, and furniſhed them with every requiſite for the undertaking, and being joined by Lachman, king of Sweden, and Olave, king of Norway, he came over into England, and landed at Sandwich—where he abode till he had ſent out ſpies to various parts of the land to diſcover what preparations had been made againſt him, who, on their return, informed him, that his expedition had not been ſo ſecretly conducted but that the Engliſh had notice of his arrival, and that Æthelred had accordingly prepared a large army in order to oppoſe him ‡.

Turkill revolts from the Engliſh.

Turkill, the Dane, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, upon the arrival of Cnut with ſuch a powerful army, revolted from the Engliſh, and joined the Daniſh forces; and, at the ſame time, in order to ingratiate himſelf the more with Cnut, requeſted to be ſent againſt the Saxon army. This truſt being accordingly repoſed upon him, a great part of Cnut's army was committed to his care, with which he joined thoſe forces he had brought with him, and marched out againſt the Engliſh, with whom he fought a ſharp battle at a place called Scoraſtan, and obtained a complete victory, though the Saxon forces far exceeded his own. This ſignal performance placed him high in the eſteem of Cnut, who failed not to reward him for his courage §.

The proceedings of Cnut.

After this action, Cnut, with his navy, coaſted from Sandwich about the river Frome, and ſailing round Kent, at laſt landed, and with fire and ſword, made his way through the counties of Dorſet, Somerſet, and part of Wiltſhire. Æthelred, in the mean time, lay dangerouſly ill at Coſham in the laſt mentioned county, ſo that the management of the war was committed to Eadmund, the king's ſon, and Edric, the traiterous duke of Mercia, who were both of them now employed

* Thus Mat. Weſt. declares, which, from the after proceedings of Æthelred, ſeems likely. It is alſo added, that theſe noblemen were ſlain in the houſe of Edric, and that the ſervants without, who attended upon their maſters, being clamorous that they did not appear, were beaten back by the attendants of Edric, and purſued into a church, whence retreating to the ſteeple to defend themſelves, they were there ſhut up, and burnt to death.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ Encom. Emmæ.

§ Ibid.

in

in different parts of the kingdom, collecting what forces they could. Soon after they united both their armies, and were preparing to march againſt the foe, when Eadmund had notice given him that his brother-in-law, Edric, was practiſing means to betray him to the enemy, or elſe deprive him of life. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, he ſuddenly disjoined himſelf from Edric, who, finding that his treaſon was diſcovered, fled to the enemy with what forces he could perſuade to follow him, and forty large ſhips. Whereupon almoſt all the weſtern counties forſook their allegiance to Æthelred, and ſubmitted themſelves to Cnut *.

A. D. 1016. The year following, Cnut, aſſiſted by the traytor Edric, marched with his army along the banks of the Thames as far as Creckland, where he paſſed the river, and entering Mercia, burnt ſeveral cities, and deſtroyed the country round about, eſpecially in the county of Warwickſhire, where his cruelty was the moſt heavily felt. In the mean time, prince Eadmund collected an army in order to oppoſe the Danes; but when he entered Mercia, the Mercians obſtinately refuſed to join him, unleſs his father, with the Londoners, came alſo to their aſſiſtance; ſo that all this preparation came to nothing †.

Eadmund's preparation againſt Cnut brought to nothing.

A ſecond preparation, which produces no more than the former.

Sometime after, Eadmund, with his army, intreated his father to join him with the Londoners, and ſuch forces as he could collect together. Accordingly, Æthelred complied with his ſon's requeſt, and being at the point of marching againſt the enemy with a powerful army, and a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, the expedition was ſuddenly prevented by report being made to Æthelred, that his own ſoldiers meant to betray him into the hands of his enemies. Æthelred, daunted by theſe illuſive inſinuations, diſbanded his army, and returned to London. Thus the ſecond preparation was likewiſe rendered abortive ‡.

Eadmund and Cnut waſte Mercia.

Eadmund, after his father's departure, marched with the forces that he had collected over the Humber, where, being joined by a powerful nobleman named Uthred, he fell upon the counties of Staffordſhire, Shropſhire and Leiceſterſhire, waſting the country, and deſtroying the inhabitants, becauſe they refuſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Danes. In the mean time, Cnut, with his army, harraſſed the other parts of Mercia, paſſing through Buckingham, Bedford, Huntington, Nottingham, Lincolnſhire, and Yorkſhire, where he was not ſparing of his cruelties, becauſe they had ſtill continued faithful to their lawful ſovereign; ſo that between the one and the other, almoſt all Mercia was laid waſte §.

Cnut ſubdues Northumberland.

When Cnut had ſufficiently reduced the ſouthern provinces of Mercia, he marched with his army into Northumberland, in order to

* S. Dunelm. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

oppoſe

oppoſe prince Eadmund, who no ſooner heard of his intention, than he diſbanded his army, and returned, as haſtily as poſſible, to London, where his father then lay. After his departure, earl Ulfred, being no longer able to withſtand the forces which Cnut brought with him, ſubmitted himſelf to him, with the whole kingdom of Northumberland, and gave him a certain number of hoſtages. Yet, notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion of Uthred, he was ſhortly after ſlain by one Turebrand, a Dane, either by the command or connivance of Cnut; and Iric, a Dane, was made earl of Northumberland in his ſtead *.

Cnut returns to his fleet.

After Cnut had ſettled theſe matters in Northumberland, and received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, he returned to the ſouth, highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs he had met with in that expedition, and, about Eaſter, with all his army, reached his ſhips, intending, as ſoon as he conveniently could, to lay a cloſe ſiege to the city of London †.

The death and burial of Æthelred.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, Æthelred, lying at London, fell into a relapſe, and what with the affliction of his mind, joined with thoſe of his body, he died the twenty-third day of April, in the year 1016, being the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign. His body was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, at London, where he died ‡.

The character of Æthelred.

The character of this prince, as drawn by the monks, is certainly very unfavourable. By them he is ſaid to have been a man of diſſolute manners, luſtful and laſcivious; a promoter of civil diſcords, and indolent in his diſpoſition. Undoubtedly, he had his faults; but his diſlike to the monks, and the preference he gave to the ſecular prieſts, may ſufficiently account for thoſe faults being magnified, and ſet in the worſt light; eſpecially when thoſe he diſliked became his hiſtorians. Indeed, as to his indolence in the defence of his country, which ſeems to have been the beſt grounded charge they bring againſt him, it may, perhaps, be ſomewhat excuſed, when we recollect his ſituation among ſtrong parties of various opinions, who, by their profeſſed hatred to him, or ſecret treachery, made him fearful of exerting the utmoſt of his abilities; and, after all, the ſwift progreſs the Danes made towards the conqueſt of England during his reign, was certainly not ſo much owing to the inaction of the king, as it was to the want of unity in his ſubjects themſelves; for, in more than one inſtance, by neglecting the commands of their leaders, or by the treachery of the leaders themſelves, the victory was ſecured to the Danes, and, by theſe means, they became the chief inſtruments of their own

* S. Dunelm.

† Ibid.

‡ This monument was remaining in old St. Paul's when Speed wrote his chronicle. "It remaineth" (ſaith my author) "in the north wall of the chancel."—"A grey marble cheſt, raiſed upon four ſmall pillars, and covered with a copped ſtone of the ſame." Speed Chron. page 366.

ruin. As to the inſidious charge of laſciviouſneſs which is brought againſt him by ſome, that appears to have been falſe to a degree, ſince we have no certain account of any concubine kept by him, or of any illegitimate iſſue, which moſt likely would have been the effect of ſuch connections. His perſon was tall and graceful, and his viſage handſome; he was chearful in his diſpoſition, and perfectly free and affable in his carriage; he paid a great regard to juſtice, and eſtabliſhed ſeveral good laws for the benefit of his ſubjects.

Æthelred's firſt wife, and iſſue by her.

Æthelred had two wives, the firſt Alfgifa *, the daughter of a Saxon duke named Thored. She was married to him when he was but ſeventeen years of age, in the year 983, and died in the year 1001. By this lady he had iſſue ſix ſons and four daughters.

Æthelſtan, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the year 987; he lived until he was almoſt twenty years of age, from which time nothing more is heard of him; from whence authors in general have been led to conclude, that he was either taken off by ſome illneſs, or ſlaughtered in the wars againſt the Danes.

Egbert, the ſecond ſon, ſeems to have been born about two years after his brother. In the year 1004, he witneſſed a charter of his father's †. This prince died in his father's life-time, towards the latter end of his reign; but at what time cannot preciſely be pointed.

Eadmund, the third ſon, was born in the year 990. He ſucceeded his father in the kingdom.

Eadred, the fourth ſon, was born in the year 993, and was a conſtant witneſs to his father's charters till the year 1014, about which time it was ſuppoſed he died, as his name does not occur afterwards.

Edwy, the fifth ſon, ſurvived his father, and was murdered in the reign of king Cnut.

Eadgar, born in the year 999, is ſuppoſed to have died young.

The name of the eldeſt daughter of Æthelred is not recorded. We learn, however, that ſhe was married to a nobleman named Æthelſtan, who commanded the Cambridgeſhire men in the battle againſt Cnut in the year 1010, where he was ſlain.

Edgitha, the ſecond daughter, was married to Edric Stratton, duke of Mercia.

Elfgive, the third daughter, was married to Uthred, ſirnamed the Bold, ſon of earl Waldolfe, earl of Northumberland. He was ſlain by the Danes in the year 1016. By this nobleman ſhe had one daughter named Aldgith, who married Maldred, by whom ſhe had Goſpa-

* Notwithſtanding Bromton, who is moſt deſperately ſevere againſt Æthelred, would have us believe that this woman was only his concubine, and, of courſe, her iſſue baſtards; but this is contradicted by ſuch a cloud of witneſſes, that it needs no refutation.

† Of lands to a monaſtery at Burton.

trick,

trick, who was earl of Northumberland when William the Conqueror ſat upon the throne.

Gode, the fourth daughter, married Walter de Maigne, a nobleman of Normandy, highly favoured by her half brother Edward. She had iſſue by this huſband, and outlived him. After his death, ſhe was married to Euſtace of Bulloigne, a faithful friend to her brother Edward.

The ſecond wife of Æthelred was Emma (called by the Saxons Elfgiva). She was ſiſter to the duke of Normandy, and was married to Æthelred in the year 1002. She ſurvived her huſband—by this lady Æthelred had two ſons. Second wife of Æthelred, and her iſſue.

Edward, the eldeſt, was chiefly brought up in France. He ſucceeded his half-brother Hardycnut in the kingdom.

Ælfred, the younger, was ſlain by Harold, the ſon of Cnut, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

EADMUND, *firnamed* IRONSIDES.

The fifteenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

A.D. 1016. AFTER the death of Æthelred, the kingdom was divided into two powerful factions. Such of the nobility as were at London, as well as the citizens themſelves, immediately declared for Eadmund, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of their deceaſed king, and he was accordingly crowned, as ſome report, at Kingſton upon Thames, by Livingus, archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the mean time, others of the nobility, and the far greater part of the clergy, ſided with Cnut, and meeting him at Southampton, elected him as their king. At the ſame time, they renounced before him all fidelity to the race of Æthelred, and ſwore feality to him, who, on his part, alſo took an oath that, in matters both religious and ſecular, he would be their faithful protecter *.

Diviſions in the kingdom.

Cnut beſieges London.

Eadmund, hearing of the advancement of Cnut, immediately after his coronation haſted into Weſſex, where he was received with great joy by the principal part of the Weſt Saxons, who acknowledged him as their king, and whoſe example was followed by the people of many other provinces. Whilſt Eadmund was thus employed, Cnut, about the middle of May, with all his fleet, entered the Thames, and ſailed up to the city of London; and having, by the means of a large dike, which he cauſed to be made on the Surrey ſide of the Thames, towed his ſhips round London bridge into the river on the weſt ſide, he inveſted the city itſelf with a cloſe ſiege, throwing up a trench all around it, ſo as to cut off all communication with the country. Soon after, he attempted to carry the city by aſſault; but it was ſo valiantly defended by the citizens within, that his army was obliged to retire without ſucceſs †.

Eadmund overcomes the Danes at Penham.

Cnut, after his repulſe at London, abandoned the ſiege for ſome time, and leaving part of his army to guard his fleet which he left near that city, with the remainder of his forces he marched ſpeedily into Weſſex, in order to attack king Eadmund ſuddenly, before he

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† Ibid.

had

had ſufficiently compleated his army; but this haſty expedition of Cnut's did not produce the deſired effect; for Eadmund, hearing of the approach of the Danes, determined to give them battle with the forces he had already with him. Both armies met at Penham, near Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, where, after an obſtinate action, the Danes were put to flight with conſiderable ſlaughter *.

The battle of Sheraſtan.

This victory gave ſuch conſequence to Eadmund that his little army was ſoon augmented, ſo that he was determined to follow his enemies, and try once more the fortune of the field. Accordingly, about Midſummer, the two armies met again at a place called Sheraſtan in Worceſterſhire, where the Hampſhire and Wiltſhire men joined the Daniſh army. However, Eadmund, and his party, were determined to maintain their ground, and give battle to their invaders. A long and bloody action enſued, which laſted the whole day without any manifeſt advantage on either ſide. In the morning, they renewed the conflict, and the Saxons began to prevail againſt their opponents, which being perceived by the traytor Edric, he cut off the head of a man named Oſmer, whoſe hair and countenance greatly reſembled king Eadmund, and holding it up in his hand, ſhewed it to the Engliſh, at the ſame time calling aloud to them, that king Eadmund was ſlain, and that therefore they ought to ſave themſelves by a ſpeedy flight. This ſtratagem had ſuch an effect, that many of the Saxons began to give ground, which being made known to king Eadmund, he haſted to a place where he might be ſeen by his army, and encouraging his men from thence, they renewed the fight, and made a great ſlaughter amongſt the Danes; but the approach of night prevented either party from obtaining the victory. The third day, both armies are ſaid to have appeared in the field; but there was nothing done on either ſide more than the burying of the dead. The ſucceeding night, Cnut, thoroughly ſenſible of the loſs which he had already ſuſtained, marched away ſilently under covert of the darkneſs, and haſted, with all ſpeed, towards London, intending to renew the ſiege of that city †.

Edric pardoned by king Eadmund.

After the battle of Sheraſtan, Eadmund returned to Weſſex, in order to recruit his army; at which time, Edric, his traiterous brother-in-law, quitted the Danes, and having obtained pardon of Eadmund, ſwore loyalty to him, and entered a third time into the Saxon army; but the event fully proved the treachery of his heart, whoſe only intentions were the more ſpeedily to promote the intereſt of Cnut, although at the expence of his country, and the life of his lawful ſovereign. Eadmund, having reinforced his army, haſted towards London, where Cnut continued the ſiege, with as little ſucceſs as

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† Ibid. & vid. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.

for-

formerly. The ſudden arrival of Eadmund, however, obliged Cnut to raiſe the ſiege of the city, and fly to his ſhips *.

The Danes overcome near Brentford.

Two days after that Eadmund had driven the Danes from London, he croſſed the Thames at Brentford with his army, which being done too haſtily, and not at the proper ford, ſeveral of his troops were drowned in the paſſage; however, he marched his forces with all poſſible ſpeed towards London, and coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the Danes, gave them a conſiderable overthrow. After this victory, through the perſuaſion of Edric, Eadmund concluded a truce with Cnut, and returned with his army again into Weſſex †.

Cnut goes into Kent.

Eadmund was no ſooner departed into Weſſex, than Cnut, not in the leaſt regarding the truce he had agreed upon, returned to London, and once more renewed the ſiege; but ſtill the valour of the beſieged rendered all his attempts ineffectual: therefore, departing thence with his navy, he entered a river called Arrene, from whence he fell upon the borders of Mercia, waſting the country, and obtaining great ſpoils. After this he ordered all his foot to enter on board his ſhips, and ſail round through the Thames into the river Medway, where they were met by the horſe, who made their paſſage thither over land, taking great ſpoils in their way ‡.

The battle at Otford.

Whilſt Cnut was thus employed, Eadmund was not idle; for, having encreaſed his army by powerful reinforcements from ſeveral of the principal ſhires, he came again in ſearch of his enemy, and hearing that he was gone into Kent, he croſſed the Thames again at Brentford, and followed him to Otford, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Danes were totally routed §; ſo that, had Eadmund reſolutely purſued the advantages he had gained by this victory, it is generally thought that he might eaſily have put an end to the war at once, by a compleat conqueſt of his foes: but he was perſuaded from following the Danes by the plauſible councils of the arch traytor Edric, who, by that means, procured time for Cnut to make his eſcape.

The battle of Aſhdown.

Cnut, in the utmoſt conſternation, after the above defeat, fled with the remainder of his army to the Iſle of Sheppy, from whence he paſſed with all expedition into Eſſex, where, having once more recruited his army, he began to pillage the country. But king Eadmund, having made proper preparation, followed him into Eſſex, and at Aſhdown ‖ the two armies met, and a bloody engagement enſued, in which the Saxons at the firſt prevailed; but this being perceived by

* S. Dunelm, &c.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Some declare that Cnut loſt, in this engagement, 4500 of his ſoldiers, whilſt, on the other hand, the Saxons loſt only 600. Vide Speed, page 370.

‖ Some place this action at Aſhendon, near Bartlow, upon the confines of Eſſex, near Cambridgeſhire; but others at a place of the ſame name, near Rochford in Eſſex.

Edric

Edric the traytor, he fled with that part of the army which he commanded, agreeable to a promiſe he had made to Cnut, and by that means the Danes obtained a compleat victory.—In this fatal action, fell the earls Alfric and Godwyn, alſo Ulfkettel, the earl of the Eaſt Angles, and Æthelward his ſon, with the far greater part of the Saxon nobility; ſo that the Engliſh had not, for a long time, felt ſo fatal a blow *.

Agreement between Eadmund and Cnut.

After the defeat at Aſhdown, Eadmund left the field of battle, and, with the little remains of his army, made the beſt of his way to Glouceſter, where he was indefatigable to collect freſh forces, in order once more to make head againſt the Danes. Cnut, however, purſued him as he fled, and in his way the Londoners ſubmitted themſelves to him †. He came up with the army of the Saxons at a place called Deorhiſt, on the weſtern banks of the Severn, and, as they ſtood on either ſide prepared for the battle, by ſome means or other, a reconciliation took place, and the matter was mitigated between Eadmund and Cnut ‡, the former conſenting that the latter ſhould reign jointly with him; himſelf was to poſſeſs the country of the Weſt Saxons and all the ſouth, whilſt Cnut was to reign over Mercia and all the north. —Theſe matters being agreed upon, Eadmund and Cnut met together on a ſmall iſland called Alney, near Glouceſter, in the midſt of the Severn, where, in the ſight of both armies, they embraced each other, and confirmed the covenant by interchanging their arms and the habits they wore; and afterwards, having ſettled every matter relative to the agreement, both retired in peace with their forces, in order to take poſſeſſion of their different allotments.

The ſudden death of Eadmund.

The kingdom was at laſt, by this unexpected agreement, reſtored to peace, and each monarch ſeemed perfectly contented with the dominions that had been allotted to him; when ſoon after, about the feaſt of the apoſtle ſaint Andrew, Eadmund ſuddenly died at London, but

* Malmſb. S. Dunelm, &c.

† S. Dunelm.

‡ The general received account concerning this agreement, as given by S. Dunelm, H. Hunt. M. Weſt. &c. and their followers, is, that when both armies were prepared for battle, the nobles affirmed, that, to ſave blood-ſhed, the two chiefs of the armies ſhould themſelves alone try the deciſion of the field; accordingly Eadmund challenged Cnut to ſingle combat, which challenge being accepted by him, they both of them entered the little iſland (Alny) in the midſt of the Severn, and fought with each other in the ſight of their armies; but in the end, Cnut, perceiving that his antagoniſt was too powerful for him, ſought to compromiſe the matter with him. The diviſion of the kingdom was then propoſed, and accepted of by Eadmund, wherefore they both threw down their arms and embraced each other, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of both armies.----But W. Malmſbury denies that Cnut accepted of the challenge, declaring, that although he did not want courage, yet he was not imprudent enough, being himſelf a ſlender man, to encounter with one of Eadmund's ſtrength and ſtature; but though he refuſed to fight, yet he propoſed the diviſion of the kingdom, which was readily agreed to by Eadmund and the Saxon nobles. Vide Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 10.

not

not without ſuſpicion of treaſon. And the infamy of this action is laid to the traytor Edric, who, it is thought, in order to ingratiate himſelf the more in the favour of Cnut, ſuborned two officers of Eadmund's bed-chamber to murder him, when he retired to his privy cloſet *.—His corpſe was carried from London to Glaſtonbury, and buried, with all due ſolemnities, by the ſide of his grandfather, Eadgar the Peaceable.

Perſon and character of king Eadmund.

Eadmund was of a tall, graceful ſtature, and his limbs were endued with great ſtrength, ſo that he endured all the fatigues of war with ſuch fortitude, that he had thenceforth the ſirname of Ironſides † beſtowed upon him. He was a man of invincible courage, and of an amiable diſpoſition. The reſt of his good qualities are not particularly marked by the ancient hiſtorians, who, on the other hand, have not reproached him with any particular vice; ſo that we may reaſonably conclude the remainder of his character would have done him honour, had it happily been recorded.

Wife and iſſue of king Eadmund.

Eadmund had but one wife, who was named Algith; a lady of ſingular beauty, and the widow of Sigeferth the Dane, who was ſlain at Oxford, in the year 1015, by the treaſon of Edric, as was before mentioned. Eadmund married this lady the ſame year her huſband had been ſlain, againſt the conſent of his father. By her he had two ſons: the eldeſt, named Edward, was ſirnamed the Outlaw, becauſe he lived in exile during the government of the Danes in England, but afterwards returned, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, his uncle. The youngeſt ſon of Eadmund, was named Eadmund, who was brought up at the court of Salomon, king of Hungary, where he married the daughter of that king, but, as it is thought, died without iſſue.

* The murder was done, according to Malmſbury, by thruſting a ſharp iron up his fundament as he ſat at ſtool. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 10.---But, in ſhort, various are the accounts of this king's death. The author of the Encomium Emmæ, who lived at the time, and S. Dunelm, ſeem to have thought that he died a natural death. M. Weſt. H. Hunt. Scala Chron. & Encom. Emmæ, ſay he was ſlain at Oxford; but many other ancient authors agree with Malmſbury, that it was at London: but all of them who attribute his death to an unnatural cauſe, agreed that it was through the procurement and treaſon of Edric, though the manner of it is alſo variouſly related. Vide Hen. de Knyghton, lib. 1. cap. 2. John Bromton, et Randulf de Diceto, &c.

† In Latin *Ferreum latus*.---"Qui ſic dicebatur (*ſays Knyghton*) propter probitatem ſuam, cujus ſagitta nunquam in caſſum reverſa, neque gladius in vanum extractus, aut lancea, quandocumque fruſtra vibrata."---Hen. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. 1. cap. 2.

CNUT,

CNUT, or CANUTE,

The ſecond Daniſh Monarch of ENGLAND.

NO ſooner was the death of Eadmund Ironſides publicly known, than Cnut ſummoned a large council of all the clergy and chief nobility of the realm, where he demanded, in a peremptory manner, of thoſe who had been witneſſes to the agreement made between himſelf and king Eadmund, what the articles of that agreement were,—whether it was ſtipulated, that after the death of that prince, if Cnut his partner were yet living, that his ſons or his brothers ſhould enjoy his poſſeſſions, or whether the whole ſhould deſcend from him to Cnut?—The nobles called upon, being over-awed by the preſence of Cnut, and fearful of offending him, for they preſently underſtood the meaning of the ſubtle demand, and therefore, to ingratiate themſelves with him, they replied (as ſome hiſtorians have declared, contrary to their conſciences) that they well knew that Eadmund had left no part of the kingdom to his ſons or to his brethren, either at the time of the agreement or at the time of his death, but that he had intended Cnut ſhould be their guardian until they arrived to the ſtate of manhood.—After this declaration of the witneſſes, Cnut laid claim to the whole monarchy, and there were none bold enough to diſpute the matter with him; ſo that, ſoon after, by the general conſent of the people, he was ſolemnly crowned at London, by Livingus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 1017 *. A.D. 1017.

Cnut's ſtratagem to ſecure the whole kingdom to himſelf.

As ſoon as Cnut mounted the throne of England, he caſt an eye of jealouſy upon Edwy, brother to the deceaſed Eadmund, a prince in great favour amongſt the Engliſh. His baniſhment therefore was at firſt reſolved upon; but Cnut, fearing that he might perhaps hereafter return to diſturb him, could not think himſelf ſecurely ſeated upon the throne, until, by ſome means or other, he was effectually removed: he therefore conſulted Edric, who was always ready to aſſiſt him in murders or treaſons, and, by his advice, one Ethelward, a nobleman fallen to decay, was tempted by great offers to undertake the murder

Edwy, brother to Eadmund, ſlain.

* S. Dunelm, &c.

of the prince; but he, being too humane for the employment, ſtill delayed from time to time, alledging that he could not find a convenient opportunity. Shortly after this, Cnut, perceiving that the matter might be made worſe by delay, reſtored Edwy to favour, and cauſed him to be treated with all due reſpect; when, in the height of his proſperity, he was murdered by ſome of his pretended friends, at the inſtigations of Cnut and his wicked inſtrument Edric *.

The two ſons of Eadmund ſent into Sweden.

Edwy being now removed, gave ſome eaſe to the jealouſies of Cnut; but the two ſons of the unfortunate Eadmund ſtill alarmed his repoſe. Edric adviſed him to diſpatch them alſo, as he had done their uncle; but Cnut, juſtly imagining that ſo much blood, ſhed by his own hand, or in his own dominions, would render him odious to his ſubjects, he therefore ſent them into Sweden, in order that they might be privately murdered there. But the king of Sweden, deteſting ſo much cruelty, poſitively refuſed to perform the commiſſion of Cnut, and, in order to place the young princes in a ſtate of greater ſecurity from ſuch attempts, he ſent them to Soloman, the king of Hungary, at whoſe court they were brought up in a manner becoming their rank †.

Cnut divides the kingdom.

Cnut, thus ſettled in his throne, turned his attention to the government of his poſſeſſions, and, in order to hold them the more ſecurely, he divided his territories into four parts, one of which he governed himſelf, and the other three he committed to the care of viceroys, or chieftains, who governed under him. All the dominions of the Weſt Saxons he held himſelf, the Eaſt Angles he committed to the charge of earl Turkill, Mercia to Edric, and the Northumbrians to Eoric; after which he confirmed a peace with all the neighbouring people ‡.

Cnut marries Emma.

The next ſtep that Cnut took was a very political one, namely, the marrying of Emma, the widow queen of Ethelred, by which means he ingratiated himſelf in the favour of the Normans, and alſo of the Saxons, who, though they at firſt were averſe to this marriage, as well as Emma herſelf, yet, on mature conſideration, it was eſteemed the moſt likely to prevent any future diſcords; ſo that, by degrees, the people became well ſatisfied with the yoke that was laid upon their ſhoulders §. And at the marriage of Cnut with this lady, it was ſtipulated that his children by her ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom, and no other.

Edric ſlain.

During the Chriſtmas feaſt, in the ſame year, Edric (whoſe character is juſtly ſtigmatized with the name of traytor) ſuſpecting that Cnut, notwithſtanding the ſhew of favour that was made to him, did not mean him well at the bottom of his heart, took the liberty of remon-

* This prince, from his melancholy deportment, was called the *King of Churles*; or, according to the Scala Chronica, *King of Villans*.

† S. Dunelm.
‡ Ibid.
§ Encom. Emmæ, &c.

ſtrating

ſtrating to him the ſervices he had done for him, in betraying the country into his hands. This remonſtrance, it ſeems, was very ill timed; for Cnut, recollecting the villainy of the man, and knowing, perhaps, that he had no farther occaſion for him, inſtead of returning him thanks for thoſe ſervices he boaſted of, he reproached him as a traytor, and pretending to judge him from his own confeſſion *, cauſed him to be ſlain, and his body caſt out of a window into the Thames; but his head was ſet up on one of the gates of London †.—About the ſame time three other noblemen were put to death by the command of Cnut, not for any fault on their part, but becauſe he was jealous of them, and fearful that they ſhould be deſigning miſchief againſt him: their names were, Northman, the ſon of Leofwin; Ethelward, ſon of earl Agelmar; and Brithric, the ſon of Elfegus, a nobleman of Devonſhire ‡.

In the beginning of the next year, Cnut laid a heavy tax upon the Saxons, in order to raiſe a large ſum of money to pay his army, who were not yet diſbanded, notwithſtanding the appearances of peace. The ſum he now collected amounted to ſeventy-two, if not eighty-two thouſand pounds, beſides fifteen thouſand pounds which were exacted from the Londoners alone §. A.D. 1018. A tax levied.

This year alſo, an extenſive war broke out in the north, at Carrum, between the Northumbers, and the Scots aſſiſted by Eugenius king of Lothian; but it ſeems to have been concluded without the aſſiſtance of Cnut, becauſe we hear no more of its continuance from this time. The true occaſion, or the ſucceſs of the war, is haſtily paſſed over ||. War breaks out in the north.

The ſame year a great council of ſtate was held at Oxford, in which it was agreed upon between the Danes and the Saxons, that both parties ſhould faithfully obſerve the laws of Eadgar. Decrees of council.

* For it is reported that Edric declared to Cnut, that, for his ſake, he had firſt pulled from his throne his lawful ſovereign, Eadmund, and afterwards murdered him. To this Cnut anſwered angrily, "Traytor to God and me, thou ſhalt die! Thine own mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy ſovereign, my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed;" and thereupon cauſed him to be ſlain.---Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 11.

† In this manner fulfilling an ambiguous promiſe that he made to Edric, who, when he had murdered Eadmund (according to the report of ſome) cut off his head, and carried it to Cnut, ſaying, "All hail! thou art now ſole monarch of England; for ſee here the head of thy copartner, which, for thy ſake, I have ſtricken off.--- Cnut, though deſirous of the death of Eadmund, was yet abaſhed at the openeſs of the treaſon; however, diſſembling the emotions of his heart, he looked earneſtly upon Edric, and declared he would lift up his head above any of the peers of the realm. Which Edric imagining would be by the honours conferred upon him, he impatiently waited the confirmation of the promiſe, which at laſt came upon him, not as he expected, but as he deſerved.--- Bromton, &c.

‡ Encom. Emmæ.

§ Ibid.

|| S. Dunelm, &c.

A. D. 1019. Cnut goes over to Denmark.

The year following, Cnut, having ſettled all things in England to his entire ſatisfaction, ſailed with a ſtrong army into Denmark, in order to ſuppreſs ſome troubles that were breaking out in his dominions there, occaſioned by an inſurrection of the Swedes, who had taken the advantage of his abſence to raiſe this commotion. Cnut, immediately upon his arrival in Denmark, haſted towards the enemy to give them battle; and whilſt the two armies lay in view of each other, the very night before they were to engage, earl Godwin, with a powerful band of Saxon ſoldiers that were brought by Cnut to aſſiſt him, ſtole privately out of the camp, and falling ſuddenly upon the enemies, won the victory by break of day, before Cnut had received information of the battle being began. This action, which ſhewed the zeal of the Saxons for their king, and their deſire to ſignalize themſelves in his right, had the deſired effect; for, from that time forward, Cnut held the Saxons in much higher eſteem than he had done before. Peace being in this manner reſtored in Denmark, Cnut abode there during the Winter *.

A. D. 1020. Cnut baniſhes his viceroys.

In the Spring following, Cnut returned into England, where he found all his dominions in perfect peace. Eight ſucceeding years he now ſpent in perfect tranquillity, during which ſpace he made ſuch neceſſary regulations as were required, and baniſhed the two viceroys Turkill and Eric, the former of which preſided over the Eaſt Angles, and the latter over Northumberland; and, in regard to Mercia, he ſeems to have taken the government of that into his own hands immediately after the death of Edric. There is no other reaſon aſſigned for the baniſhment of the two above mentioned noblemen than the jealouſy of Cnut, who began to be in fear of their increaſing power and conſequence †.

A. D. 1028. Cnut ſubdues Norway.

In the year 1028, Cnut ſailed with a powerful fleet into Norway, and invaded that kingdom. On his landing, he was joined by a ſtrong party of the Norwegians, who had been gained over to eſpouſe his cauſe againſt their own ſovereign, by many bribes and valuable preſents, which Cnut had conveyed to them the preceeding year by ſuch people of truſt as he had appointed for that purpoſe. His ſucceſs was ſuch that he preſently ſubdued the country, and diſpoſſeſſed Olave, the Norwegian king, who ſhortly after was ſlain by his own ſubjects; ſo that upon his death, Cnut was choſen king of Norway, which additional honour was not a little pleaſing to him. The grounds of this quarrel between Cnut and Olave are not ſo clearly made out by the ancient hiſtorians as one might wiſh. However, Cnut it ſeems accuſed him of aiding ſome commotions that were made amongſt his Daniſh ſubjects, which he had done becauſe

* S. Dunelm.

† Malmſbury, S. Dunelm, &c.

Cnut

Cnut had not made him any recompence for the aſſiſtance he had given him in the conqueſt of England *.

The year following, Cnut returned to England with additional glo- A. D. 1029.
ry, being now king of England, of Denmark, and Norway. Soon af- Hacun, a Dane, thought to be put to death.
ter his return, one Hacun, a Daniſh nobleman, who had married the daughter of his ſiſter Gunhild, and who was grown very powerful in the kingdom, became offenſive to him. Cnut, therefore, under the colour of ſending him to ſome foreign court, charged with an embaſſy from him, diſpatched Hacun from England, and ſuch means were uſed as effectually prevented his return, being, as was ſuppoſed, ſlain by the command of his uncle †.

Two years after Cnut went over into Denmark again, from whence A. D. 1031.
(giving way to the ſuperſtition of the times) he went to Rome in order Cnut goes to Rome.
to expiate for the blood which he had ſhed in his way to the dignities he enjoyed. In a letter, which he ſent from Rome, to Ailnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury ‡, he declares, that his reaſon for taking that journey was in honour of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul; but many authors that have treated on this ſubject, ſeem rather to think that it was his vanity that occaſioned his journey, in order oſtentatiouſly to ſhew his greatneſs and riches. He gave great gifts at Rome of gold, ſilver, and jewels, at the ſame time making vows at the ſepulchre of the two apoſtles to amend his future life; alſo by the way, both as he went, and as he returned, he diſtributed alms to a prodigious amount, and freed many places from tolls and impoſts where travellers were wont to pay certain ſums of money §.

Upon his return into England the following year, he built a church A. D. 1032.
which he dedicated to St. Eadmund, the unfortunate king of the Eaſt Scotland ſubdued.
Angles, who was ſlain by the Danes, as hath been already mentioned. This done, he once more placed himſelf at the head of his army, and marching into the north, ſubdued Scotland, and received homage of Malcolme, and of two other northern kings named Melbeath and Jamare ‖.

About the ſame time, he made his eldeſt ſon Sweyn, king of Nor- Cnut provides for his ſons.
way, which he had conquered four years before; and Hardicnut, his ſon by queen Emma, he ſeated upon the throne of Denmark, intending to beſtow the crown of England upon Harold, his ſecond ſon by a former wife, and brother to Sweyn ¶.

* S. Dunelm, &c.
† Ibid.
‡ Vide de Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 11.
§ Hen. Hunt.
‖ Ibid. & S. Dunelm.
¶ Scala Chron. &c.

The

A. D. 1035. The remainder of Cnut's reign was ſpent in profound tranquillity, during which time he ſeems to have ſtudied the benefit of his ſubjects, by making ſeveral neceſſary regulations, and attending to a due adminiſtration of juſtice. On the 12th day of December, in the year 1035, Cnut died at Shafteſbury, greatly lamented, after a glorious reign of upwards of eighteen years, and his body was ſolemnly buried in the church of the old monaſtery of Wincheſter.

The death of Cnut.

Character of Cnut.

Cnut was a man of ſmall ſtature, but endued with an enterpriſing ſpirit; whatever great deſigns his unbounded ambition, and love of power lead him to undertake, he always purſued them with ſuch aſſiduity, that, in the end, he conſtantly triumphed over all the difficulties that fell in his way, and reſted not till his undertakings were completed. For temperance and juſtice he far exceeded any of the neighbouring princes of his time, though ſome have accuſed him of pride and oſtentation. However, ſeveral of his actions ſeem rather to have proved his humility and condeſcenſion *. His greateſt crimes were thoſe his ambition cauſed him to commit; for, as he gained the throne of England by force, he was obliged to dip his hands in blood to ſecure the ſame —of this he ſeems himſelf to be convinced; and, in the latter part of his reign, endeavoured to make atonement for the blood he had ſpilt, by his juſtice and piety, the latter of which, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, frequently bordered upon ſuperſtition.

Cnut's firſt wife, and her iſſue.

Cnut had two wives, the firſt was Alfgyfu † of Northampton, the daughter of earl Alfhelm, a nobleman of Mercia; and her mother is ſaid to have been named Ulfrune, inheritrix of Hampton in Staffordſhire, called after her Ulfrune Hampton, and now by corruption Wolverhampton. By this lady he had two ſons—Sweyn, the eldeſt, who was by his father made king of Denmark, and Harold, the youngeſt, who ſucceeded his father in the crown of England ‡.

The

* Huntingdon reports of this king, that one day, when his courtiers were extolling his actions, and praiſing him as a god—he rebuked them in the following manner. He cauſed his royal ſeat to be placed on the ſea ſhore whilſt the tide was flowing in, and ſpoke thus to the ſea:—"Sea, thou "belongeſt to me, and the land I ſit upon is mine—nor have any unpuniſhed "reſiſted my commands. I charge thee riſe "no higher on my land, neither preſume "to wet the feet of thy ſovereign Lord." —But the tide flowing in, and wetting the borders of his garments, he roſe up angry with his flatterers, and deſired them to be convinced of the limitted power of a mortal king, declaring, at the ſame time, that none merited that title but he who could govern heaven, earth, and ſeas. Hunting. lib. 2.

† Some authors have not ſcrupled to declare, that this woman was not the wife, but the concubine of Cnut; but beſides other good authority in the Regiſter of Hyde abbey, an ancient Saxon MS in the poſſeſſion of J. Aſtle, Eſq; there is a portrait of her and Cnut, who jointly hold a croſs, and over her head is written,

"Ælfgyfa Regina."

This drawing is copied in the firſt volume of a work, entituled, Horda Angelcynnan, or the manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh; vid. plate 38.

‡ It is a ſtrange ſtory that is reported by T. Redbourne, R. Higden, and the author

The ſecond wife of king Cnut was Emma, the widow of Æthelred, who ſurvived him. By Emma he had iſſue one ſon and one daughter. Hardicnut, the ſon, was born in the beginning of his father's reign, and towards the latter end of the ſame, was made king of Denmark, where he was when his father died. He afterwards ſucceeded his half brother Harold in the throne of England. Guinleam, the daughter, a young lady of great beauty, married (in her father's life time) to Henry, emperor of Germany.

The ſecond wife of Cnut, and her iſſue.

Cnut is reported to have had another daughter, a woman of great ſanctity, who was married to Godeſcalk, prince of the Vandals. Both ſhe and her huſband ſuffered martyrdom for the ſake of chriſtianity. If Cnut ever had ſuch a daughter, it is highly probable that ſhe was illegitimate, becauſe no mention is made of her in the moſt ancient and authentic hiſtories, where all his lawful iſſue is ſaid to be recorded *.

A ſuppoſed daughter of Cnut.

thor of the Scala Chronica, and others, to this purport:—That Alfgyfu was barren, and in order the better to ſecure the affection of her huſband Cnut, pretended to be with child, and at the time ſhe ſhould have been delivered, cauſed the new-born ſon of a certain prieſt to be brought to her bed, and nurſed it as her own, which child was afterwards named Sweyn. In the ſame manner ſhe deceived Cnut a ſecond time, nurſing the child of a low mechanic, who was named Harold, ſo that neither of them were really Cnut's children; but the whole of this tale is very improbable, and might perhaps take riſe from the uſage that Harold's dead body met with from his brother Hardicnut; but it is not mentioned in the moſt ancient authors.

* Vide Speed's Chronicle, page 387.

HAROLD,

HAROLD, *ſirnamed* HAREFOOT.

The third Daniſh Monarch of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1036. AT the time of Cnut's deceaſe, Hardicnut, his ſon by Emma, who (according to the agreement made at the time of his marriage with that lady) was to ſucceed him in the kingdom, was abſent in Denmark, which gave a favourable opportunity to Harold, the ſecond ſon of Cnut, by his former wife, who was preſent at his father's death, of aſſerting his claim to the crown, which Cnut, in his laſt teſtament, had left to him. His claim was ſupported by all the Danes in general, and the Londoners, as well as the greater part of the northern inhabitants of England *. On the other hand, Godwin, a powerful nobleman, pretending to be the guardian of the queen-mother and her children, with all the ſouthern provinces, and particularly Weſſex, aſſerted the right of Hardicnut. To ſettle this diſpute, a great council was convened at Oxford, where the matter was argued with much vehemence. However, the preſence of Harold, and the arguments of his party, which were the moſt powerful, prevailed; and it was agreed upon that Harold ſhould mount the throne —not as ſole monarch, but in partnerſhip with his half brother, to whom the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were aſſigned, and for the preſent were committed to the keeping of Emma, the queen-mother, till her ſon Hardicnut ſhould arrive to take poſſeſſion of them †.

Harold claims the crown.

Ailnoth objects to Harold.

Notwithſtanding the decrees of the council, Harold met with a conſiderable difficulty at his inauguration; for Ailnoth, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had the keeping of the crown and regal habiliments, peremptorily refuſed to deliver them up to any but the children of Emma who were the only lawful heirs. However, he was at laſt, as ſome have reported, prevailed upon by Harold (who ſpared no promiſes nor intreaties) to ſet the crown upon his head ‡.

Harold uſurps the whole kingdom.

Harold was no ſooner inveſted with the royal dignity, than he determined to ſeize the whole kingdom into his own hands. His firſt ſtep, therefore, towards the completion of his deſign was to poſſeſs himſelf of his father's treaſure which Emma had in her keeping; that

* Malmſb. &c. † Rog. Hoveden. ‡ Encom. Emmæ.

done

done, he ſhortly after aſſerted his authority over Weſſex, and the ſouthern provinces that had been deſigned for his half brother Hardicnut; and becauſe his party was grown very powerful, thoſe who wiſhed well to Emma were obliged to ſubmit quietly to the decrees of Harold.

Ælfred ſlain by treachery.

At the ſame time, before the departure of queen Emma, Harold, by the aſſiſtance of earl Godwin, whom he had won over to his party, either by a forged letter as coming from Emma *, or ſome other deceit of the like kind, prevailed upon Ælfred, one of her ſons by Æthelred, to come from Normandy into England, where he was ſeized upon at Guilford by Godwin, and his attendants being put to the ſword, himſelf was ſent to the iſle of Ely, where he had his eyes put out, and ſhortly after died for want of proper neceſſaries †. Emma, frightened by the treachery of Harold, fled ſpeedily after the murder of her ſon into Flanders,, where ſhe was honourably received by Baldwin, the earl of that country, and a habitation was aſſigned her, by his orders, at Bruges, where ſhe was ſoon after viſited by Hardicnut her ſon, king of Denmark ‡.

A. D. 1038.

Harold keeps a fleet upon the ſeas.

Harold, in order the better to ſupport his dominions from the invaſion of any foreigner, cauſed ſixteen large Daniſh veſſels to keep the ſeas, which were continually coaſting about, and ready, upon all occaſions, to protect the coaſts; and, in order to maintain this armament, he exacted great ſums of the Engliſh, which they were obliged to pay, but not without great murmurings and diſcontent §.

A. D. 1040.

Harold's death.

After a reign of four years, in which nothing that could redound to his honour was tranſacted, Harold died at London, and his body was buried at Weſtminſter ‖.

The character of Harold.

The perſon of Harold has not been deſcribed by the ancient hiſtorians, but he was remarkably ſwift of foot, which occaſioned his receiving the ſirname of Harefoot. His character is that of a cruel, treacherous, and tyrannizing man—endowed with but few or no conſpicuous virtues to counterbalance his defects; ſo that he was juſtly diſliked by his ſubjects, and his death ſeems not to have been regretted even by his own partizans. He does not appear to have had any wife, nor to have left any iſſue behind him.

* Encom. Emmæ.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ S. Dunelm.
§ Ibid.
‖ Rog. Hoveden, Malmſb. Huntingdon, &c. ſay that he died at Oxford.

HARDICNUT.

The fourth Daniſh Monarch of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1040. Hardicnut ſucceeds Harold.

AFTER the death of Harold, the whole kingdom, as well Danes as Saxons, were univerſally conſenting to ſet Hardicnut, the ſon of Emma, upon the throne; ſo that meſſengers were ſpeedily diſpatched to Bruges, where he ſtill remained with his mother, to inform him of his brother's death, and to offer him the crown of England. Hardicnut received theſe ſummonſes with a great deal of pleaſure, and accordingly prepared, as quickly as he conveniently could, to come over into England, and take poſſeſſion of the honours aſſigned for him. About Midſummer he arrived, accompanied by ſixty Daniſh veſſels and a great number of ſoldiers, and was joyfully received by the people in general. He firſt landed in Kent, from whence he was inſtantly conveyed to London, where he was proclaimed king, and crowned by Ailnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 1040, the ſame year that his half-brother died *.

He diſgraces Harold's dead body.

Hardicnut was ſcarcely ſeated upon the throne, before he took upon him to revenge the injuries done to him and his mother by his predeceſſor Harold. He therefore ſent Alfric archbiſhop of York, earl Godwin, and others, with Froud the executioner, commanding them to take the body of Harold out of his tomb, and to caſt it into the Thames, where it was taken up by a fiſherman, and conveyed by the Danes to Saint Clement's church, which belonged to them, and there it was again interred †.

He taxes the people.

The ſame year he alſo impoſed a heavy tax upon the people, in order to pay certain ſums of money to his ſailors and ſhipmen. This load of oppreſſion ſat heavily on his ſubjects in general, who now began to be highly diſcontented with his proceedings, and lamented that they had raiſed him to rule over them ‡.

* Malmſb. S. Dunelm, &c.

† Chron. Guil. Mulden, &c.

‡ This tax, which was the payment of eight marks to every common ſailor, and twelve to an officer or pilot, amounted (ſays Speed) to the ſum of 32,147 pounds. The ſame author ſeems to believe that Godwin counſelled the king to do this, in order to make him odious to his people, which he intended to turn to his advantage. ---Speed's Chron. page 527.

At

At the ſame time Hardicnut called Godwin earl of Kent, and Leving biſhop of Worceſter, to account for the murder of his half-brother Ælfred, of which crime they were accuſed by Alfric, archbiſhop of York. The king, in his anger, deprived Leving of his biſhopric, and gave it to his accuſer; but being the following year pacified by a large ſum of money, which Leving cauſed to be preſented to him, the fault was overlooked, and he was again reſtored to his former poſſeſſions. As for Godwin, who could not eaſily exculpate himſelf, he made his peace with the king by a magnificent preſent which he gave him *, and at the ſame time took an oath, that what he had done was not by his own will or conſent, but by the abſolute command of Harold: and the ſame oath was taken by moſt of the nobility, either in their own or his behalf.

Nobles called to account.

The next year, as the officers of Hardicnut were collecting in the tax which he had impoſed upon the people, two of them, Thurſtan and Feader, being too rigorous in the execution of their office, at the city of Worceſter, were ſlain by the citizens; which proceeding ſo highly exaſperated the king, that he ſent Leofric, earl of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with a great army, whom he commiſſioned to deſtroy all the citizens, and lay waſte the city, after they had pillaged it of every thing valuable; and, if they met with any reſiſtance, to ruin the whole province. Affrighted at the news of the king's anger, the citizens and people round about fled from their houſes and poſſeſſions to a ſmall iſland in the Severn, called Beverege, where they fortified and defended themſelves until peace was granted to them, and permiſſion to return home without moleſtation. But in the mean time, the city, left defenceleſs, was pillaged, and burnt to the ground. Ælfred, their biſhop, was alſo expelled from his ſee, until he purchaſed his pardon and reſtoration by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money †.

A. D. 1041.

Commotions at Worceſter.

Edward, the half-brother of Hardicnut, the only remaining ſon of Emma by Æthelred, came out of Normandy upon a viſit to him, and was by him moſt affectionately received. If we can confide in the report of ſeveral authors, Hardicnut was of an indolent diſpoſition, and left the whole management of the government to his mother Emma, and

Edward viſits his brother.

* This preſent was a ſumptuous ſhip, whoſe ſtern was richly ornamented with gold, and all the rigging proportionably grand. Within it were eighty ſoldiers, whoſe garments and arms were richly ornamented with gold, each of them having a bracelet of pure gold on either arm, weighing ſixteen ounces. Their helmets were gilt with gold, and the hilts of their ſwords were of maſſy gold. Upon their left ſhoulder they carried each man a Daniſh axe, and in their right hands they held each a lance, called in Engliſh *hateger*. — Malmſb. lib. 2, cap. 12.

† S. Dunelm, &c.

Godwin earl of Kent. It is alſo reported, that the one was very covetous, and the other a deſigning, artful courtier; ſo that, whatever burdens were placed upon the people, the chief blame has been laid upon theſe two perſonages, to whom the whole conduct of the kingdom was committed *.

D. A. 1042. The death of Hardicnut. The year following, Hardicnut being preſent at a marriage feaſt at Lambeth, where Cnut Prudon, a great Daniſh nobleman, was wedded to Githa, the daughter of Oſgod Clappa, another potent Dane, as they were in the midſt of their mirth, the king was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit, and falling down ſpeechleſs, expired preſently after. This accident happened on the eighth day of June, in the year 1042, within a few days of the latter end of the ſecond year of his reign; and his body was buried at Wincheſter, cloſe beſide the corpſe of his father Cnut †.

The character of Hardicnut. This prince, from his ſtrength and hardineſs of body, obtained the addition of Hardi to his name, which was at firſt only Cnut, after his father. He was a man of an open generous temper, and pleaſing in his carriage towards his friends. He particularly delighted in keeping a plentiful houſe, and was himſelf ſo fond of feaſting, that his table was ſpread with a ſuperfluity of the greateſt dainties four times in one day: ſo that, by his example, gluttony and intemperance were greatly encouraged amongſt the nobility of England ‡.—His political character we know but little of; yet, from the general opinions of the ancient hiſtorians, it appears that he was very indolent, and neglectful of the affairs of ſtate, conſtantly committing them to the determination of Emma his mother, and Godwin earl of Kent, as was before obſerved.

The death of Hardicnut pleaſing to the Saxons. After the death of Hardicnut, who was the laſt prince of the Daniſh race, the Saxons freed themſelves from the galling yoke which had ſo long been impoſed upon them; and the day of his death was, in after-times (as ſome of our modern authors have aſſerted) celebrated with games and paſtimes, and parading about the ſtreets, which time was called Huxtide, or a time of ſcorning and contempt §.

Hardicnut leaves no iſſue. Hardicnut was never married, ſo that he left no iſſue behind him to claim the crown after his death.

* Vide Speed's Chron. page 526.

† Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. S. Dunelm, &c.

‡ H. Hunt. &c.

§ Vide Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, in Sandwich; and Speed's Chron. fol. 527.

EDWARD,


BASILEI † SIGILVM
IMPERATORIS


BASILEI † SIGILVM
IMPERATORIS

EDWARD, *ſirnamed The* CONFESSOR.

The ſixteenth Saxon Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

UPON the deceaſe of Hardicnut, Edward, the ſon of Æthelred, his half-brother, was yet remaining at the Saxon court, and being greatly doubtful for his own ſafety, placed all his confidence in the advice and favour of earl Godwin, whom he knew to be the moſt potent nobleman in the realm; he therefore inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to the earl, intreating a private audience with him. The earl heſitated for a while; but afterwards, conceiving that he might make his advantage of the weakneſs of young Edward, he conſented to the interview. Edward inſtantly came to him, and would have fallen at his feet, but was prevented by him. The prince then repreſented to him the danger that he conceived himſelf to be in, and beſought him to contrive ſome ſafe method of conveying himſelf out of the land. To this requeſt Godwin artfully made anſwer, that he ought to recollect that he was the ſon of Æthelred, the grandchild of Eadgar, and the right heir to the Saxon crown, and alſo at full age to lay claim to it; ſo that he ought not to think of flying the kingdom, but of mounting the throne.—Godwin then wiſhed him to conſider what intereſt he himſelf had with the people, which he would be ready to exert in his favour, if, in return, he would ſwear to be his friend, to preſerve the honour of his houſe, and alſo to marry his daughter. The propoſal of Godwin was preſently aſſented to by the prince, who, conſidering the danger of a refuſal, readily ſwore to whatever Godwin required.—After this agreement, an aſſembly of the nobles and clergy was ſummoned at Gillingham, wherein Edward pleaded his right; and, by the powerful influence of Godwin, his claim being accepted, he was acknowledged as their ſovereign, and the Eaſter following was crowned king, at Wincheſter *, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who were highly delighted at their ſudden and unexpected deliverance from the Daniſh yoke.—Edward began his reign in the year 1043, himſelf being at that time almoſt forty years of age.

A. D. 1043. The acceſſion of Edward.

* W. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Shortly

Edward ſeizes his mother's treaſure.

Shortly after he was crowned, he returned to Wincheſter, and ſeized upon the treaſure of his mother Emma; and the reaſon aſſigned for this action was, that ſhe had not behaved towards him, during the time of his exile, with becoming tenderneſs: and, indeed, it is thought by ſome, that ſhe never had any great affection for Æthelred himſelf, or any of his children. She is alſo noted as a very covetous woman, and devoid of charity to the diſtreſſed; yet ſhe was, however, over bounteous to the monks and their monaſteries *.

Edward marries Edgitha.

The ſame year, according to the promiſe he had made to Godwin before his advancement, he married Edgitha, the daughter of that earl, a lady of great beauty, and juſtly commended for her modeſty, condeſcenſion, and (what was at that time moſt extraordinary) her learning, in which ſhe far excelled any of her ſex that were cotemporary with her †.

A. D. 1045. An invaſion threatened.

Two years after the coronation of Edward, an invaſion was threatened by Magnus, king of Norway, which occaſioned him to put the kingdom in a proper poſture of defence; nor was this matter delayed, for a powerful fleet was fitted out at Sandwich, to oppoſe the Norwegians whenever they ſhould arrive. But this preparation proved needleſs; for Sweyne, king of Denmark, by invading Norway, prevented the execution of the deſign of Magnus, by rendering his preſence abſolutely neceſſary at home, to defend his own territories ‡.

A D. 1047. Sweyne intreats the aid of king Edward in vain.

Two years after, Sweyne, being overpowered by Magnus, ſent embaſſadors into England, entreating aſſiſtance from king Edward, and Godwin adviſed him to ſend fifty ſhips, with a large army of ſoldiers, to his aid; but this advice being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Leofric, earl of Mercia, and the far greater part of the nobility, none were ſent §.

A. D. 1048. The king of Norway makes peace with Edward.

The next year matters took a turn in Norway and Denmark, occaſioned by the death of Magnus; ſo that Sweyne was reſtored to Denmark, and Harold Harfager ſucceeded to the kingdom of Norway, who no ſooner mounted the throne than he diſpatched meſſengers into England, to king Edward, offering him peace and amity; which was accepted by him, to the great ſatisfaction of either party ‖.

Accidental calamities.

The ſame year a great earthquake at Worceſter and Derby did conſiderable damage. This misfortune, which happened in the beginning of March, was quickly followed by other great calamities, as a peſtilence and a famine, by which many thouſands periſhed ¶.

* W. Malmſb.
† Ingulphus.
‡ S. Dunelm.
§ S. Dunelm.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Ibid.

The

The year following, the emperor, Henry the Third, being diſ- A. D. 1049.
pleaſed with Baldwin, earl of Flanders, blocked him up with a great army by land, and at the ſame time ſent meſſengers to king Edward, intreating him to block him up by ſea, in order to prevent his eſcape that way. Edward complied with the intreaties of the emperor, and ſent a great fleet to Sandwich, which abode there until a reconcilement took place between the emperor and Baldwin *.

Quarrel between the Emperor and the earl of Flanders

About the ſame time Sweyne, one of the ſons of Godwin earl of Kent, deflowered Edgiva, the abbeſs of Cheſter †, and would have put away his wife in order to have married her; but being for that offence baniſhed the kingdom, he went over into Denmark, from whence returning with eight ſhips ſome time after, under the pretence of ſeeking his pardon of the king, he traiterouſly ſlew his couſin-german Beorn, who had generouſly undertaken to plead in his behalf. The reaſon of this murder, though juſtly condemned by the ancient hiſtorians, is not recorded. However, after he had ſlain Beorn, the matter being made known, ſix of his ſhips were taken by the inhabitants of Haſtings, in Suſſex, and brought to the king, who then lay at Sandwich; the other two (in one of which was Sweyne himſelf) eſcaped, and returned to Denmark.—Theſe treacherous proceedings ſtill heightened the anger of Edward againſt Sweyne; however, ſome time after he obtained his pardon, by the earneſt intreaties of Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, and returned into England ‡.

The treachery of Sweyne, ſon of Godwin.

In the ſame year ſome Daniſh pirates, under the conduct of two chieftains, named Lothen and Hirlen, landed at Sandwich, where they pillaged the country round about, and from thence ſailed to Eſſex, where they diſembarked, and ſpoiled the country bordering on the ſea coaſts; they then ſailed to Flanders with the great ſpoils they had obtained, and ſold them there: after which they returned home, contented with their expedition §.

Daniſh pirates attack Eſſex.

About the ſame time certain Iriſh pirates, with ſixteen ſhips, entered the mouth of the Severn, and did conſiderable damage, being aſſiſted in their depredations by Griffith, prince of South Wales. They proceeded as far as the river Wey, which they paſſed, and burnt Dunedham, ſlaying all the inhabitants they found, and plundering the country round about.—To oppoſe theſe ravagers, Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, with ſome aſſiſtance from the counties of Glouceſter and Hereford, took the field; but ſome of the Welchmen, who compoſed a part of the biſhop's army, ſent private meſſengers to Griffith, informing him of the preparations that were made againſt him. Griffith no ſooner received this information, than he marched forward with his

Iriſh pirates enter the Severn

* S. Dunelm.
† Edgivam *Leonenſis* monaſterii abbatiſſam.---Rog. Hoveden, pars prior.
‡ Mat. Weſt.
§ Hen. Hunt. lib. 6.

whole

whole power, and falling ſuddenly upon the Engliſh in the night-time, whilſt they were unprepared for the battle, ſlew a prodigious number, and put the reſt to flight.—After this conqueſt, fearful perhaps that greater preparation would ſpeedily be made againſt them, if they continued to pillage the country, they returned to their own homes, contented for the preſent with the ſpoils they had obtained *.

Emma, the king's mother, paſſes the Ordeal.

In the year 1050, or ſomewhere near that time, according to the report of ſome of the hiſtorians of the middle ages †, Emma, the queen mother, was accuſed by Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury (a Norman who had been advanced to that dignity by king Edward) not only of having been conſenting to the murder of Ælfred her ſon, the brother of king Edward, but alſo that ſhe had prepared poiſon in order to diſpatch him alſo; and, further, that ſhe had been guilty of incontinence with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter.—Theſe heavy accuſations ſhe heartily denied, and offered to prove her innocence by the Ordeal law; accordingly ſhe paſſed, blindfold and bare-footed, over nine red hot plough-ſhares, placed at unequal diſtances, without receiving the leaſt injury. Her innocence being thus eſtabliſhed, Edward reſtored her to her former honours, and releaſed Alwin. At the ſame time, it is added, Robert, being aſhamed of his accuſation, fled the realm.—This ſtory, however, has been very much ſuſpected, becauſe it is not to be found in the hiſtories of the more ancient writers ‡.

A. D. 1051. The Dane-geit remitted.

This year king Edward remitted a very grievous tax, called the Dane-gelt, being a tribute which had been laid upon the people in the days of Æthelred, and had continued eight-and-thirty years to be paid into the king's treaſury. He alſo reſtored all that remained of this tribute unembezzled, to the right owners.

Edward favours the Normans.

Edward is juſtly accuſed of favouring the Normans (amongſt whom he had been brought up) when he had aſcended the Saxon throne, more than was conſiſtent with the good of the common-wealth; for they were by him advanced to great dignities, and placed in ſome of the higheſt poſts in the government. Theſe proceedings diſguſted Godwin, who, as he had ſet Edward upon the throne, expected more regard would be paid to him; and at the ſame time he was highly diſpleaſed to ſee ſo many foreigners advanced above the native nobles of the land; he, however, ſmothered his reſentment for a time, till an unhappy accident had like to have proved fatal to the peace of the

* S. Dunelm.

† John Bromton, R. Higden, T. Redbourne, &c.

‡ Yet the author of the Annals of Wincheſter declares, that the nine plough-ſhares were buried in the weſt part of the cloiſters of the cathedral of Wincheſter; and it is alſo reported that Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithin (the ſaint to whom ſhe addreſſed her vows before her purgation) nine manors, and Alwin nine more, in memory of the nine plough-ſhares, &c.--Polychron, lib. 6.

nation:

nation:—Euſtace, earl of Boloign, brother-in-law to king Edward, having been to viſit him, and paſſed through Canterbury in his rout to Dover, where he was to embark in order to return home; on his arrival at Canterbury, one of his followers, ſeeking inſolently to take up his lodging in a houſe by force, ſo much provoked the maſter of it by his haughty behaviour, that either in the height of his paſſion, or by chance in ſcuffling with him, he killed him on the ſpot. Euſtace, being informed of this affair, in the heat of his anger went thither with his whole train, and killed not only the man who had ſlain his ſervant, but eighteen more who had taken part with him. This raſh action juſtly exaſperated the townſmen, who, taking up arms, came againſt Euſtace, and ſlew one-and-twenty of his train: he himſelf with great difficulty avoided their fury, and being got out of the city, with one or two of his train who eſcaped with him, he fled back to king Edward, where he made a grievous complaint againſt the citizens of Canterbury. Upon this report, king Edward ſummoned Godwin, the earl of Kent, before him, and, with heavy aggravations, related the matter to him, at the ſame time commanding the earl to raiſe forces, and treat the citizens of Canterbury as traytors and enemies to the king. Godwin, ſorry to his ſoul to ſee what preference was given to ſtrangers, anſwered haſtily, that it would be better firſt to ſummons the chief men of the city to the king's court, where they might plead with their accuſers—for that, until both parties were heard, it could not be clearly proved who were the aggreſſors; and then, if, on hearing the arguments on both ſides, the citizens appeared in fault, to puniſh them ſeverely; if not, they ought to ſtand acquitted: he further added, that he could by no means think of proſecuting his own countrymen, whom it was his office to defend, until their cauſe was heard, and they were legally condemned. This refuſal of Godwin's highly exaſperated Edward; but as he was ſtill fearful of the power of Godwin, he diſſembled his reſentment; and an aſſembly of all the peers was appointed to be held at Glouceſter, where the matter was to be fully tried. But Godwin, imagining that his adverſaries would be too powerful for him, had recourſe to arms in order to defend his cauſe: for this purpoſe he collected together a large army out of his own and his ſons earldoms, which contained moſt of the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt parts of the kingdom, and pretended that he had raiſed this armament in order to go againſt the Welſh, who, as he declared, intended an invaſion in Herefordſhire. This being denied by the Welſh, who took the earlieſt opportunity of clearing themſelves from the accuſation, the true cauſe of Godwin's being in arms could not long be concealed. Edward, underſtanding this, prevailed upon Leofric earl of Cheſter, Siward earl of Northumberland, and Ranulf earl of Hereford, all three powerful noblemen, and his faſt friends, to ſend privately into their provinces, and raiſe

what forces they could. Whilſt this was tranſacting, Godwin, not knowing what preparation was making againſt him, ſent boldly to king Edward, and demanded Euſtace and his followers. As the forces were not yet arrived to the king's aid, he ſent evaſive anſwers back to the earl; but when the army drew nigh, he poſitively rejected his demand. Godwin, though he found himſelf over-reached, determined to ſtand his ground; but, by the interceſſion of Leofric, and other wiſe noblemen, the matter was accommodated without blood-ſhed, ſo that hoſtages were given on both ſides, and the agreement was, that the matter ſhould be fully debated at London. Accordingly the king and the lords, with their army, which continued to increaſe, marched to London: thither alſo came Godwin, with his forces, and lodged at Southwark, on the oppoſite ſide of the Thames; but he found that his army decreaſed daily, by the deſertion of his accomplices. On the other hand, Edward had augmented his forces, and ſoon after, being diſpleaſed with the anſwers of Godwin, he publiſhed an edict, commanding Godwin and his ſons to depart the land in five days. Godwin, finding that he ſhould, in all probability, be ſoon deſerted by his troops, and left to the mercy of the king, thought it moſt prudent to obey the command; ſo that, with his wife and his three ſons, Sweyne, Toſti, and Girth, and as much treaſure as the ſhip would carry, he embarked at Thorney, and paſſed over into Flanders, to earl Baldwin, whoſe daughter Toſti, Godwin's ſon, had married: and his two other ſons, Harold and Leofwin, took ſhip at Briſtol, and ſailed into Ireland *.

Edward puts away his wife.

Immediately after the departure of Godwin and his ſons into baniſhment, Edward put from him his wife Edgitha, whom, though a woman of ſweet diſpoſition, he never liked. His only reaſon of diſguſt ſeems to have been, that earl Godwin was her father; a weak and unjuſt plea! And not content with diſcarding her from his company, he ſent her to the monaſtery of Wilton, where ſhe was placed under his ſiſter, the abbeſs there, deſpoiled of all her ornaments, and allowed only one maiden to attend her—aſſerting, like a weak and cruel man, that, whilſt her neareſt relations were in diſgrace, and exiled into foreign countries, ſhe ought not to be enjoying her eaſe at home †.—But this method of revenging the ambition of the father upon the guiltleſs and undeſerving daughter, argues not only a weak mind, but a cowardly diſpoſition.

William duke of Normandy comes into England.

The ſame year, William duke of Normady, with a noble retinue, came over into England to viſit king Edward, by whom he was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect and affection; and whilſt he made his ſtay in this kingdom, Edward carried him about through moſt of the cities and large towns, and ſhewed him ſuch caſtles as the ſtrength

* S. Dunelm. † W. Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 13.

of

of the kingdom moſt conſiſted in. It is not improbable, that William might, at this time, have formed in his mind the wiſh to conquer England, yet it appears very plain from ancient authorities, that Edward made no mention of leaving the crown to him. After William had abode in England ſome time, Edward conferred ſeveral rich gifts upon him, and he returned back to Normandy *.

In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, Emma, the mother of king Edward, departed this life, and her body was buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter †. A. D. 1052. Emma dies.

About the ſame time Griffith, king of South Wales, entered Herefordſhire with a powerful army, and laid great part of that county waſte. Theſe proceedings occaſioned the inhabitants of Herefordſhire to take the field, and being joined by a ſtrong party of Norman ſoldiers from the caſtle of Hereford, where they were garriſoned, ſet upon the enemy; but after a ſharp conflict, they were put to flight, and the Welſh remained maſters of the field; after which, they plundered the neighbouring country, and returned home laden with ſpoils ‡. The Welſh invade Herefordſhire.

Soon after, in the ſame year, Harold and Leofwin, the two ſons of Godwin, came out of Ireland with a fleet of ſhips, and entered the river Severn, where they plundered many villages upon the confines of Somerſet and Dorſet. They conquered the inhabitants of thoſe two counties in battle, killing above thirty of their chief men, and a conſiderable number of the commoner ſort, and afterwards returned to their ſhips with great booty §. Godwin's ſons land in England.

At the ſame time, king Edward had information that Godwin was upon the ſeas with a fleet, wherefore he fitted out ſixty ſtrong ſhips at Sandwich, all well ſtored both with men and proviſions. The command of this navy was given to Odo and Radulf, two Normans, relations to the king, who was himſelf ſo deſirous of their taking Godwin, that he was often preſent with them, and lay on board the ſhips, the better to encourage the officers to do their duty; yet, notwithſtanding all their diligence, Godwin paſſed the fleet unſeen by any of them, and arrived at another part of Kent; from whence he ſent ſpeedy meſſengers into that county, and alſo to Suſſex, Surrey, and Eſſex, and enticed the principal men of thoſe provinces to take part with him. This news being told to king Edward at Sandwich, he inſtantly cauſed his navy to ſet ſail in order to find the earl; but he again paſſed by them unſeen, and the king's ſhips came up to London, having in vain endeavoured to intercept him. Godwin being informed that the king's fleet was gone to London, ſet ſail for the Edward fits out a fleet againſt Godwin.

* Ingulf. † Bromton. ‡ S. Dunelm. § Malm.

of Wight, where he was met by the fleet under the conduct of his two ſons, who, after their conqueſt upon the banks of the Severn, had coaſted round to the iſle of Wight.

Godwin goes to London.

Godwin being joined by his ſons, the united fleet ſailed round the coaſts towards London, and, by the way, they encreaſed both the number of their ſoldiers and navy. The king, who ſtill lay at London, was exceedingly diſconcerted at this news; however, by the advice of the Normans, who filled the moſt important places at his court, he determined to wait the approach of his enemies. When Godwin reached London, and both parties ſeemed to be prepared for battle, the matter was mitigated by the means of the nobility, and the people, on either ſide, being chiefly Engliſh, refuſed to fight with each other, ſo that a peace was ſet on foot upon theſe conditions, that Godwin, and his family, ſhould be reſtored to their former honours; whilſt Godwin, on his part, ſhould give hoſtages to king Edward (which were to be kept in the court of Normandy) for his, and his family's, future loyalty; and that the Normans, who were ſo great at court, and who had been the occaſion of all theſe diſturbances, ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom. Edward at firſt refuſed to ratify this agreement, but the Londoners alſo joining in the outcry againſt the Normans, he was at laſt perſuaded, and chiefly by the council of Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, to give his conſent; ſo that Godwin, and his whole family (Sweyne excepted, who repenting of his miſdeeds, but in chief of the murder of Beorn, his couſin, was, at this time, on a pilgrimage towards the Holy Land, from whence he never returned *) were reſtored to their governments, and Edgitha, the queen, was recalled from her retirement, once more to ſhare the honours of the court †. Mean while, the Normans made their eſcape with the greateſt ſecreſy and precipitation, well knowing how obnoxious they were to the people in general, by whom they feared to be torn in pieces if they ſhould have been ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands.

A. D. 1053.

The brother of Griffith taken.

The following year, Rheſe, brother to Griffith, prince of South Wales, who, by his frequent inroads into the borders of the Engliſh dominions, had done conſiderable damage, was taken by the Engliſh at Bulendun, and being put to death by the command of king Edward his head was brought to him at Glouceſter, where he then lay ‡.

Death of Godwin.

Godwin did not long ſurvive his re-advancement to his former honours and dignities, for the year after, A. D. 1053, he expired, being ſeized in a fit as he was ſitting at meat with the king at his palace of

* Malmſb. l. 2. cap. 13.
† Hoveden, Higden, Alured, Beverlier, l. 8. &c.
‡ S. Dunelm.

Odiham. The circumſtance of his death, as recorded by ſeveral of our beſt hiſtorians, is very extraordinary. They report, that on Eaſter Monday, whilſt he was at table, mention was made to the king of his brother Ælfred, upon which he looked ſternly at Godwin, who, when he perceived it, in order to vindicate himſelf, replied, "At every mention made, my liege, of your brother Ælfred, you frown on me; but may God prevent me from ſwallowing this morſel if I am guilty of his death." He had ſcarcely pronounced theſe words, and put the morſel to his mouth, but he fell down from his ſeat, and ſpoke no more. His ſons took him up from the ground, and bore him into another room in the palace, hoping that he would recover; but all their endeavours proved in vain, and, on the Thurſday following, being the 15th day of April, he died *. Godwin was ſucceeded in his honours, and great offices, by Harold his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; beſides whom, he left by Githa, his only wife, the daughter of Cnut, four other ſons, all poſſeſſed of great eſtates, and conſiderable offices †.

Harold ſucceeds his father.

The power of the Godwin family was leſſened for a time, after his deceaſe; for the government of the Eaſt Saxons and Angles, which he had poſſeſſed, was taken from Harold, and given to Algar, the ſon of Leofric; but Harold, who was a man well verſed in ſound policy, ſeeing the king was childleſs, formed the deſign of ſecuring to himſelf the crown at his deceaſe. He carried himſelf in that polite and inſinuating manner towards Edward, that he ſoon obtained his good graces, and recovered all the power, which, at Godwin's death, had been loſt to the family ‡.

A. D. 1055.

The death of Siward, and advancement of Toſti.

Two years after the death of Godwin, Siward, earl of Northumberland, a potent nobleman, and faithful friend of king Edward, died at York, and, upon his deceaſe, Harold obtained the earldom of Northumberland for his brother Toſti. Soon after this, having procured, by falſe accuſation, the baniſhment of Algar, earl of the Eaſt Saxons and Eaſt Angles, he obtained the government of thoſe provinces for himſelf §; by this means near two-thirds of all England came under the dominion of his family.

Algar reſtored to his earldom.

Algar, in the mean time, highly diſcontented with his diſgrace, fled into Ireland, from whence he ſoon after returned, bringing a body of forces with him, and being joined by Griffith, prince of Wales, who is ſaid to have married his daughter Edgiva, he entered England, and having overcome Radulf, a Norman, (ſon to the king's ſiſter Goda, by her firſt huſband) to whom the conduct of the army had been committed, they entered Hereford, and burnt the city; but Harold, with an additional force, going againſt them, a treaty

* Malmſ. ib. Ingulf, Alured Ravelin, Alured Beverlier, &c.

† Chron. Sax, p. 168.

‡ Ingulf.

§ Ibid. &c. &c.

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was at laſt entered upon, and Algar, having an opportunity of clearing his innocence with king Edward, was by him pardoned for the hoſtilities he had committed, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his government, which he held until the death of his father Leofric.

A. D. 1057. Edward ſends for his nephew.

All this time, Edward was far from being ignorant of the ambitious views of Harold, although he could not eaſily think upon the means of prevention; and finding himſelf grow aged and infirm, he was doubtful with himſelf whom he ſhould nominate for his ſucceſſor that might be able to diſpute the crown with Harold, who was daily ſtrengthening his parties. However, he at laſt reſolved to call into the kingdom his nephew Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſides, his half brother, whoſe juſt title to the throne none could diſpute. Accordingly, he diſpatched Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, to the court of Hungary, in order to conduct that prince and his family into England. Edward arrived in England in the year 1057, being then about forty years of age; but he died within a few days after he reached London, and left behind him only one ſon Eadgar Ætheling, who was both too young and inactive to ſucceed his uncle. Edward had alſo two daughters, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Chriſtiana, who became a nun *. The ambitious Harold, who had been alarmed at the arrival of prince Edward, was not a little pleaſed at his death, and alſo at the unpromiſing genius of his ſon *.

The death of Leofric, earl of Mercia.

The ſame year, on the third day of Auguſt, Leofric, earl of Mercia, deceaſed; a great and powerful nobleman, juſtly celebrated for his probity and juſtice. His irreproachable conduct gained him the eſteem of the people whom he governed, and by whom he was greatly lamented. This nobleman, and Siward, earl of Northumberland, by their great power and influence, were the balances that prevented Godwin's family from riſing to too great a heighth; but, upon their deceaſe, Harold became ſtill more potent, and took every opportunity of increaſing his greatneſs. Leofric was ſucceeded in his earldom of Mercia by Algar his ſon †.

A. D. 1059. The expulſion of Algar.

Algar, however, was not permitted to hold his earldom in quiet; for the year after his father's death, A. D. 1058, he was again accuſed of ſome miſdemeanours, and baniſhed the kingdom; but being a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, and aſſiſted by Griffith and a fleet of Norwegians, he once more recovered his poſſeſſions, in ſpite of all the oppoſition that was made againſt him; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his labour; for the following year, 1059, he died, leaving behind him two ſons, Edwin and Morcar, the eldeſt of which ſucceeded him in the earldom of Mercia ‡.

* Malmſ. lib. 2. cap. 15. † S. Dunelm. ‡ Ibid.

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About this time, according to the general tenor of the ancient hiſtorians, Harold went to Normandy, commiſſioned, as ſome have reported, by king Edward, to inform duke William that he had appointed him his heir. But, indeed, the more likely account of this tranſaction is, that he went thither in order to redeem his brother Ulnoth, and his nephew Haquin, who had been placed in the Norman court by king Edward, they being the hoſtages which were given to the king upon the late reconciliation between Godwin and him *. Harold, it ſeems, had often importuned the king to releaſe theſe pledges; and, at laſt, obtained leave of him to make a voyage into Normandy in order to redeem them. Accordingly, attended by a great train, he ſailed with two ſhips, from Boreham in Suſſex, and, after meeting with ſeveral misfortunes, at laſt reached the court of Normandy, and made known his errand to the duke. William, on the other hand, well knowing the great power of Harold, made him fair promiſes, and valuable preſents; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted upon his taking oath, that, upon the death of Edward, he would be aſſiſting in the raiſing him to the throne of England. Harold, finding that he was now entirely in the power of his rival, readily agreed to whatever was demanded of him; and William, the more firmly to engage him in his intereſt, promiſed him his own daughter in marriage as ſoon as ſhe came of age, (ſhe being at that time too young;) and gave him up the youngeſt of the two hoſtages, promiſing to ſend the other after him. However, Harold was no ſooner returned to England, than he totally diſregarded all the oaths and promiſes he had made to William, and redoubled his aſſiduity to ſecure the crown of England to himſelf †. A. D. 1060. Harold's journey to Normandy.

In the year 1064, Harold raiſed his reputation to the higheſt degree by the victories he obtained over the Welſh, who, under Griffith, their prince, had made continual inroads on the borders of England, and done great damage. Though Harold had, upon ſome former occaſions, defeated and driven them back, yet they were conſtantly making head again, and renewing their attacks; therefore, this year, in conjunction with his brother Toſti, earl of Northumberland, he invaded Wales, both by ſea and land; and this expedition was ſo well planned, and conducted with ſuch ſpirit, that the Welſh, fearing their nation would be exterminated, ſeized upon their brave conductor Griffith, and after they had cut off his head, ſent it to Harold as a mark of their entire ſubmiſſion. Harold having thus fortunately obtained a compleat conqueſt, returned back not a little heightened in the eſteem A. D. 1064. The Welſh ſubdued.

* S. Dunelm.

† It muſt be owned that even this account of this ſtrange tranſaction is far from being ſatisfactory. "In which," (ſays a modern author) "there ſeems to be ſome ſecret which none of our hiſtorians have penetrated." The readers will find it variouſly accounted for in the ancient chronicles of Ingulf, Malmſ. Hoveden, Bromton, H. Hunt, and R. Higden, &c.

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of the Engliſh people; and Edward appointed two brothers, Blethyn and Rheywallon, to rule over the Welſh, inſtead of Griffith, whom they had ſlain *.

A.D. 1064. Toſti was very ſerviceable in the above expedition, and had alſo manifeſted his valour on other occaſions; yet he was a man of violent paſſions, and guilty of many flagrant acts of cruelty and oppreſſion in his government. He loaded the people with exceſſive taxes; he ſeized upon the eſtates of many, and put the owners, with their families, to death, in order to ſecure them to himſelf †. In ſhort, ſuch was his tyrannical oppreſſion that the Northumbrians could no longer endure him, eſpecially as their grievances were daily increaſing. They, therefore, had recourſe to arms, and, in their fury, ſlew ſeveral of his officers, the miniſters of his tyranny, ſeized upon his treaſures, drove him out of their country ‡, and choſe Morcar, the ſon of Algar, duke of Mercia, for their earl.

Toſti driven from his earldom.

Toſti complains to the king, & the event.

Toſti, after his expulſion, haſted to the king, where he made a heavy complaint againſt the Northumbrians, which being liſtened to by Edward, Harold was diſpatched, with a powerful army, to puniſh the Northumbrians, and reſtore his brother to his earldom. When Harold approached the borders of Northumberland, he was met by certain deputies from the diſcontented people of that country, who informed him of the cruelties of their late earl; and alſo repreſented firmly to him, that they were a free people, both by their birth and education; and, therefore, could not bear the tyranny and inhumanity of their governors; that they had learned of their anceſtors either to maintain their liberties, or die in their defence—but ſhould be very quiet and obedient under a mild and juſt ſuperior. Harold, finding that they had but too juſt grounds for their complaint, left his brother to ſhift for himſelf; and perſuaded the king to pardon the Northumbrians, and confirm Morcar in his earldom; upon which, Toſti, full of anger and diſcontent, retired to Flanders §.

A. D. 1065. The removal of Toſti from that important government was by no means detrimental to the views of Harold; for, though he was his brother, yet he was not a man whom he could truſt, but one much more likely to prove his rival than his friend; it was, therefore, more advantageous to him to place one in that poſt who was beloved by the people themſelves, and, by that means, he obliged both the governor and the people, and ſecured their intereſt. This he was well aware of, and, in order to lay the foundation of his future advancement more firmly, he married the ſiſter of Edwin and Morcar; ſo that, by

Toſti's baniſhment no hurt to Harold.

* S. Dunelm, Ingulf, Malmſ. H. Hunt. lib. 6.

† Bromton.

‡ Malmſb. l. 2. c. 13. H. Hunt. l. 6, &c.

§ Id. ibid & Knyghton.

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this prudent ſtep he entirely gained the hearts of thoſe two noblemen, and with them all the people of Northumberland and Mercia, to his aſſiſtance *.

Whilſt Harold was thus at the heighth of his power, it was evident to every one that he would ſucceed king Edward, who growing daily more and more infirm, deceaſed on Thurſday the fifth of January, in the year 1066, which being the eve of the Epiphany, his corpſe was ſolemnly enterred the following day in the new church at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of all the members of a great council which Edward had ſummoned to attend the dedication of that church †. A. D. 1066. Death of king Edward.

Edward was of a ruddy complexion, of a graceful ſtature, and handſome in his perſon, which was much improved by rich habits; thoſe, however, he never affected. He was a weak prince, eaſy to be prevailed upon by thoſe about him; ſo that he is juſtly ſaid to have had no paſſions or reſentments of his own; but conſtantly adopted thoſe of his miniſters. His manners were ſimple, inoffenſive, and unaffected. He was ſcrupulouſly chaſte and devout, neglecting all amuſements but hawking, in which he greatly delighted. He was ſparing in his diet, and an utter enemy to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, yet he was kind and bountiful to all about him, whether foreigners or natives. He was not either proud or avaricious, but a great lover of juſtice, and an enemy of oppreſſion. In ſhort, he was a timerous, well deſigning man, without any one of thoſe qualities that are neceſſary to make a great monarch. His exterior piety and holineſs, and the particular favour he manifeſted towards the monks and clergy in general, obtained him the names of Saint and Confeſſor. Perſon and character of king Edward.

His wife was Edgitha, the daughter of earl Godwin, from whoſe bed he is ſaid to have abſtained out of principles of miſtaken piety; but it is far more likely that the diſlike he bore to her father might alſo extend to her. She ſurvived him eight years, dying A. D. 1074, the eighth year of the reign of William the Conqueror, declaring herſelf an unſpotted virgin, and was buried beſide her huſband in the new church at Weſtminſter. The wife of king Edward.

* Vide Carte's General Hiſt. p. 355. ſup. Hen. Hunt. Hoveden, Ingulf, &c.
† Chron. Sax. p. 171. W. Malmſb. ut

HAROLD THE SECOND,

The ſeventeenth Monarch of the HEPTARCHY.

Harold claims the crown.

THE throne, now vacant by the death of king Edward, was quickly filled by Harold, without the leaſt oppoſition, as if his title had been as clear as it was defective: he declared, indeed, that his predeceſſor had named him for his ſucceſſor, but of this he could never produce ſufficient evidence. The truth ſeems to be, that Harold owed his advancement to the throne chiefly to his own great power, wealth and popularity, and the ſtrong connections he had made with the chief nobility. To this may certainly be added, the love which the citizens of London bore towards him, and the general favour of the clergy. In ſhort, he ſeems to have been ſo well received by the nobles, the clergy, and the people in general, that, although Eadgar Atheling, the unqueſtionable heir to the crown, was preſent, yet his name was ſcarcely mentioned, nor the leaſt offer made of oppoſing him to Harold *.

The coronation of Harold.

Harold was crowned at London, on the 6th of January, 1066, the very day that king Edward, his predeceſſor, was buried. The ceremony of his coronation was performed in the cathedral church of Saint Paul, by Aldred, archbiſhop of York †.

Harold's prudent government.

Harold, thus ſeated upon the throne, endeavoured, by all mildneſs and juſtice, to ſecure the affection of the people, repealing bad laws, and impoſing ſuch as beſt ſuited the conſtitution. He patronized the clergy, and was affable and gracious to all his ſubjects ‡. He readily foreſaw that his reign would be diſturbed, and his claim diſputed; his earlieſt care, therefore, was to provide a fleet and an army to defend himſelf. The friendleſs and neglected Eadgar, at home, he had no fear of; but his enraged brother, who had taken refuge in Flanders, and William duke of Normandy, to whom he had ſworn to be aſſiſting

* Malmſbury.
† Ibid.
‡ Alured Beverl. lib. 8.---Malmſbury, lib. 2. cap. 13.

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in placing him upon the throne which he himſelf had uſurped, were dangerous enemies.

The duke of Normandy demands the crown of Harold.

Harold had not long been crowned, before meſſengers came from Normandy, who, in the name of the duke their maſter, demanded the crown of him, which he had unjuſtly ſeized upon, notwithſtanding the oath he had made to the duke. To this peremptory demand, Harold boldly anſwered, that the oath he had taken was forced from him, and not made by his own free conſent, and for that reaſon could not be binding; and that he was fully determined to defend the throne to which he had been raiſed by the united conſent of the nobility, the clergy, and the people.—The ambaſſadors returning with this anſwer to William, he made inſtant preparation for the invaſion of England*.

Tofti arms againſt his brother Harold.

In the mean time, Toſti, in Flanders, hearing of his brother's advancement, and burning with rage and envy, went inſtantly to Roan, in order to perſuade William to invade England. William, who wanted no incitement to the attempt, was then preparing for it with the greateſt vigour. Toſti was well received in Normandy by the Duke, who encouraged him to harraſs the coaſts of England, whilſt he himſelf compleated the preparations he was making againſt Harold. —Toſti then ſent meſſengers into Denmark and Norway, to ſupplicate aſſiſtance; mean while he himſelf, ſpurred on with the hopes of revenge, ſet ſail with ſixty ſhips from Flanders. The firſt place he landed at was the Iſle of Wight, where he took ſome ſpoils; after which, in his way coaſting round towards Lincolnſhire, he made ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, and was at laſt defeated by Edwin and Morca, and, to add to his misfortunes, he was deſerted by many of his aſſiſtants. This obliged him to retire into Scotland, where he earneſtly, but in vain, ſolicited aid of Malcolm, king of that country. His meſſengers whom he had ſent into Norway were more ſucceſsful; for, at their intreaty, Harold Harfager, king of Norway, with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, put to ſea, and coming to the mouth of the Tyne, was joined by Toſti, with what forces he had left: they then ſailed together up the Humber, and landed in Yorkſhire, where, having overcome an army conducted by the earls of Mercia and Northumberland, they took the city of York.—Harold, in the mean time, hearing of their arrival, was upon his march with a powerful army; but, notwithſtanding all his ſpeed, he could not come up with them till five days after the above-mentioned unfortunate diſaſter. Both the armies met on the 25th day of September, near Stanford-bridge, where, after a bloody battle, Harold obtained a compleat victory. In this battle fell both Toſti and Harfager,

* Malmſb. Ingulf, &c.

fager the king of Norway, and their whole army was almoſt deſtroyed. The conquerors obtained much treaſure and many valuable ſpoils, only twenty of the enemies vaſt fleet being ſuffered to depart *.

News of William's arrival brought to Harold.

This important victory delivered Harold from two of his moſt dangerous enemies. His joy, however, was but of ſhort duration; for few days paſſed before he received accounts of the landing of William, duke of Normandy, at Pevenſy in Suſſex, with an army of ſixty thouſand men. This news ſurprized him the more, becauſe, as William had ſo long delayed his coming, he began to flatter himſelf that he had laid his intended expedition aſide. Upon this conſideration, the powerful army, and numerous fleet of ſhips, which had been fitted out during the ſummer to defend the coaſts, were diſbanded, and the army permitted to return home: thus the coaſts were left open to the invaſion of the foe.—William landed on the twenty-fifth day of September, and going to Haſtings, built a fort there, where he waited the approach of the enemy †.

The battle of Haſtings, and death of Harold

Harold no ſooner received information of William's arrival, than he haſted with the utmoſt expedition to London; which ſpeedy march ſo much harraſſed his army, that many, through diſcontent, deſerted from him. But ſo eager was he to oppoſe his enemies, that, when he came to London, he would not wait until the forces from Mercia and Northumberland ſhould join him, nor even to arm the Londoners and take them with him, but, with the army he had already got, marched inſtantly towards Haſtings, where he fought with his enemy, and, after one of the moſt obſtinate and bloody battles, the Engliſh were overcome; but not until Harold was himſelf ſlain, together with two of his brothers, Leofwin and Girth, and the greater part of the Saxon nobility ‡.

The burial of Harold.

Harold's mother, hearing of her ſon's unfortunate death, ſent meſſengers to the conqueror, with a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to redeem his body, that it might be decently interred. The meſſengers were very politely received by William, who refuſed the money they had brought, and gave them free permiſſion to take the body of the unfortunate king, and bear it to his mother. Beſoiled with duſt and blood, and ſtripped of its ornaments, it was ſome time before the body could be diſcovered from others of the ſlain, until a woman, named Editha, who had formerly been his concubine, iden-

* Chron. Sax. W. Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 13. Hoveden, &c.---We may add, that many of the ancient authors take occaſion here to cenſure Harold very ſeverely, affirming that he very unfairly ſeized upon the treaſure to himſelf, and refuſed to reward his ſoldiers, who had ſo faithfully ſerved him. This, if true, was a very impolitic ſtep in him, eſpecially conſidering the ſituation he was in, owing his ſupport entirely to the army.

† Malmsb. &c.

‡ Ibid.

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tified it by ſome particular marks that ſhe remembered him to have. When his mother received his body, ſhe cauſed it to be buried at Waltham, within the monaſtery of Holy Croſs, which he himſelf had founded *.

Character of Harold.

Harold was tall and graceful in his perſon, ſtrong, and capable of enduring great fatigue. Ancient hiſtorians are very much divided in the character they have given us of this prince; ſome of them ſpeak of him with commendation †, whilſt others have declared that he was proud, opiniated, cruel, vindictive, laſcivious, and avaricious ‡. But after all, eſpecially when we conſider his actions (as they are recorded) in a fair and impartial light, we ſhall certainly think that he has been too heavily accuſed, and that many of the vices of his family are laid upon his ſhoulders. His unbounded ambition, which led him to uſurp the throne, which belonged to another, ſeems truly to have been his greateſt fault §.

Wives and iſſue of Harold.

Harold was twice married, though the name of his firſt wife is no where recorded. The iſſue that he had by her ſeem to have been three ſons. The eldeſt, named Godwin, who was nearly advanced to manhood in the life-time of his father, after whoſe deceaſe he fled with his brothers into Ireland, from whence he returned ſome time after, and landing in Somerſetſhire, ſlew Ednoth, a nobleman of that country, who oppoſed him; and afterwards, taking great ſpoils in Devonſhire and Cornwall, went back to Ireland. The next year he came again into England, and fought againſt Beorn, earl of Cornwall, but with what ſucceſs is not well known; he went back, however, into Ireland, and from thence ſailed into Denmark, to Sweyne his couſin-german, at whoſe court he ſpent the reſt of his life.—Eadmund, the ſecond ſon, was the conſtant companion of his brother in all his expeditions, and went with him to Denmark, where he alſo finiſhed his days.—Magnus, the third ſon, was with his brothers at the time they firſt came into England, and returned with them; but afterwards he is no more mentioned, ſo that it is ſuppoſed he died between the time of the firſt and ſecond expedition.

The ſecond wife of Harold was Algitha, the widow of Griffith, king of Wales, and ſiſter to Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland. After the deceaſe of her huſband, ſhe was conveyed by her brethren to Wincheſter, where ſhe led a retired life, and died towards the latter end of the reign of the Conqueror.—Wolf appears to have been her only child by king Harold. He is thought to have been brought up by his uncle Morcar, and was living in the reign

* Malmsb. lib. 3.
† Allured Beverl. lib. 8. p. 122.--- Malmsb. &c.
‡ Bromton, Knyghton, &c.
§ W. Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 13.

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of William Rufus, who conferred the honour of knighthood upon him *.

* Copgrave gives Harold a daughter, named Gunhild, who (as he declares) in the life of St. Wolſtan, was a nun in one of the monaſteries of England; but we are not informed by which wife ſhe was.--- Another daughter, but ſuppoſed to have been illegitimate, is attributed to king Harold (mentioned in the Daniſh hiſtories) who is ſaid to have been brought up and married in Denmark. Sax. Grammat. &c.

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART II.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Saxons, from the Acceſſion of Egbert to the Arrival of William Duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066.

Cent. IX.

ATHELARD, who about the year 976, ſucceeded Lambertius in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, was exceedingly diſcontented at the diviſion that had been made in his ſee ſome time before by Offa king of the Mercians, who had made all Mercia independent of the ſee of Canterbury, and, with the connivance of pope Adrian, erected an archbiſhopric within his own territories at Litchfield. Offa died in the year 796, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Egbert, who alſo died within the courſe of the ſame year, and left the Mercian crown to Cenelm Adulf, at that time poſſeſſing the new archbiſhopric of Litchfield. Cenelm, in the year 796, conquered the kingdom of Kent; and Athelard ſo far prevailed upon that prince, that notwithſtanding Adulf was yet alive, he gave his conſent for reuniting the two ſees, by reſtoring Mercia once more ſubject to the province of Canterbury. This decree of the king was ſome time after confirmed by the pope; for in the year 801, Athelard, who had been indefatigable in the cauſe, made a journey to Rome for that purpoſe. The conſent of the pope was eaſily obtained, and the letter that Cenelm ſent by the prelate to him, with a preſent of 120 mancuſſes, pleaſed him ſo much, that he returned anſwers to thoſe letters filled with flatteries to the king himſelf, whom he calls his moſt dear, moſt excellent, and moſt ſweet ſon. In theſe letters he was alſo laviſh in the praiſes of the archbiſhop, whoſe piety he extols ſo highly that he ſcru-

Mercia reſtored to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury.

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Cent. IX. ples not to declare, that he was able to reſcue all the ſouls of his province from the bottom of hell, and ſend them to heaven *.

Decrees of the pope approved of.

Athelard, after his return from Rome, ſummonſed a provincial council at Cloveſhoe in the year 803, where the ſuffragan biſhops being met, the decree of the pope for the reſtoration of Mercia to the ſee of Canterbury was laid before them, and approved of, and nothing leſs than damnation denounced againſt any prince that ſhould, from that time forth, attempt to infringe the privileges of the archbiſhops, or ſee of Canterbury †. Athelard, at the ſame time, laid before them another decree of the pope, forbidding the monaſtics to chuſe ſecular perſons for their governors, which was alſo confirmed and ſubſcribed to by himſelf, and his twelve ſuffragan biſhops, nineteen abbots, thirty-eight preſbyters, one archdeacon, and two deacons. This laſt decree added not a little to the wealth of the church, becauſe it had been formerly very cuſtomary for noblemen to have the government of monaſteries, and ladies of the nunneries, which were now put entirely into the hands of the eccleſiaſtics. In the mean time, though the whole archiepiſcopal power reverted into the hands of Athelard, yet Adulf was permitted to enjoy the empty honour of the pall during his life time ‡.

The council of Cealchythe.

Athelard did not long enjoy the honours which he had laboured to reſtore to his ſee, for dying about the year 807, he was ſucceeded by Wulfred, who had been a monk in Chriſt's church at Canterbury. This prelate convened a council, which met at Cealehythe on the twenty-ſeventh day of July, A. D. 816. Cenelm, king of Mercia, with the nobility and great officers of the realm, were alſo preſent on this occaſion. The canons eſtabliſhed in this council were eleven in number, and ſerve to throw great light upon the affairs of the Saxon church at this period.

Canons of Wulfred.

The firſt decrees, that the catholic faith, and ancient canons, be duly kept.

The ſecond, that new parochial churches be conſecrated by the biſhop of the dioceſe wherein they are built with holy water, and conſecration of the euchariſt; and that the picture of the ſaint, to whom it is dedicated, ſhould be painted upon the wall, or board, or elſe upon the altar.

The third, that Chriſtian charity and love be preſerved.

The fourth confirms to the biſhop, not only epiſcopal authority over all the monaſteries and nunneries within the dioceſe, but full power to appoint the abbots and abbeſſes with the conſent of the members of the ſocieties.

* Spelman. Concil. T. 1. p. 322.
† Ibid. p. 324.
‡ Baron Annal. An. 796. N. 33.

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The fifth exempts the Scotch clergy from exerciſing their offices in England; and the reaſon aſſigned is, that it is not known by whom ſuch clergy were ordained. Cent. IX.

The ſixth confirms ſuch acts of the preceding councils, as were ſigned with the croſs.

The ſeventh forbids the biſhops or abbots to alienate their lands for more than one life, except it be to preſerve themſelves from famine, from ſlavery, or from the depredations of the enemy.

The eighth requires that ſuch monaſteries as had been once dedicated by conſent of the biſhops, and wherein any monaſtic rule had been received, and the abbot or abbeſs had received benediction from the biſhop, ſhould remain monaſteries unalienable, and never more be eſteemed the property of ſecular perſons, nor inhabited by them.

The ninth obliges every biſhop to take a copy of the canons properly ſigned, witneſſed and dated.

The tenth directs the funeral and offices for a departed biſhop, and requires that a full tenth of his eſtates ſhould be given to the poor; that all his Engliſh ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that all honour may be done to his memory with giving praiſes to God; that upon tolling of the bell, at the ſeveral pariſh churches, the people ſhould repair to the church, and ſing thirty pſalms for the ſoul of the deceaſed; that every biſhop and abbot ſhould cauſe ſix hundred pſalms to be ſung, and one hundred and twenty maſſes to be celebrated, and ſet three ſlaves at liberty, giving each of them three ſhillings; that all the ſervants of God ſhould faſt one day; and that for thirty days, immediately after divine ſervice in every church, ſeven belts of pater-noſters ſhould be ſung for him *; and, finally, at the end of the thirty days, their obiit was to be celebrated in ſuch manner as they uſually obſerved on the feſtivals of their ſaints.

The eleventh required, that biſhops ſhould not invade the dioceſes of each other in ordaining of prieſts and deacons, or the conſecration of churches, excepting the archbiſhop; that the preſbyters ſhould not aſſume greater power to themſelves than was allowed them by the biſhop, nor intermeddle within the diſtrict of each other, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity, in adminiſtering baptiſm, or viſiting the ſick; and that in adminiſtering baptiſm, the child ſhould be dipped into the water, and not ſprinkled.

Several other councils were held under this primate, in which no very material buſineſs was done relative to the general laws and regulation of the affairs of the church. Wulfred died in the year 830, and was ſucceeded by Theogildus, abbot of Chriſt's Church, who

The end of the Heptarchy, and the conſequences that followed.

* Theſe belts or girdles (ſays Dr. Henry) had ſtuds for numbering the pater-noſters, as the roſaries, or ſtrings of beads do at preſent.

Cent. IX. dying in about three months after his predeceſſor, left the chair to Celnoth, deacon of the ſame church, who was choſen his ſucceſſor, and, during whoſe time, Egbert eſtabliſhed the ſole monarchy upon the ruins of the Heptarchy. By the whole kingdom being in the hands of one monarch, the clergy were delivered from many inconveniencies which had frequently happened to them while they were ſubject to different and contending princes. But they did not long enjoy the happy change without moleſtations; for the dreadful calamities occaſioned by the Danes in the ſucceeding periods, overbalanced the advantages, and involved them frequently in almoſt inſupportable calamities. The monaſteries, in general, being found by the Danes to be more opulent and better ſtored with booty than other places, was one great reaſon that they conſtantly fell a prey to that people whenever they ſtood in their way; nor were they content with only plundering the religious houſes, for being pagans, and bearing a great hatred to the Chriſtian religion, the miſerable monks were generally butchered by the mercileſs conquerors—or, at leaſt, the mildeſt fate they could expect was to be treated with every degree of inſolence and cruelty, and at laſt ſold for ſlaves. Theſe alarming calamities made a prodigious number of the monks abandon their profeſſion, many of them becoming ſoldiers, or following other methods of life which ſeemed to expoſe them to leſs danger than that they fled from; and ſuch as ſtill continued conſtant in their profeſſion, after the deſtruction of their monaſteries, retired to the villages and towns, where they might more ſecurely diſcharge the offices of their holy functions, and this diſperſion of the clergy neceſſarily produced a great change in their manners and way of life; for they had no longer objections to a married ſtate, which, whilſt many of them lived together, would have been productive of endleſs inconveniencies. They now, therefore, entered into a ſtate of marriage as the moſt comfortable and moſt convenient to their preſent circumſtances *; and this change in the way of life amongſt the clergy became ſo general, that before the end of the preſent century there were but few monaſteries or monks, and ſcarcely an unmarried prieſt in all England. During theſe diſaſterous times, we cannot expect to meet with many councils for making freſh laws, or regulating the affairs of the church.

Æthelwulf a benefactor to the clergy.

After the death of Egbert, which happened in the year 840, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, Æthelwulf, ſucceeded him in the government of the kingdom. This prince, who had been educated and deſigned for the church, ſtill continued to have a great reſpect for the clergy, even after he aſcended the throne. He therefore conferred many favours upon them, the chief of which was the grant of the tenth of all the crown lands. In the ſeventh and eighth centuries,

* Inett's Hiſt. Engliſh Church, chap. 17.

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the Engliſh clergy had been ſupported by the produce of the lands which had been given to the church by kings, and other great men—by a tax of one Saxon penny on every houſe (which tax was called Church Scot)—and by the voluntary gifts of religious people. In the times of peace and tranquillity, their funds ſupplied them plentifully; but in the diſaſterous periods that followed, when the taxes were not duly paid, when their reſidences were deſtroyed, and the ſlaves, who tilled their ground, made priſoners, they were ſoon reduced to poverty and diſtreſs, which cauſed Æthelwulf, a man of great piety, to give them a more certain reſource for their ſubſiſtance; and it was with this view, that, in the year 844, he convened an aſſembly of the clergy and nobility at Wincheſter, and, with the conſent of the latter, made them the grant above-mentioned, of the tenth part of all the lands belonging the crown, free of all taxes whatever, even the three material obligations, of building and fortifying caſtles—repairing bridges, and attending upon any military expeditions *. In return for this bounty, the clergy were to do ſome additional duties, as every Wedneſday to ſing fifty pſalms in the church, and celebrate two maſſes, one for the king himſelf, and the other for the nobility, to whom they were indebted for their conſenting to the grant *. Cent. IX.

Æthelwulf, after his return from Rome, extended the grant he had formerly made to the clergy, to all the kingdoms that now compoſed the Engliſh monarchy; which was done in a great aſſembly at Wincheſter in the year 855, at which was preſent, beſides the king himſelf, Burhed, the tributary king of Mercia; Eadmund, the tributary king of the Eaſt Angles; the two archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, with all the other biſhops, clergy, nobles, and great men of the whole kingdom †. Æthelwulf extends his grant.

During the three ſucceeding reigns of the three ſons of Æthelwulf, nothing material concerning the eccleſiaſtical affairs can poſſibly be collected; for ſuch was the miſery and confuſion of that time, that no attention could be paid to them; nor, indeed, for the firſt ſeven years of Ælfred's reign, who ſucceeded his brothers, for they paſſed in the ſame calamitous manner. Thoſe few remaining monaſteries which had eſcaped the former invaſions of the Danes, were now deſtroyed, and the miſerable inhabitants either put to the ſword, or buried in the ruins of their own habitations. But, after the important victory gained over the Danes by Ælfred the Great, in the year 878, ſome ſtop was put to the outrages of that ſavage people. Godrun, the Daniſh leader, became a Chriſtian, and was baptized ſoon after, king Ælfred himſelf being ſponſor for him. His example was followed by thirty of the chief noblemen in the Daniſh army, who were thereupon received into favour by Ælfred, and, in conſequence of their having The Danes embrace Chriſtianity.

* Anglia Sacra, T. 1. p. 200. † Spelman. Concil. T. 1. p. 348.

Cent. IX. renounced paganiſm, the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles was given to them, and Godrun became their king, holding that dominion under Ælfred *. The eccleſiaſtical laws which Ælfred compoſed at the time of the agreement between himſelf and Godrun, are yet remaining. The firſt article ordains, that the Danes ſhould renounce paganiſm, and agree in the worſhip of the true God. Thoſe who would not obey were commanded to quit the kingdom, which ſome few did, but the greater part remained behind, and followed the example of their king and the chief noblemen. The ſecond law impoſes a very heavy fine upon all ſuch as ſhould apoſtatize from Chriſtianity, and relapſe into paganiſm. The three following give rules for the conduct of the clergy. The ninth commands the payment of tythes; and thoſe that follow provide for the regular keeping of the faſts and feſtivals of the church, and particularly the religious obſervance of the Lord's Day. The laws are ſeventeen in number; and, in ſhort, there is none of them but what reſpect the intereſt of religion, the conduct of the clergy, or the prohibition of vices to which the Danes were moſt accuſtomed †.

Ælfred's laws for his own ſubjects.

Theſe laws of Ælfred were ſuch as regarded chiefly the Danes and the Saxons amongſt whom they lived. But beſides theſe, that great prince had another code of laws for his own ſubjects, ſome few of which related to the church. It is remarkable, that theſe laws are preceeded by the Ten Commandments, in which the ſecond is omitted; but that the number might be compleat after the ninth, the following ſhort one is ſubjoined—"Make not thou gods of gold or of ſilver;" and this omiſſion of the ſecond commandment ſeems to be a plain proof that images, at this time, were become the objects of worſhip. About this period alſo, as appears from ſome of the above laws, the clergy, in order to add a myſterious ſolemnity to the celebration of the maſs, during the time of Lent, cauſed a curtain to be placed before the altar whilſt they performed that office; but the people being thus excluded from ſeeing what was paſſing, were apt to be lifting up, or tearing it aſide, which is there forbidden under pain of a heavy penalty. Another of theſe laws gives ſervants, not ſlaves, the privilege of working for themſelves two and forty days during the year ‡.

Monaſteries reſtored by king Ælfred.

As ſoon as king Ælfred had ſecured the peace of his ſubjects, he began to repair the churches and monaſteries that had been deſtroyed, and even to build new ones; but ſo dreadfully was the ideas of a monkiſh life impreſſed upon the minds of the clergy in general, owing to the aggravated ſtories that were told of their late miſeries, that it was a long time before they could be prevailed upon to return to it; ſo that Ælfred was obliged to ſend for monks from France, and other countries, to inhabit thoſe places he had firſt repaired §; but, in the

* Chron. Sax. & Aſſerii Annal.
† Spelm. Concil. Brit. T. 1. p. 375.
‡ Concil. Brit. v. 1. p. 371, &c.
§ Aſſerii Vit. Ælfredi.

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end, when the Saxon clergy ſaw that peace was eſtabliſhed upon a cer- Cent. IX.
tain foundation, they, by degrees, returned to the monaſteries they had left, and a prodigious number of them having married during their retreat, brought their wives and children with them, ſo that almoſt all the monaſteries and abbies were filled with a kind of ſecular or married monks, which was the lamentable occaſion of many dreadful commotions in the ſucceeding times.

From the general decay of learning that prevailed during the tenth Cent. X.
century, it was reproachfully called the Leaden Age. Dark ignorance and ſuperſtition were ſpread over almoſt all the weſtern church, and that the ſame ſhould prevail in England at this period is not at all ſurpriſing, if we conſider what muſt be the conſequence of the calamities and confuſion that were occaſioned by the frequent revolts of the Danes who were ſettled in England, and the conſtant invaſion of their countrymen from abroad; for in times ſo wretched as theſe, how could the intereſts of learning or religion be attended to! The Age of lead.

For this reaſon, perhaps, Edward the Elder, who ſucceeded his father in the year 900, might ſuffer certain biſhoprics to lie vacant for a while, which gave birth, in after ages, to a formal ſtory of an interdict ſaid to have been laid upon the land by pope Formoſus, by which Edward and all his ſubjects were excommunicated until the vacant ſees were filled up; but the whole of the ſtory ſeems to have been the invention of the monks of the latter times, or at leaſt made formidable by them by being miſrepreſented; for if there ever was the leaſt ground for this report, it ſeems only to have ariſen from ſome admonitions which it is probable Edward might have received from the court of Rome; but conſidering the ſtory in its full extent, its abſurdity is abundantly evident, becauſe pope Formoſus was in his grave at leaſt four years before the acceſſion of Edward to the throne, and near eight before the time aſſigned for the pretended interdict *. An interdict ſaid to have been laid upon the kingdom of England.

It is however certain that king Edward, as ſoon as the public troubles were ſubſided, filled up all the ſees that were vacant, and erected three new ones within the kingdom of Weſſex, one at Kirton in Devonſhire, another at Padſtow in Cornwall, and a third at Wells in Somerſetſhire; and the ſame year, 809, Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, conſecrated no leſs than ſeven biſhops in one day, namely, Fridſtan of Wincheſter, Wereſtan of Sherborn, Cenulf of Dorcheſter, Eadulf of Kirton, Æthelſtan of Padſtow, Beornoc of Selſey, and Athelm of Wells †. Seven biſhops conſecrated in one day.

* Inett's Church Hiſtory, chap. 18, and Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 184.

† Anglia Sacra, p. 555.

The

Cent. X.

The Danes in the East Angles revolt.

The Danes who inhabited the East Angles, and who had adhered to the Christian religion during the reign of king Ælfred, after his death, not only rebelled against king Edward his successor, but also apostatized from their faith, and again embraced their idolatrous doctrines; but in the year 921, Edward reduced them to obedience, obliged them to renounce paganism, and return to the Christian faith, and the observance of those laws which his father had prescribed for them*.

Councils called of Æthelstan.

From this period to the year 928, we hear but little of the ecclesiastical affairs, at which time Æthelstan sat upon the throne; and though his reign was almost one continual scene of war and confusion, yet he neglected not the examples of his grandfather and father, who had carefully provided for the defence of the church as well as of the state; and though the dates and results of most of the councils he held, except that of Gratanlea, are not recorded, it is certain that he held at least four others of the same kind at the following places, namely, Exeter, Feversham, Thunderfield and London †.

Council of Gratanlea.

By the remaining laws that were established at Gratanlea, some judgment may be formed of what we had to expect, if the proceedings of the other councils had been preserved. This council, which was held in the year 928, is one of the mix'd councils wherein the nobility, as well as clergy, were present, and the laws themselves consist of civil and ecclesiastical matters blended together. Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, presided at this synod; and besides him and the bishops, the king himself, and many of the nobles and wise men, who had been summoned by the king, were present ‡.

Canons established at the council of Gratanlea.

The first canon commands the payment of tythes on all the king's own lands; and also commands every alderman and bishop to pay tythes of their lands, both of the cattle and corn; and that this should be declared as the law of England by those who had authority to do so.

The second commands the continuation of payment of the church scot where it was due; so that it appears, even after the grant of tythes to the clergy by king Æthelwulf, they did not relinquish any of their former revenues.

The third law enjoins the officers of the crown to make provision for the poor from the king's own estate; that is, every one of his reeves was to maintain a poor Englishman from every two of his farms, by the bounty of one amber of meal, one hog, a ram, with four-pence every month and a mantle, or, instead of it, thirty-pence annually for his cloathing; and all this was to be done for the forgiveness of the king's sins, and the salvation of his soul.

The fourth directs the punishment of sabbath-breakers.

The fifth denounces severe penalties against sorcery and witchcraft.

* Spel. Concil. p. 390. † Ibid. p. 407. ‡ Ibid, t. 1. p. 401.

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The ſixth contains ſome regulation relative to the coinage of money. Cent. X.
The ſeventh and the eighth treat on the manner and circumſtances of the ordeals, or trials by fire or water.
The ninth decrees, that no fairs, markets, or courts of judicature, ſhould be held upon the Lord's day.
The tenth preſcribes the puniſhment for perjury.
The eleventh law is a ſort of charge to the biſhops and clergy, relative to the diſcharge of their reſpective duties, thoſe eſpecially which reſpected the peace and welfare of the ſubject, and ſerved to eſtabliſh juſtice amongſt the people in general; and herein, according to the ancient Saxon uſage, the biſhops were commanded to be perſonally preſent at all the courts of judicature within their dioceſe, to over-ſee and direct the conduct of the judges; they were alſo to viſit their people, and inſtruct them; and to them alſo the charge of ſurveying the ſtandards for weights and meaſures was committed.
The twelfth canon decrees that fifty pſalms ſhould be ſung every Friday morning, in every monaſtery and cathedral church, for the king and his people.
The thirteenth aſcertains the fines chargeable on offenders in caſe of blood *.

Wulfhelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died in the year 234, and Life of Odo.
was ſucceeded by Odo, biſhop of Sherborn.—The hiſtory of this prelate is not a little extraordinary. He was the ſon of a very wealthy Dane who was ſettled in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, but was turned out of doors by his parents, who were bigotted Pagans, for his conſtant attendance upon the Chriſtian church: in this condition he was taken notice of by Athelm, a Saxon nobleman of the firſt rank, who, being pleaſed with his genius and good parts, entertained him in his houſe, and beſtowed a liberal education upon him, which he as carefully improved. Soon after, by the intereſt of Athelm, he was put into holy orders, and, by the dint of his merit, was ſpeedily promoted from one ſtep to another, until he was created biſhop of Sherborn. He was not only a learned eccleſiaſtic, but alſo, being of a martial ſpirit, he followed his ſovereign, king Æthelſtan, in his wars, and was preſent with him at the famous battle of Brananburgh, where his aſſiſtance contributed not a little to the attainment of the victory. Upon the deceaſe of Wulfhelm, Odo was choſen to ſucceed him in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury; but, according to the declarations of the monks in after times, he refuſed at firſt, becauſe he was not a monk †, but being over-perſuaded, he at laſt accepted of the honour that was offered him.—Odo was a wiſe and active prelate, and a man

* Spel. Concil, T. 1. p. 402.
† This tale is juſtly ſuſpected to have been added by the Monks, who neglected no opportunities of giving conſequence to their own profeſſion.

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Cent. X. of great ſpirit: his zeal, which was fervent in the cauſe of religion, ſeems to have been very ſincere, although he frequently carried matters with a very high hand, as is evident not only from his actions, but from his paſtoral letter to the clergy and people of his province *, which was publiſhed A. D. 943. He ſpeaks in a tone of vaſt authority, commanding that none ſhould tax the clergy, whom he calls the ſons of God, and declaring that all ſuch as diſobeyed the orders of the church were ſtill more hardened in their wickedneſs than the ſoldiers that crucified Chriſt. He alſo lays his ſtrict command upon the king, and princes under him, to obey with great humility the orders of the archbiſhops and biſhops, declaring that to their keeping the keys of the kingdom of heaven were committed.

Canons of Wulfhelm.

Beſides the above-mentioned conſtitutions, which were publiſhed by the authority of Odo alone, there are ſeveral canons that were made in a great council of the clergy and nobility, convened in the reign of king Eadmund at London, A. D. 944, in which that archbiſhop preſided †.—Theſe canons, which are ſix in number, are chiefly as follow:

The firſt requires that all the clergy ſhould ſet a good example to the laity, by the purity of their manners, and the juſtneſs and devoutneſs of their lives; and declares, that all ſuch as broke this canon ſhould forfeit all their goods, and be deemed unworthy of Chriſtian burial.

The ſecond commands the payment of tythes, church ſcot, and other taxes due to the church, on pain of excommunication.

The third required, that ſuch perſons as had been guilty of murder ſhould give ſatisfaction to the biſhop of the dioceſe for the offence done to the church, before they ſhould preſume to come into the preſence of the king.

The fourth pronounced, that the pollution of a nun was equal to adultery; accordingly the ſame penalty was to be inflicted, and the offender was declared to be unworthy of Chriſtian burial.

The fifth commanded all the biſhops to repair and ornament all the churches in their own demeſne lands, and alſo to admoniſh the king to do the ſame to thoſe that belonged to him.

By the laſt canon, thoſe who forſwore themſelves, together with thoſe who offered ſacrifices to falſe gods, ſhould be excommunicated.

Beſides theſe ſix canons, there was a law made in the reign of king Eadmund, directing the manner of eſpouſals and ſolemnities of marriage.

Somewhere about this period, the Eccleſiaſtical Synod is ſuppoſed to have been held at York, in which the clergy were ſubjected to ſeveral very heavy fines, for various offences, and particularly the eſtabliſhed

* Commonly called the Conſtitutions of Odo.

† Concil. Brit. T. 1, pag. 419.

canons;


Dunka
ni ap
chie
piſcopi

canons; and, in order to ſecure the payment of theſe fines, every cler- Cent. X.
gyman was obliged, at his admiſſion into holy orders, to procure twelve creditable bondſmen. As the kingdom of Northumberland was chiefly inhabited by the Danes, the fines were all to be paid in the Daniſh oras, or ounces of ſilver, and are as follows: If a prieſt celebrate maſs in an unhallowed houſe, let him pay twelve oras; the like penalty was fixed for performing the ſame upon an unhallowed altar; the ſame alſo if he conſecrated the ſacramental wine in a wooden chalice, or celebrated the maſs without wine. All theſe fines, which were very heavy, when the ſcarcity of ſilver is conſidered, were to be paid to the biſhop of the dioceſe wherein ſuch offence had been committed *.

Some account of S. Dunſtan.

In the year 941 Dunſtan was recalled to court by king Eadmund, and made abbot of Glaſtonbury. This extraordinary perſon ſeems to have been deſcended from a noble family in Weſſex, and was educated at Glaſtonbury, where the ſwift progreſs he made in every kind of learning, ſoon recommended him to the notice of the higher clergy, ſo that, in his very early age, he was introduced by Athelm, his uncle, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, to king Æthelſtan, into whoſe favour he ſo ingratiated himſelf, that he was retained in the court of that prince, by whom he was frequently employed in affairs of conſequence. Dunſtan's talent for muſic alſo contributed not a little to the obtaining the favour of Æthelſtan, whom he often amuſed with playing upon the harp, and other muſical inſtruments. In order to raiſe himſelf ſtill higher in the eſteem of the prince and his courtiers, he not only pretended to great ſanctity, but now and then performed ſome miracle, which gained him great admiration. However, theſe wonderful performances ſoon excited the envy of others, who had not cunning enough to delude the people in the ſame manner, and they perſuaded the king, that all theſe miracles were performed by the aſſiſtance of the devil, and that Dunſtan, inſtead of being a ſaint, was a wicked magician. This unfavourable inſinuation againſt Dunſtan ſoon gained ground in the mind of Æthelſtan, who, therefore, baniſhed him from the court, and he retired to a cell at Glaſtonbury †, from whence he was recalled by Eadmund, as we have mentioned above.

Dunſtan's advancement.

After a reign of five years, Eadmund died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Eadred, who aſcended the throne, A. D. 946, and following the example of his predeceſſor, gave great encouragement to the monks, and, at the interceſſion of Turkitil, his chancellor, he granted ſeveral privileges to the monaſtery of Croyland, and conſtituted him the firſt abbot thereof. Dunſtan, who had ſtood very high in the favour of Eadmund, was now held in ſuch eſteem by Eadred, that he

* Johnſon's Canons.

† Oſbernus de Vita S. Dunſtani, &c.

Cent. X. made him his confeſſor, his confidant, and, indeed, in a word, his prime miniſter.

Dunſtan favours the monks.

During this period, Dunſtan employed all his intereſt in favour of the Benedictine monks, of which order he himſelf was a member; and as he had all the treaſures of Eadred in his poſſeſſion, he ſoon waſted them in building and repairing monaſteries for the reception of theſe monks, all which he richly endowed. Not contented with this, he perſuaded the king to bequeath ſuch a profuſion of wealth to the churches and monaſteries, that the crown was ſtripped of the greater part of its valuable poſſeſſions*.

Dunſtan baniſhed.

After the death of Eadred, which happened A. D. 955, his nephew Eadwig ſucceeded, who deteſted Dunſtan for his inſolencies whilſt he was in power, and his haughty behaviour to him with regard to his concubine, or wife Elfgiva; ſo that ſoon after he was ſeated upon the throne, he deprived the abbot of all his preferments, and baniſhed him the kingdom; after which he expelled the monks from ſeveral of their monaſteries, and placed the married clergy in their benefices. But theſe proceedings being diſtaſteful to his ſubjects, Eadgar, his brother, rebelled againſt him, and being confirmed in the government of all the provinces northward of the Thames, he recalled Dunſtan, and made him biſhop of Worceſter in the year 957; and two years after, Eadgar became ſole monarch by the death of his brother Eadwig. Dunſtan then enjoyed the ſame degree of power and authority which he had poſſeſſed in the reign of Eadred †.

The advancement of Dunſtan.

Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died about the year 958, ſome time before the deceaſe of Eadwig, and the ſee of that primate lying within the part of the kingdom that Eadwig had been permitted to hold, the archbiſhopric was by him conferred upon Eliſi, biſhop of Wincheſter; but he dying in his paſſage towards Rome, Brithelm, biſhop of Wells, was appointed to ſucceed him. However, he had ſcarcely taken his ſeat before the death of Eadwig opened the way for Eadgar to the poſſeſſion of his brother's dominions, and as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, Brithelm was obliged to quit his archbiſhopric in order to make room for Dunſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, the great favourite of the king; and Brithelm, as a man unfit for the performance of that high office, was ſent back to the biſhopric of Wells, from whence he came ‡.

The meaſures purſued by Dunſtan in favour of the monks.

Dunſtan thus raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury by the favour of his prince, haſted to Rome for the pall, with which he returned the year following, A. D. 961; and now he turned all his thoughts to the completion of the great deſign he had formed of driving all the married clergy from their monaſteries, and placing monks of the Benedictine

* Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 316.
† Malmſb. l. 2. c. 7.
‡ Godwin de Præſul. Angl. p. 73.

order

order in their room; and as he was well aſſured of the concurrence of his prince, he ſtill hoped to accompliſh his deſigns, in ſpite of all the oppoſition he foreſaw would be made by the great body of the biſhops and clergy, who were averſe to his undertaking. His firſt care was, therefore, to fill the vacant biſhoprics with ſuch men as would adopt his meaſures. With this view he obtained the biſhopric of Worceſter, which became vacant at his own advancement, for Oſwald, an Engliſhman by birth, who had been educated as a monk at Fleury in France. This prelate proved a vigorous patron of the monks, and a violent perſecutor of the married clergy. About two years after Dunſtan, procured the biſhopric of Wincheſter, then vacant, for Ethelwald, one who had been made a monk by Dunſtan himſelf (whilſt he was abbot of Glaſtonbury.) After which he rebuilt the monaſtery of Abingdon, and was made abbot thereof*. Cent. X.

Dunſtan, having thus procured two ſuch powerful advocates, in order to forward his deſigns, ſet about building ſeveral monaſteries; and theſe three great champions of the monks began to put their undertaking in execution, uſing all the perſuaſions they were maſters of, to prevail upon the ſecular clergy to put away their wives, and to take the monaſtic vows and habits. Finding, however, ſoon after, that their perſuaſions were by no means effectual, they proceeded to acts of violence and oppreſſion. Ethelwald began with the canons of his own cathedral; for finding that all arguments were in vain, he one day turned all thoſe out of the church who would not inſtantly comply with his orders, viz. to take up the monkiſh habits, and forſake their wives and children. Theſe unfortunate clergymen, whoſe affection for their families had prevailed over their intereſt, were thus at once reduced to beggary and want, when, inſtead of meeting with any pity from their oppreſſors, they were loaded with a thouſand opprobrious names †. Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, ſoon after followed the example of Ethelwald; but he was not quite ſo mercileſs in the execution of his deſigns; for though he expelled the married clergy from ſeven monaſteries within his dioceſe, and at laſt forced thoſe away alſo that were within the cathedral of Worceſter by ſome kind of fraud we are not acquainted with, yet he condeſcended to allow them a ſmall pittance for their maintenance ‡, which was indeed but juſt enough to keep them from ſtarving. In the mean time, Dunſtan, and his aſſociates, in order to countenance their tyrannical proceedings, charged the ſecular clergy with the moſt heinous crimes, declaring, that their cohabitation with their wives was highly offenſive to God; at the ſame time, they carefully magnified the virtue of their own celibacy; and, in order to ſtrengthen their cauſe, they had recourſe to a thouſand falſities, which were backed by miracles, and pretended viſions, moſt

The ſecular clergy driven from their monaſteries.

* Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. c. 19. † Angl. Sacra, T. 2. p. 219, ‡ Ibid. p. 200.

Cent. X. of them ſo groſs, that one would naturally wonder, whether their impudence or the credulity of the people was the moſt ridiculous. By theſe, and ſuch deluſive machinations, theſe three furious champions of celibacy, in the courſe of a little time, filled eight and forty monaſteries with Benedictine monks *.

Eadgar ſeconds the eccleſiaſtics in the expulſion of the married clergy.

All this was done under the auſpices of Eadgar, who was himſelf a vicious prince, and ſtopped at nothing to gratify his own paſſions; yet he was ſo far prevailed upon by theſe three tyrannical eccleſiaſtics, that he ſeemed even more forward than themſelves to depreſs the ſecular clergy; ſo that in the year 969, he gave them a formal commiſſion to expel them all from the monaſteries and cathedrals, declaring, that he himſelf would uſe all his endeavours to aſſiſt them, and, at the ſame time, he delivered a furious ſpeech, in which he arraigns the married clergy, and loads them with the moſt heinous accuſations, ſtrictly commanding the holy father Dunſtan to proceed to blows, aſſiſted by the venerable Ethelwald, and the moſt reverend Oſwald—adding, that to thoſe three he committed the execution of that important work, adviſing them to ſtrike boldly, and drive thoſe men that were guilty of ſuch great exceſſes from the church of Chriſt, and place others in their ſtead who were holy, and would conform to the religious rules. But let us reflect upon the propriety of this thundering ſpeech in the defence of chaſtity, coming from the mouth of a libidinous monarch, who had not long before raviſhed a nun, a young lady of great beauty, and of noble parentage. This ſcandalous action, however, provoked his confeſſor Dunſtan ſo much that he enjoined him, by way of penance, not to wear his crown for ſeven years; alſo, that he ſhould build a nunnery; and, after all, to proſecute the ſecular clergy to the utmoſt of his power. All this he religiouſly performed †.

Eccleſiaſtical laws of Eadgar.

As Eadgar was entirely under the influence of Dunſtan, and his two aſſociates, the laws for the regulation of the affairs of the church were not neglected by him. His eccleſiaſtical laws and canons ſeem in general to have been ſuch as were both juſt and neceſſary, when we conſider the time in which they were made. They are ſix, and their tenor as follows:

The firſt requires the payment of tythes.

The ſecond explains the true nature of the church ſcot, and proves it to be a ſtated payment ariſing from the houſe of every freeman—it alſo ſhews how tythes ſhould be paid where a burying-place is annexed to the church, as alſo where there is not.

The third appoints the time for the payment of tythes.

The fourth propoſes the remedy for the neglect of either of the two following laws.

* Angl. Sacra, T. 2. p. 201.

† Spelman Concil. T. 1, p. 482.

The

The fifth commands the payment of the Peter pence. Cent. X.
And the ſixth requires the Lord's day to be kept holy *.

The canons, which are known by the name of Eadgar's canons, are ſixty-ſeven in number. The eleventh commands every prieſt to learn ſome mechanical art, and alſo to teach it to ſuch young men as were diſciples under him. The ſixteenth forbids the worſhip of trees, ſtones and fountains, with other remaining rites of pagan ſuperſtition. The ſeventeenth requires, that every Chriſtian ſhould teach his children the Belief and the Lord's prayer. The twenty-ſecond forbids any one to become a godfather, or to receive the ſacrament, until he had firſt learnt the offices. The fifty-fourth recommends the clergy to be frequent in their admonition to the people, that they might honeſtly and juſtly pay the church dues, and alſo at their proper times; as their plough alms, fifteen nights before Eaſter; their tythes of young animals at Pentecoſt; their tythes of corn at All-ſaints; their Peter pence at Lammas; and their church-ſcot at Martinmas. Subjoined to theſe canons is a penitential, ſuppoſed to have been the compoſition of Dunſtan, which requires a very particular confeſſion from the penitents of all the ſins done by their bodies, their ſkin, their fleſh, their bones, their ſinews, their reins, their griſtles, their tongues, their lips, their palates, their teeth, their hair, their marrow, or by every thing hard, or ſoft, wet, or dry; and the principal penants are as follow: To be prohibited the uſe of arms; to be enjoined long pilgrimages; to forbid the tarrying two nights in one place, to forbid the cutting of the hair, the paring of the nails, the uſe of a warm bath, the repoſing on a ſoft bed; to forbid the eating fleſh, or drinking ſtrong liquors; alſo to enjoin to ſuch as could afford it, the building and endowing of churches, or the like; faſtings for ſeveral years were frequently impoſed by way of penance; but theſe might eaſily be eluded by the rich; for a man might redeem a year's faſting for thirty ſhillings, or a great man, who had many ſervants and dependants, might put an end to a ſeven year's faſt in three days by procuring eight hundred and fifty men to faſt that time for him upon bread, water, and vegetables †. This plainly ſhews the relaxation of the church government in the preſent period; for this method of faſting by proxy was juſtly condemned in the council of Cloveſhoe, A. D. 747 ‡.

Canons of Eadgar.

After the death of Eadgar, ſome check was put to the proceedings of the three eccleſiaſtical champions, who, during the reign of that prince, had been very ſucceſsful in the expulſion of the ſecular canons from the monaſteries and cathedrals; for the miſeries to which the married clergy had been expoſed, excited the compaſſion of many of the nobility; but none ſeemed more touched with their misfor-

Eadgar's death a check to the deſigns of Dunſtan.

* Inett's Church Hiſt. chap. 19.
† Spel. Concil. T. 1. p. 443—478.
‡ Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 197.

tunes

Cent. X. tunes than Elfric, earl of Mercia, who, immediately after the deceaſe of Eadgar, would no longer permit the inſolencies of the monks, but drove them all out of the monaſteries throughout his extenſive earldom, and reinſtated the ſecular clergy. In the mean time, Elfwin, duke of the Eaſt Angles, who was a ſtout champion for the monks, joined by Brithnot, earl of Eſſex, vented all their ſpleen againſt the ſecular clergy in their earldoms, and treated them, if poſſible, with ſtill greater rigour than they had experienced in the life-time of Eadgar. To quiet theſe commotions, which ſeemed likely to produce a civil war, ſeveral councils were held, in order that the matter might be ſolemnly debated, and fairly decided. In theſe councils, it ſeems, Dunſtan, and his party, were ſo powerfully oppoſed by the ſecular canons, that he was obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of ſome of his holy miracles to ſupport his cauſe. In one of the councils held at the old monaſtery at Wincheſter, A. D. 977, the affair was debated with great warmth, and the oppoſite party ſo far prevailed by their arguments, that almoſt all the eccleſiaſtics were inclined to conclude the diſpute in favour of the ſecular canons, and to order their reſtoration to their ſeveral monaſteries; but whilſt the whole council was ſilent, waiting the anſwer of Dunſtan, on a ſudden a loud voice, ſeeming to proceed from a crucifix, built in the partition wall, was heard to utter theſe words, "Do not do it!—Do not do it!—You formerly did well!—Do not change now!"—The council was inſtantly put into the greateſt conſternation; and Dunſtan riſing up ſaid, "My brethren, what would ye have more?—Have ye not heard the preſent affair decided by divine ſentence *?"—The aſſembly was then broke up in confuſion, and nothing concluded upon; for though the oppoſite party were ſtartled at the ſtrangeneſs of the thing, yet they were far from being convinced. Therefore, not long after, another council was held at Calne in Wiltſhire, A. D. 978, where, whilſt the matter was under debate, and warmly argued on both ſides, the timber that ſupported the floor where the ſecular canons ſtood, gave way ſuddenly, by which unfortunate accident the greater part of them were hurt, and ſeveral of them killed; and, in the mean time, Dunſtan, and thoſe that ſided with him, ſtanding upon the main beam that ſupported the chamber, and which remained immoveable, eſcaped without being hurt. Thus was this council alſo brought to an end †; but if theſe events did really happen, and in the manner already mentioned; it muſt convey to our minds a very unfavourable idea of Dunſtan, as well as of the ſuperſtition and blindneſs of thoſe times. It ſeems, that even this laſt accident could not convince the canons; and whilſt the friends of Dunſtan declared that it was a juſt judgment of God upon the canons for their obſtinacy, and a plain manifeſtation of his will, the other

* Spel. Concll. T. 1. p. 490. † Ibid. p. 494, & Angl. Sacra, T. 2. p. 112.

party

party failed not to run into the other extreme, and accuſed Dunſtan of magic. Cent. X.

What ſteps Dunſtan and his adherents purſued againſt the ſeculars from this time, does not appear; but ſuch was the ſtate of the debates at the time of Edward's murder, and, indeed, in a few years after the acceſſion of Æthelred, the kingdom was involved in ſuch deſperate calamities, occaſioned by the frequent and deſtructive invaſions of the Danes, that little attention could be paid to the affairs of the church. Indeed, the fame of Dunſtan, and his two aſſiſtants, Oſwald and Æthelwald, who are all ſainted by their hiſtorians, engroſſed ſo much attention, that the acts of the other biſhops, or even their names, are ſcarcely known.

The troubles of the kingdom put a ſtop to church matters.

About the year 984, Æthelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, died; and his death, whilſt it gave great uneaſineſs to the monks, was highly pleaſing to the canons whom he had diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe they now entertained a hope of being again reſtored. They therefore employed all their intereſt to procure the election of a clergyman of their own order; but they were diſappointed by the ſuperior art of Dunſtan, who pretended that St. Andrew appeared to him in a viſion, and appointed Elphegus, abbot of Bath, to ſucceed Æthelwald. By this means he carried his point, to the great joy of the monks, and diſappointment of the diſtreſſed ſeculars *.

Death of Æthelwald.

Four years after the deceaſe of Æthelwald, Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, departed this life, A. D. 988, (having held the biſhopric of London, with the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, near twenty-ſeven years) leaving behind him the title of the Father and Reſtorer of the Monks; and they in return for ſuch high favour, on their part, have not been backward in gracing his memory with ſuch wonderful encomiums, that his very ſhrine became, in after ages, the object of worſhip and adoration. Beſides his frequent conteſts and victories over the devil, his miracles are all laid before us, and the particular favour that God ſhewed towards him; all which are ſo groſs and abſurd in their relation, that one cannot help being aſtoniſhed at the impudence and irreligion of his biographers, who have ſeriouſly told ſo many open and bare-faced falſities †.

Death of Dunſtan.

Upon

* Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 221.

† Let the following impious ſtory ſtand as a proof; it is told by his biographer Oſborn (Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 114, 115), and afterwards repeated by Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, in his life of this primate. It is, as follows, tranſlated by Dr. Henry: "The moſt admirable, the "moſt ineſtimable Father Dunſtan, whoſe "perfections exceeded all human imagi-"nation, was admitted to behold the Mo-"ther of God, and his own mother, in "eternal glory; for before his death, he "was carried up into heaven to be pre-"ſent at the nuptials of his own mother "with the eternal King, which were ce-"lebrated by the angels with the moſt "ſweet and joyous ſongs.---When the an-"gels reproached him for his ſilence on "this great occaſion, ſo honourable to his "mother, he excuſed himſelf on account "of his being unacquainted with thoſe "ſweet

Cent. X.

Succeſſion to the ſee of Canterbury.

Upon the deceaſe of Dunſtan, Ethelgar, late abbot of the new monaſtery of Wincheſter, and at this time biſhop of Seolſey, ſucceeded to the chair of Canterbury; but dying the following year, he was ſucceeded by Siricius, biſhop of Wilton, who held the government of that ſee about four years. Both theſe primates had been monks in the abbey of Glaſtonbury; but, from the confuſion of the times, and the ſhortneſs of their pontificates, nothing memorable ſeems to have been done by either.

Death of Oſwald.

About three years after the death of Dunſtan, Oſwald (the longeſt ſurvivor of the three furious champions for the monks) deceaſed. This prelate held the biſhopric of Worceſter, to which he had been firſt elected even after his promotion to the archbiſhopric of York *, which honour he enjoyed a conſiderable time before his death. He was ſucceeded in both his ſees by Aldulf, abbot of Peterborough.—Oſwald, in holding two ſees at once, only followed the example of his friend Dunſtan, who held thoſe of London and Cauterbury at the ſame time.—This mercenary proceeding, which was certainly contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of the church, ſtill adds to the unfavourable ideas we have already had ſo much cauſe to entertain of theſe holy ſaints.

Wretched ſtate of the nation.

From this period to the end of the tenth century, the ſtate was involved in ſuch a continual ſcene of trouble and confuſion, that no affairs relative to the church could be attended to, or, if they were, they are not tranſmitted down to us.—The miſerable calamities that fell upon the Engliſh nation at the latter end of this century, and the beginning of the eleventh, are (not without juſt reaſon) in a great meaſure aſcribed to the prevalent zeal for a monaſtic life, by which the kingdom was deprived of many of its moſt able protectors, and impoveriſhed by the continual ſums that were laviſhed upon the monaſteries and cathedrals †. Indeed, ſo blinded were the people, that in the latter end of the reign of Æthelred, A. D. 1014, it was decreed in council, that every perſon who was of age ſhould go bare-foot to church upon the feaſt of Saint Michael, having previouſly faſted three days upon bread, water, and raw herbs, and confeſſed of their ſins; and alſo that every prieſt, with his whole congregation, ſhould three days ſucceſſively go bare-foot in ſolemn proceſſion. The monks and nuns, in their monaſteries, were commanded to celebrate the maſs againſt the Pagans at every canonical hour, when they were to lay proſtrate on the ground, and ſing this pſalm: "Lord, how are they

"ſweet and heavenly ſtrains: but being "a little inſtructed by the angels, he broke "out into this melodious ſong, *O King! "Ruler of Nations,*" &c. One would almoſt have thought it impoſſible that ſo ſhocking a ſtory ſhould have been written ſeriouſly, or ever believed.

* Godwin de Præſul. Angl. p. 75.

† Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1.

increaſed

increaſed that trouble me!*" vainly imagining that due obſervance of ſuch ceremonies as theſe, would be more efficacious in deſtroying of their enemies, than the repeated efforts of their armies. Cent. X.

Near the cloſe of the laſt century, A. D. 955, Sigeric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, and was ſucceeded in that office by Ælfric, formerly biſhop of Wilton, a zealous primate, who amidſt all the diſtractions of the ſtate, was careful and aſſiduous in the cauſe of religion; and obſerving the ignorance of the clergy in general at that time, he tranſlated no leſs than eighty homilies from the Latin into the Saxon tongue, which were then appointed to be read publicly in the churches, and from the homily deſigned for Eaſter-day, the doctrine concerning the ſacrament, as it ſtood in that early period, is ſettled beyond a doubt; for the author heſitates not to declare, that the bread and wine were only myſtically and ſpiritually to be underſtood as the body and blood of Chriſt; that the things themſelves underwent no actual change, but remained ſtill the ſame, and ſubject to corruption; and this is a convincing proof that the ſuperſtitious doctrine of tranſubſtantiation had not as yet affected the Saxon church. He alſo wrote ſeveral epiſtles recommending a reformation of the vices of the times; and the canons that are attributed to him, are many in number, and well ſuited to the times for which they were intended†: yet, though they generally bear the name of canons, (which appellation perhaps they might take from the tone of authority with which they ſeem to be given) they appear to be the injunctions only of a kind of epiſcopal charge, and not ſuch as were enacted by any eccleſiaſtical ſynod. In theſe canons we find the names and offices of ſeven orders of prieſts; as, Cent. XI. Ælfric's homilies and canons.

Firſt, the Oſtiary, who opened and ſhut the church doors, and tolled the bells.

Secondly, the Lector, who read the ſcriptures in the church.

Thirdly, the Exorciſt, whoſe office was to drive away evil ſpirits by invocations and abjurations.

Fourthly, the Acolyth, who held the tapers whilſt the goſpel was read, and the maſs celebrated.

Fifthly, the Sub-deacon, who had the charge of the holy veſſels, and attended upon the deacon at the altar.

* Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 1014. Spelm. Concil. T. 1. p. 530.

† Mr. Wharton, in his diſſertation concerning the two Ælfric's, is inclined to think that the preſent primate was not the author of theſe homilies, letters, and canons, but gives the honour of them to another man named Ælfric Putta, or Puttoc, who was archbiſhop of York in the reign of king Cnut; but after all the arguments produced by Mr. Wharton, the matter ſtill remains doubtful. For further ſatisfaction, the learned reader muſt be referred to the work itſelf. Wharton Diſſertat. Anglia Sacra, T. 1. p. 125; & vide Inett's church Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 366.

Cent. XI. Sixthly, the Deacon, who miniſtered to the maſs prieſt, placed the oblation on the altar, read the goſpel, baptiſed children, and gave the houſel to the people.

Seventhly, the Maſs Prieſt, or Preſbyter, who preached, baptiſed, and conſecrated the houſel. The maſs prieſt was of the ſame order with the biſhop; only the latter was a title of greater honour.

Another canon eſtabliſhed the difference between the ſecular and monkiſh clergy; and the next, namely, the nineteenth, appointed the tide ſongs that were to be ſung, and the proper hours for each ſong; as,

The Ught Song, or Mattins, early in the morning.
The Prime Song, at ſeven o'clock.
The Undern Song, at nine o'clock.
The Mid-day Song, at twelve o'clock.
The None Song, at three o'clock.
The Night Song, at nine o'clock at night.

The prieſts were alſo commanded to provide themſelves with all the neceſſary books, as the Goſpel-book, the Epiſtle-book, the Pſalter, the Maſs-book, the Song-book, the Hand-book, the Calendar, the Paſſional, the Penitential, and the Reading-book. They were alſo to explain the goſpel every Sunday publicly in the Saxon tongue, and not to take any money for the baptiſing children, or the performance of any other official duties. Many ſuperſtitious ceremonies were alſo contained in that famous charge, as in particular upon Good-Friday, the people were to kiſs and adore the croſs. Nor were the prieſts to be ever without ſome conſecrated oil, as well to baptiſe children, as to anoint the ſick, which laſt operation they were not to perform unleſs at the immediate requeſt of the ſick perſon.

Ælfric favours the monks.

Ælfric was himſelf a great patron of the monkiſh clergy, yet neither his doctrine nor example could produce the wiſhed for effect upon the ſeculars. However, he ſeemed to think that marriage was not unlawful to the clergy, though inexpedient, and a burthen to them, as it frequently prevented the proper execution of their holy function. The ſeculars, whenever they were called upon to renounce their wives and children, pleaded, that they imitated St. Peter himſelf, who was a married man, and had children; and this Ælfric himſelf confeſſes. However, in the decline of his life, he diſpoſſeſſed the canons of the church of Canterbury, notwithſtanding his former moderation, and the declaration he made to the ſeculars, that "he meant not to compel them to put away their wives, but to inform them how to behave themſelves;" which was agreeable to the laws eſtabliſhed after his death by the council convened by Æthelred in the year 1008. In which (although it was called for the ſettlement of the emergencies of the ſtate) there were ſome things

things agreed upon for the regulation of the church; amongſt which we find, that ſuch of the ſecular clergy as were yet in the monaſteries, had the privilege confirmed of continuing there, and of eating in the common hall; but then it was ordained, that they ſhould live chaſtely, and not tranſgreſs the rules of the houſe on pain of expulſion. On the whole, it appears, that Ælfric not only expelled the ſeculars from Canterbury, but alſo obtained a grant of Æthelred to confirm that proceeding; and a new charter, with additional privileges in favour of the monks *. Cent. XI.

Ælfric died in the year 1005, and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Ælfegh, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, ſix years after, was cruelly murdered by the Danes. His ſucceſſor was Leving. From the time of the murder of Ælfegh to the acceſſion of Cnut, the church affairs are buried in total obſcurity, excepting the names of a few biſhops, and their ſucceſſors; ſo that nothing can be traced, if any matters of conſequence were really tranſacted, during that period. *Ælfric's death, and the ſucceſſion.*

In the time of Cnut, it appears that the newly converted Danes, as well perhaps as many of the Saxons, with whom they were then intermarried, were not thoroughly grounded in the true faith, which occaſioned the law that was eſtabliſhed by that prince againſt ſorcery and enchantments, to which deluſive arts the northern nations were all much addicted; and another law, ſomewhat ſimilar, was alſo made by Cnut, which ſtrictly forbid the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, fire, fruits of the earth, rivers, ſtones, fountains, or any kind of trees and wood. Another law required, that all the people ſhould unite in the worſhip of the true God †.

In this century, the zeal for viſiting the ſhrines of ſaints, and the paſſion for reliques, revived again, and ſhone in its full glory. Excited by this religious ardour, Agelnoth, who ſucceeded Leving in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, laid out a prodigious ſum of money at Rome to purchaſe the arm of Auguſtine, biſhop of Hippo ‡ in the year 1020; and the following year, after his return, his valuable relic was preſented to the church of Coventry. The ſame zeal prevailed with queen Emma, when ſhe gave a vaſt price for the arm of St. Bartholomew; but whole limbs of the great ſaints or apoſtles could only be purchaſed by the nobility and richer claſs of people; the meaner were obliged to be content with fingers, pieces of hair, paring of the nails, or the bits of garments of the more inferior ſaints. When occaſion required that the reliques of any remarkable ſaint ſhould be tranſported from one place to another, the vaſt expence that was beſtowed *Superſtition of this time.*

* Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1. chap. 21.

† Johnſon's Canons. Spel. Concil. p. 538.

‡ He gave, according to Malmſbury, 100 talents, or 6000 pound weight of ſilver, and one talent, or 60 pound weight of gold; a vaſt ſum, particularly at that time.

Cent. XI. upon the preparations to make the proceſſion grand and pompous, and the treaſures that were frequently laviſhed upon the ornamenting their ſhrines, or the churches where they were buried, are matters truly aſtoniſhing. Into all theſe faſhionable follies Cnut himſelf frequently ran; for the wealth he beſtowed to adorn the old monaſtery of Wincheſter, and the churches of Glaſtonbury and Wincheſter, as well as upon his religious buildings, his expenſive pilgrimages to the ſhrine of Cuthbert, the northern ſaint, and his journey to Rome, are what make a conſiderable figure in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this time, which cannot be read without an equal degree of pity and contempt *.

Cnut's journey to Rome.

What was the true motive of Cnut's journey to Rome, cannot perhaps be eaſily aſcertained; the reaſon he himſelf gives is, that it was undertaken in honour of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul. When he arrived at Rome, he procured ſeveral taxes that had been levied upon ſuch devotees as journied on pilgrimage to Rome, to be taken off. He alſo, according to his own declaration, made great complaint of the pecuniary exactions that were annually made from the Engliſh archbiſhops when they received the pall from the ſee of Rome, which extortions he determined to redreſs. Theſe complaints he made in a full council before the pope, four archbiſhops, twenty-four biſhops, and many princes and great noblemen. He then concludes his epiſtle, which was written to Ailnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with vowing to devote the reſt of his life to the ſervice of almighty God; recommending, at the ſame time, to the clergy and magiſtrates to maintain order and juſtice throughout his dominions until his return †.

Concluſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Saxons.

During the ſhort reigns of Harold and Hardicnut, the two ſons of Cnut, nothing material happened in the church affairs; nor did any intereſting change take place, either during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, or the buſy year in which Harold ſat upon the throne. Edward the Confeſſor, being a great favourer of the Normans, not only raiſed them to the higheſt civil and military poſts, but alſo promoted many of them to the principal eccleſiaſtical preferments. Amongſt the laſt, Robert Gemiticenſis, a Norman monk, was the higheſt in eſteem, who being firſt made biſhop of London, A. D. 1044, was afterwards, A. D. 1050, raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, and whilſt he was gone to Rome to receive the pall, the king nominated Sparhafoe, abbot of Abington, to ſucceed him in his ſee of London; but Robert, at his return, for ſome time, amuſed the abbot, and deferred the conſecration, untill he had, by his ſubtle arguments, perſuaded the king, in a great council, which met in September, A. D. 1051, to recall his

* Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1.

† Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 11.

nomination

nomination, and appoint one William, a Norman, to be biſhop of London inſtead of the abbot; and ſoon after, by the perſuaſion of the primate, Edward raiſed Ulf, another Norman, to the ſee of Dorcheſter. But not long after, the Normans becoming diſagreeable to the people, they were obliged to quit their high ſtations as well in the church as in the ſtate, and make a precipitate retreat from England to ſave their lives. After Robert fled from England, Stigund, biſhop of Wincheſter, was choſen to ſucceed him in the chair, who poſſeſſed the archbiſhopric at the time of the arrival of William the Conqueror *. Cent. XI.

* Vide Inett's Church Hiſt. vol. 1. chap. 22.

END OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE SAXONS.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART II. CHAP. II.

Ancient Religion of the Danes, &c.

HAVING already given, in the former volume, ſome ſhort account of the ancient religion of our Saxon anceſtors, and made mention of the three principal deities adored by all the northern nations, it now remains that I fulfil my promiſe of giving as compleat an account of the mythology of the Danes as the limits of this work will permit, which will conclude and explain all that was left unfiniſhed in the preceding chapter *.

References to the former volume.

The three principal deities, of whom we have made mention before, viz. Odin or Woden, Thor and Frigga, ſeem not to have been conſidered by all the northern nations as equal to each other in power or importance. The Danes paid the greateſt veneration to Odin; the inhabitants of Norway and Iceland ſeemed to give the preference to Thor; and the Swedes appear to have choſen for their tutelar deity Freya or Frey, an inferior goddeſs, who, by the Edda †, is reported to preſide over the ſeaſons of the year, and to beſtow peace, wealth and plenty.

Concerning the three chief gods of the Danes

"The firſt and moſt ancient of all the deities is Odin, who" (ſays the Edda) "governeth all things; and the reſt of the gods, although they are very powerful themſelves, obey him as children obey their father; and he is called the univerſal father, becauſe he is the father of all the gods. He is alſo named the Father of Battles, becauſe he receives thoſe as his ſons that die in the fight; to them alſo he aſſigns the palaces of

The number and offices of the Daniſh gods, and firſt Odin.

* Vol. 1. part 3. chap. 3. page 211.

† The Edda is the ſyſtem of the ancient Daniſh mythology, and is given at large, with an Engliſh tranſlation, in a work, entituled, Northern Antiquities, vol. 2.

Valhall

Valhall and Vingolf, and ſalutes them with the title of heroes. The name of his wife is Frigga, who knoweth the deſtinies of men, which, however, ſhe never revealeth.

Thor. " Next to Odin, Thor is the firſt and greateſt amongſt the gods: he is called Aſa Thor, or Lord Thor; and Ake Thor, or Active Thor; he is the ſtrongeſt amongſt the gods or men; his dominion is named Thrudwanger, and his palace Biſkerner, in which there are five hundred and forty halls; his chariot is drawn by two he goats, and in this chariot he goes into the country of the giants, and therefore he is called Oka Thor, or Rapid Thor. He has three valuable things, the firſt is his club named Thiolner, that makes the giants fear him; the ſecond is the belt of proweſs, that being put on redoubles his former ſtrength; the third are iron gauntlets, with which he holds his mace or club. His exploits were ſo many, and ſo wonderful, that no perſon is eſteemed learned enough to relate them all.

Blader. " The third god in power is Blader, the ſecond ſon of Odin, who is of an amiable diſpoſition, and perfectly beautiful; his dwelling is in the palace of Breidablik, where nothing impure can be admitted, and, upon the columns, are engraven verſes capable of recalling the dead to life.

Niord. " The next god is Niord, whoſe dwelling is in a place called Noatun, where he governeth the winds, and checks the fury of the ſea, the ſtorms, and the fire: whoever would ſucceed in navigation, hunting, or fiſhing, are directed to pray to this deity. Niord had two children named Frey and Freya—Frey is the mildeſt of the gods, and hath dominion over the rain, the ſun, and things that grow upon the earth; he it is that diſpenſes peace and riches to mankind. Freya, the other child, has her habitation in heaven, which is called Folvanga, (or the union of the people) and to her is due one half of thoſe ſlain in battle; the other half belongs to Odin. She goes forth from her palace in a chariot drawn by two cats; ſhe attends to the vows of thoſe who ſeek her aſſiſtance, and from her the women took their name; ſhe delights moſt in the ſongs of lovers, who, if they hope to be ſucceſsful, ought to addreſs themſelves to her.

Tyr. " The fifth god to Niord is Tyr," (who is to be diſtinguiſhed from Thor) " one of the moſt bold and intrepid of the gods: he diſpenſes victory in the battle, and his valour is ſo great that it became a proverb to ſay of a valiant man, " He is as brave as Tyr."

Brage. " The ſixth next god is Brage, the god of wiſdom and eloquence: he was not only the prince, but the parent of poetry, which, from his name, was called Brager; and from him alſo the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets had their title. His wife is called Iduna, to whoſe care is committed the keeping of certain apples that reſtored the gods, when they became aged, to their youth again.

Heimdall. " The next powerful deity is Heimdall, the ſon of the nine virgin ſiſters: he is called the White God; he is alſo diſtinguiſhed by the

the appellations of Hialmſkidius and Gulltannius, becauſe his teeth are of pure gold. His dwelling is at the end of the bridge Beſroſt, or the Rainbow, in a caſtle called Celeſtial Fort: he is the keeper or centinel of the gods, and ſitteth at the entry into heaven to prevent the giants from taking poſſeſſion of the bridge; nor can he eaſily be ſurpriſed, for he ſleepeth leſs than a bird, and ſeeth by night as well as by day an hundred leagues round about him; and his ear is ſo remarkably fine, that he heareth the graſs grow upon the earth, and the wool upon the ſheep's back, ſo that the ſmalleſt ſound cannot eſcape him; and he has with him a trumpet which would be heard by all the worlds.

Hoder. Hoder, the next divinity, is blind, but extremely ſtrong.

Vidar. The ninth god is Vidar, who is called the Silent God: he wears thick ſhoes, but of ſuch wonderful contexture, that by means of them he can walk in the air, and tread upon the water, and in ſtrength he almoſt equals the god Thor.

Vile. The tenth god called Vile or Vali, is one of the ſons of Odin and Rinda: he is bold in war, and a ſkilful archer.

Uller. The eleventh god is Uller, the offspring of Sifia, and ſon-in-law to Thor, who is ſo expert in ſhooting his arrows, and runneth ſo ſwiftly with his feates, that none are able to contend with him: his perſon is handſome, and he is juſtly eſteemed a hero.

Torſete. Torſete, the twelfth god, is the ſon of Balder, who reſides in a palace named Glitner, which is upheld by pillars of gold, and covered with a roof of ſilver, where he reconciles and appeaſes all ſorts of quarrels, whether amongſt the gods or men."

Loke and his offspring. Beſides theſe twelve gods, there was a malevolent and powerful ſpirit called Loke, "whom (ſays the Edda) ſome reckon in the number of the gods; others call him the Calumniator of the gods, the Artificer of Fraud, and the Enemy both of the gods and men. Loke is the ſon of the giant Tarbantes and of Laufeya: he is handſome, well formed in his perſon; but he is evil, light, and inconſtant; he ſurpaſſes all beings in perfidy and cunning, and hath often expoſed the gods to great perils by his artifices. His wife is named Siguna, by whom he had ſome children; but by the gianteſs Angerbode, or the Meſſenger of Ill, he had three monſtrous children; the firſt of which is the Wolf Fenris; the ſecond, the Great Serpent of Midgard; and the third, Hella or Death. The gods foreſaw the danger that would happen from this evil offspring; wherefore the almighty father ſent certain gods to bring them before him. The ſerpent he threw down into the bottom of the ſea, where he increaſed to ſuch a degree that he wound himſelf round the whole globe of the earth, ſo that he can eaſily take the end of his tail into his mouth. Hella was caſt into Niflheim or Hell, where ſhe had given her dominion over nine worlds, into which ſhe diſpatches thoſe that are ſent to her, which are ſuch as die of diſeaſes or of old age: her appartments are ſtrongly built and

fenced with large grates. Her hall is Grief; her table is Famine; her knife is Hunger; her ſervant Delay; her maid Slackneſs; her gate precipice; her porch Faintneſs; her bed Pain and Sickneſs; and her tent Curſing and Howling. Half her body is blue, the other half covered with ſkin of the colour of human fleſh, her look is full of terror by which ſhe may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed *".

The goddeſſes of the Danes, and their offices.

The Danes alſo worſhipped twelve principal goddeſſes, of whom Frigga was the chief.

Saga.

" Saga, the ſecond, whoſe habitation was called Suarbeck.

Eira.

Eira, the third, was the goddeſs of medicine.

Gefione.

Gefione, the fourth, being herſelf a pure virgin, took into her ſervice all chaſte maidens after their deceaſe.

Fulla.

Fulla, the fifth, was alſo a beautiful virgin who had committed to her keeping the Toilette and ſlippers of Frigga; ſhe was alſo intruſted with all the ſecrets of that goddeſs.

Freya.

Freya, the ſixth, was the moſt beautiful of all the goddeſſes except Frigga; ſhe married a huſband named Oder, by whom ſhe had a daughter named Noſſa, ſo very fair that whatever was beautiful or precious was called by her name. Oder left his wife, and journied into countries very remote, ſince which time Freya ſeeks him continually weeping, and her tears are drops of pure gold: in ſearch of Oder, ſhe travelled over many countries, ſo that by different nations ſhe is called by different names.

Siofna.

The ſeventh goddeſs is Siofna, who inſpires the hearts of men and women with love.

Lofna.

Lofna, the eighth goddeſs, is poſſeſſed of a gift beſtowed upon her by Odin and Frigga, by which ſhe reconciles lovers to each other when they are moſt at variance.

Vara.

Vara, the ninth divinity, preſides over oaths, and particularly over the vows of lovers, whoſe breach of faith ſhe conſtantly puniſhes.

Vora.

Vora, the tenth, is the goddeſs of curioſity and penetration.

Synia.

Synia, the eleventh, is the portreſs of the hall who ſhuts the doors upon ſuch as ought not to be admitted—ſhe alſo preſided at trials, where any were about to deny what was laid to their charge.

Lyna.

The twelfth is called Lyna, to whoſe charge were committed ſuch men as Frigga choſe to deliver from danger."

Other Deities.

Beſides theſe, they adored a divinity named Snotra, the goddeſs of Prudence and Good-manners; and Gna, who was the meſſenger of Frigga.

" There are alſo (continues the Edda) many virgins that officiate in Valhall, pouring out drink for the Heroes, and taking care of whatever belongs to the table. Theſe goddeſſes are called Valkyries, and they are ſent by Odin into the battle to chuſe out ſuch as ſhall be ſlain, and to diſpoſe of the victory. Gudar, Roſtra, and the youngeſt of the Deſtinies or

* Edda. Northern Antiq. vol. 2.

Faires,

Faries, who preſide over Time, whoſe name is Skuldar (or the Future) go forth on horſeback every day to chuſe the ſlain, and regulate the ſlaughter.—Jord (or the Earth) the mother of Thor, and Rinda, the mother of Vale, are alſo to be eſteemed goddeſſes." Nor were theſe all the deities that the northern nations adored; for they believed that the earth the water, the fire, the ſun, the moon, and the ſtars, had each its reſpective divinity. Trees, foreſts, rivers, lakes, and mountains were alſo thought to be inhabited and governed by certain genii, capable of doing hurt or good, and, therefore, intitled to ſome particular marks of adoration, and religious worſhip *.

"The principal city of the gods is under the great aſh Ydraſil, where they aſſemble every day to adminiſter juſtice. This aſh is the greateſt and beſt of all trees; its branches extend themſelves over the whole world, and reach above the heavens; it is ſupported by three roots at an immenſe diſtance from each other: one of them is amongſt the gods, another amongſt the giants, and the third extends to the ninth world, or hell, where it is gnawed by the ſerpent Nidhoger. Under the ſecond root is a fountain, wherein Wiſdom and Prudence lie concealed; and under another root is a holy fountain of Time Paſt, from whence the three virgins, or deſtinies, named Urda, or the Paſt; Verdandi, or the Preſent; and Skulda, or the Future, continually draw up water with which they bedew the aſh. The water preſerves the branches from withering, and reſtores the beauty of the foliage; after having refreſhed the leaves, it falls to the earth again, and forms the dew from which the bees extract their honey. Upon the top of the aſh is ſeated an eagle of aſtoniſhing ſagacity; a ſquirrel runs up and down the aſh, ſowing diſcord between the eagle and the ſerpent concealed at its root" †.

The chief city of the gods, where ſituated.

Having thus ſeen the principal deities of our northern anceſtors, and their chief abode, we ſhall, in the next place, proceed to the examination of the creation of the univerſe, which was attributed to Odin, the greateſt of all their gods; and this will be beſt done in the words of an ancient Icelandic poet ‡. "In the day ſpring of the ages, there was neither ſea nor ſhore, nor refreſhing breezes; there was neither earth below, nor heaven above to be diſtinguiſhed; the whole was one vaſt abyſs, without herb, and without ſeeds; the ſun had then no palace, the ſtars knew not their dwelling-places, the moon was ignorant of her power: there was a luminous, burning, flaming world towards the ſouth, and from this world flowed out inceſſantly into the abyſs that lay towards the north, torrents of ſparkling fire, which, in proportion as they moved far away from their ſource, congealed on their falling into the abyſs, and ſo filled it with ſcum and ice. Thus was the abyſs, by little and little, filled quite full; but there remained within it a light and immoveable air, and thence exhaled icy va-

Creation of the world.

* Northern Antiq. vol. 1. cap. v.
† Edda, vol. 2. Northern Antiquities.
‡ Ancient poem of the Voluſpa. Mallet, vol. 1. chap. 7.

pours; then a warm breath, coming from the ſouth, melted thoſe vapours, and formed of them living drops, whence was born the giant Ymer. It is reported, that, whilſt he ſlept, an extraordinary ſweat under his arm-pits, produced a male and female, whence is ſprung the race of the giants; a race, evil and corrupt, as well as Ymer their author. Another race was brought forth, which formed alliances with that of the giant Ymer: this was called the family of Bor, ſo named from the firſt of that family, who was the father of Odin. The ſons of Bor ſlew the giant Ymer, and the blood ran from his wound in ſuch abundance, that it cauſed a general inundation, wherein periſhed all the giants, except only one, who ſaved himſelf in a bark, and eſcaped with all his family. Then a new world was formed. The ſons of Bor, or the gods, dragged the body of the giant into the abyſs, and of it made the earth: the ſea and rivers were compoſed of his blood, the earth of his fleſh, the great mountains of his bones, the rocks of his teeth, and of ſplinters of his bones broken. They made of his ſcull the vault of heaven, which is ſupported by four dwarfs, named South, North, Eaſt, and Weſt; they fixed tapers there to enlighten it, and aſſigned to other fires certain ſpaces which they were to run through, ſome of them in heaven, and others under heaven. The days were diſtinguiſhed, and the years were numbered; they made the earth round, and ſurrounded it with the deep ocean, upon the banks of which they placed the giants. One day as the ſons of Bor were walking upon the ſea ſhore, they found two pieces of wood floating upon the water; they took them out, and made a man of the one, and a woman of the other. The eldeſt of the gods gave them life and ſouls; the ſecond, motion; the third, the gift of ſpeech, hearing and ſight, to which he added beauty and raiment. From this man and this woman named Aſke and Embla, is deſcended the race of men who are permitted to inhabit the earth"*. Night is ſaid to have been the daughter of a giant named Nor, and her complexion was black; but being wedded to Daglingar, who was of the family of the gods, ſhe brought forth Day, a child beautiful and ſhining. Afterwards, Odin took both Day, and his mother Night, and placed them in heaven, and gave to each of them a horſe and a car. Night goes firſt, and her horſe is named Renifane, (or Froſty Mane) who every morning as he begins his courſe, moiſtens the earth with the foam that drops from the bit of his bridle, and this is the Dew. The horſe that was given to Day, is called Skinfaxa, (or Shining Mane) and by his radiant mane he illuminates the air and the earth. Sunna and Mane were two children of a man named Mundilfara, but the ſublimity of their names gave offence to the gods, who carried them both up into heaven; and to Sunna, who was a female, the guidance of the chariot of the Sun was committed, which the gods, to illuminate the earth, had compoſed of the fires from the flaming ſouthern world; at the ſame time, under

* Edda. Northern Antiq. vol. 2.

each

each horſe they placed two ſkins filled with air to cool and refreſh them; and hence comes the cool, refreſhing breezes of the morning. As for Mane, who was a man, his office was to regulate the courſe of the moon through all her quarters. He one day carried away two children named Bill and Hiuke, as they were returning from a fountain, carrying between them a pitcher ſuſpended on a ſtick. "Theſe two children" (adds the Edda) "always accompany the moon, as one may obſerve eaſily even from the earth." The reaſon aſſigned for the ſwiftneſs of the courſe of the ſun and moon is, that they are cloſely purſued by two wolves who were one day deſtined to deſtroy them. Theſe wolves come from the foreſt of Iarnvid (or Iron Wood) all the trees of which are of iron; where an old ſorcereſs of the race of the giants has her habitation, and who brought both theſe monſters into the world. "One in particular" (continues the Edda) "of that race is ſaid to be the moſt formidable of all: he is called Managarmer; a monſter that fattens himſelf with the ſubſtances of men who draw near to their end; ſometimes he ſwallows up the moon, and ſtains the heaven and the air with blood." The laſt part of this quotation explains the ideas the ancient northern nations had of eclipſes, and naturally accounts for the general practice of making noiſes at the time they happened, which was to fright the monſter away, who they thought would otherwiſe devour the two great luminaries *.

After the gods had finiſhed their own habitation, and made the creation of the world compleat, "they ſeated themſelves" (continues the Edda) "upon their thrones, diſtributed juſtice, and took under conſideration the affairs of the dwarfs †, a ſpecies of beings bred in the Of the Dwarfs.

* Northern Anquities, vol. 2.

† I cannot help adding here the excellent remarks that M. Mallet makes upon this curious paſſage. It is as follows, tranſlated in the 2d vol. of the Northern Antiquities, p. 46. "We may diſcover here one of the effects of that ignorant prejudice which hath made us, for ſo many years, regard all arts and handicrafts as the occupation of mean people and ſlaves.----The Goths and Celts, imagining there was ſomething magical in mechanic ſkill and induſtry, could ſcarcely believe that an able artiſt was one of their own ſpecies, or deſcended from the ſame common origin. This, it muſt be granted, was a very fooliſh conceit; but let us conſider what might poſſibly facilitate the entrance of it into their minds. There was, perhaps, ſome neighbouring people bordered upon one of the Celtic or Gothic tribes, and which, although leſs warlike than themſelves, and much inferior in ſtature and ſtrength, might yet excell them in dexterity; and, addicting themſelves to manual arts, might carry on a commerce with them ſufficiently extenſive to have the fame of it ſpread pretty far. All theſe circumſtances will agree well enough with the Laplanders, who are ſtill as famous for their magic as remarkable for the lowneſs of their ſtature; pacific even to a degree of cowardice, but of a mechanic induſtry, which formerly muſt have appeared very conſiderable. The ſtories that were invented concerning this people, paſſing through the mouths of ſo many ignorant relaters, would ſoon acquire all the degrees of the marvellous of which they were ſuſceptible. Thus the Dwarfs ſoon became the forgers of enchanted armour, upon which neither ſwords nor conjurations could make any impreſſion.---- They were poſſeſſed of caverns full of treaſure intirely at their own diſpoſal, &c.— As the Dwarfs were feeble, and of but ſmall courage, they were ſuppoſed to be crafty, full of artifice and deceit. This, which in the old romances is called *Diſloyalty*, is

duſt of the earth, juſt as worms are in a dead carcaſs. It was indeed in the body of the giant Ymir that they were engendered, and firſt began to live and move. At firſt, they were only worms; but, by order of the gods, they at length partook of both human ſhape and reaſon; nevertheleſs, they always dwell in ſubterraneous caverns, and among the rocks" *.

Amuſements of the departed ſouls.

The ſouls of Heroes, who died with their ſwords in their hands, had no ſooner quitted their bodies, than they were carried up into Valhall, or the palace of Odin, where they were feaſted with the fleſh of the Boar Serimner, which was more than ſufficient to ſupply them all, for though it was prepared every morning by the cook Andrimner, and ſerved up to the table, yet every night the animal became intire again. Their drink was hydromel or mead, which every day diſtilled from the paps of a ſhe goat, ſo plentifully as to fill a pitcher large enough to enebriate all the heroes. "Odin, the illuſtrious father of armies," ſits at a table by himſelf, and all the food that is ſet before him he gives to two wolves, for he himſelf needs no food; for wine is to him inſtead of every other aliment. "Two ravens are conſtantly ſitting upon the ſhoulders of this god, who whiſper in his ear whatever news they have heard or ſeen. The one of them is named Hugin, or Spirit; the other, Munſien, or Memory. Theſe he lets looſe every day, and after they have made their excurſions over the whole world, they return again at the hour of repaſt; and hence it is that Odin derives his great knowledge." But to return to the heroes, who when they are not feaſting are following the amuſements allotted for them. "As ſoon as they have put on their habits, they take their arms, and entering the liſts, fight till they have cut one another in pieces; yet, at mid-day, the hour of their repaſt, they all return again unhurt to carouſe in the palace of Odin."

Deſcription of the Laſt Day.

Loke, the malevolent ſpirit, of whom we have ſpoken before, had by his continual miſchiefs, ſo far exaſperated the gods that they were determined to puniſh him. Loke, appriſed of his danger, fled away;

is the character always given them in thoſe fabulous narratives; all theſe fancies having received the ſeal of time, and univerſal conſent, could no longer be conteſted; and it was the buſineſs of the poets to aſſign a fit origin for ſuch ungracious beings. This was done by their pretended riſe from the carcaſs of a great dead giant. The Dwarfs, at firſt, were only the maggots engendered there by its putrefaction: afterwards, the gods beſtowed upon them underſtanding and cunning. By this fiction the northern warriors juſtified their contempt of them, and, at the ſame time, accounted for their ſmall ſtature, their induſtry, and their ſuppoſed propenſity for inhabiting caves and clifts of the rocks. After all, the notion is not every where exploded that there are, in the bowels of the earth, Fairies, or a kind of dwarfiſh, diminutive beings of human ſhape, remarkable for their riches, their activity, and malevolence. In many countries of the north, the people are ſtill firmly perſuaded of their exiſtence. In Iceland, at this day, the good folks ſhew the very rocks and hills, in which they maintain that there are ſwarms of theſe ſmall ſubterraneous men of the moſt diminutive ſize, but moſt delicately ſhaped."

* Edda, ibid.

but

but his retreat being diſcovered by Odin, he was at laſt taken, and confined upon three ſharp ſtones, with a ſerpent over his head, whoſe venom falling upon him, "makes him howl with anguiſh, and twiſt his body about with ſuch violence, that all the earth is ſhaken with it, and this produces earthquakes." In this horrid ſituation he was to abide until the general conflagration of the univerſe, called the "Twilight of the Gods," which is thus deſcribed in the Edda. "In the firſt place will come the great, the deſolating Winter, when the ſnow ſhall fall from every part of heaven, then ſhall the cold be extreme, and the tempeſt violent, and the ſun ſhall ceaſe to be uſeful: three conſtant winters ſhall paſs away without the intervention of one ſummer; this ſhall be proceeded by three winters more, when war ſhall be ſpread all over the earth; brothers ſhall ſtain themſelves with brothers blood; children ſhall become the murtherers of their own parents; parents ſhall ſlay their children; inceſt and adultery ſhall be common; no man ſhall ſpare his friend.—A barbarous age ſhall this be, an age of ſwords, an age of tempeſts, an age of wolves, when the ſhield ſhall be broken until the deſtruction of the world. The wolf ſhall devour the ſun, and another monſter ſhall deſtroy the moon, and the ſtars ſhall fall from heaven; the earth ſhall be ſhaken, the mountains caſt down from their foundations, and the trees torn up by the roots; the bonds and chains of the evil ſpirits ſhall be broken, the wolf Fenris ſhall be let looſe, the great ſerpent ſhall roll himſelf in the ſea, and, by his motions, overflow the earth: then ſhall the ſhip Naglefara be ſet afloat; this ſhip, which is compoſed of the nails of dead men, ſhall be piloted by the giant Rymer. The wolf Fenris advancing, openeth his monſtrous jaws, which touch both heaven and earth, and would extend ſtill further if there were ſpace ſufficient; and the great ſerpent, cloſe at his ſide, breathes forth floods of venom; the heavens are burſt in ſunder, and, through the breach, the evil genii of the fire enter on horſeback, led by Surtur (the black) who is encompaſſed by burning fire, which goes before and follows him, and his ſword ſhines as the ſun. The paſſing of the genii on horſeback ſhall break the bridge of heaven*: they arrive at a plain, where they are joined by the wolf Freniis, the great ſerpent Loke, who has broken the chains with which he was bound, and the giant Rymer. Heimdal, the porter of the gods, blowing violently his clanging trumpet, the gods awake and aſſemble. The great aſh Ydraſil is violently ſhaken; heaven and earth are full of horror and affright. Odin attacks the wolf Fenris, but is devoured by him; Fenris is then ſlain by Vidar; Thor encounters the great ſerpent, and beats the monſter to the earth, but quickly after periſhes himſelf; Heimdal and Loke ſlay each other;

* "The gods erected a bridge" (ſays the Edda) which extends from heaven to earth, and its name is Befroſt;" but on earth it is called "the Rainbow." Edda Iceland. Mythol. 8.

then

then Surtur darts fire and flame over all the earth, and the whole is quickly conſumed" *.

A new earth ariſing from the ruins of the former.

After the death of the gods, and deſtruction of the univerſe, "ſhall emerge from the boſom of the waves, an earth, clothed with a moſt lovely verdure; the floods ſhall retire, and the fields produce their fruit without culture; misfortunes ſhall be baniſhed from the world; Blader, and the warrior gods, ſhall return to inhabit the ruined palaces of Odin; the gods ſhall aſſemble in the fields of Ida, and diſcourſe together concerning the heavenly palaces, whoſe ruins are before them; they ſhall recollect their former converſation, and the ancient diſcourſes of Odin. A palace called Gimle, more reſplendent than the ſun, ſhall ariſe to view, adorned with a golden roof, there the aſſemblies of good men ſhall inhabit, and give themſelves up to joy and pleaſure throughout all ages †. Whilſt remote from the ſun is an abode called Naſtrande, the gates of which look towards the north; there drops of poiſon rain through the windows: it is built of the carcaſes of ſerpents; there, in rapid rivers, are plunged the ſouls of perjured men and aſſaſſins, and thoſe who ſeek to ſeduce the wives of other men ‡: in another place, their condition is ſtill worſe, for there a horrid monſter hacks to pieces the bodies of thoſe ſent thither."——"Then the powerful, the valiant, he who governs all things, iſſues forth, with great power, from his habitations on high to render his divine judgments, and to pronounce his ſentences: he terminates all differences, and eſtabliſhes the ſacred deſtinies, which will remain to eternity §."

Explanation of the foregoing paſſages.

In the foregoing extracts we have an epitome of the mythology of the ancient northern philoſophers, which, diveſted of all its allegory, ſeems to be as follows.—They believed that Nature herſelf was in a ſtate of conſtant decay, being continually warred upon by the malevolent powers, who were, with great difficulty, reſiſted by the gods: that, when the time ſhould come, that all things were ripe for deſtruction, the efforts of the gods (notwithſtanding they were aſſiſted by the ſpirits of departed heroes) would no longer be ſufficient to withſtand the attacks of the evil powers, who, burſting from their chains, fill the univerſe with ruin and confuſion; and though the gods, with their aſſiſtants, in the end deſtroy their enemies, yet their conqueſt proves fatal to themſelves, for they alſo periſh in the general conflagration. When the preſent world is conſumed, we ſee a ſupreme power ariſing, ſuperior to Odin, and his fellow deities, who puts an end to the prevailing confuſion, and renews the world, making it more beautiful

* Edda, vol. 2. Northern Antiq. p. 159, & infra.

† Ancient poem of the Voluſpa, ibid. p. 174.

‡ Edda.

§ Ancient poem of the Voluſpa, Northern Antiq. vol. 2. p. 178.

than

than it was before, and eſtabliſhes it to all eternity: then the ſubaltern gods ariſe again to govern under the ſupreme Deity, and the ſouls of heroes and juſt men to inhabit the new earth.

Two heavens and two hells believed in.

The northern philoſophers, as we have ſeen, made two heavens for their heroes, and two hells for thoſe that were profligate and wicked. The firſt of theſe endured but for a time, and the laſt to all eternity; for after the ſoul of an hero left his body, it went directly to the palace of Odin or Valhall, where they enjoyed their firſt ſtate of happineſs; but after the deſtruction of the world, they roſe again to people the new earth, where their happineſs was to be made perfect, and to endure for ever. So alſo the ſouls of the wicked were firſt precipitated into the Niflheim, or abode of death, where they were to abide until the laſt day, and, after that, they were caſt into Naſtrande, a place of eternal puniſhment.

Rites of worſhip.

Having thus given a ſhort view of the ancient religion of the Saxons and Danes, it only remains that we give a brief account of the rites of worſhip uſual amongſt thoſe nations, and theſe may be compriſed under four heads, viz. Songs of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; Prayers and Supplications; Offerings and Sacrifices; Incantations and Rites of Divination.

Songs of praiſe.

In regard to the ſongs compoſed in honour of the gods, they were doubtleſs very numerous; and in theſe they were diſtinguiſhed according to their power and rank, by the honourable epithets that were beſtowed upon them; and, as they were high in eſteem, thoſe epithets were always more numerable. Odin alone had not leſs than one hundred and twenty-ſix different appellations, of which the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen. "Odin, the Father of the Ages; the Supercilious; the Eagle; the Father of Verſes; Whirlwind; the Incendiary: he who cauſes ſhowers of arrows, &c." Thor was diſtinguiſhed by twelve epithets, of which the moſt common were, "The Son of Odin, and the Earth." Loke, the evil ſpirit, was called, "The Father of the Great Serpent; the Father of Death; the Adverſary; the Accuſer; the Deceiver of the Gods, &c." Frigga was diſtinguiſhed by the honourable title of "Queen of the Gods." And Freya was called, "The Goddeſs of Love; the Norne, or Fairy, who weeps golden tears; the Kind and Liberal Goddeſs *."

Prayers and ſupplications.

Prayers and ſupplications formed a great part of the worſhip of the northern nations. Their prayers were offered up to Odin for ſucceſs in battle: to Frigga, for ſucceſsful marriages, and eaſy child-births; to Thor, that he might avert the thunder-bolts, and deſtroy their enemies with them. To Niord, they prayed for favourable voyages, and ſucceſs in fiſhing. To Freya, for mild ſeaſons, and large crops of corn; and to Tyr, for ſucceſs in duels, &c. They were very particu-

* Northern Antiquities, vol. 2. p. 189, 190.

lar in addreſſing their prayers, as they ought, and boaſted of their knowledge of the attributes and functions of the gods, ſo that they were well acquainted to what deity to make their applications in order to obtain ſucceſs; but, if the gods refuſed to grant their requeſts, they would frequently expreſs their diſſatisfaction by ſhooting arrows or throwing darts towards heaven *.

Sacrifices.

Their ſacrifices were numerous; for it was uſual with them to offer victims to the particular gods they addreſſed, previouſly to their undertaking any great exploit; and, at this time, after the victim was choſen, it was conducted towards the altar, where the ſacred fire was kept burning night and day. The altar was ſurrounded with all ſorts of veſſels, as well of iron as of braſs, with one larger than the reſt to receive the victim's blood. If their ſacrifice conſiſted of animals, the victim was conducted quickly to the altar, and there ſlain; when part of the fleſh was burned, and the reſt properly prepared, it was ſet before the aſſembly, who feaſted thereon, not excepting the fleſh of horſes; and the nobility partook of this feaſt as well as the common people. But when important occaſions ſeemed to require more noble victims, their altars ſtreamed with the blood of human beings. Theſe unfortunate wretches were either knocked on the head as they lay upon a great ſtone, prepared for that purpoſe, or elſe were bled to death, to give the prieſts an opportunity of making his obſervations upon the flowing of the blood; and, according to its impetuoſity, they uſually judged of the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe they were about to undertake. The body was next opened, and the entrails examined, from which freſh preſages were drawn. The bodies were afterwards either burnt upon the altar, or hung up in the ſacred groves. At other times, they performed their ſacrifices in a different manner; for near the temple was a deep well, into which the victim was plunged headlong: this was chiefly done in honour of Gaya, or the Earth; and, if the body ſunk at once to the bottom, it was eſteemed a ſure proof of its being agreeable to the goddeſs; but if, on the contrary, it ſwam at top, it was a ſign that ſhe refuſed it, and it was then hung up in the Holy Foreſt. In whatever manner the victim was ſlain, the prieſt always pronounced certain words, as, "I devote thee to Odin;—I ſend thee to Odin;"—or, "I devote thee for a good harveſt; for a return of a fruitful ſeaſon." Their ſacrifices were always concluded with feaſting and rejoicing, and then in particular they drank large draughts of beer or ale to the honour of the gods, and at each draught put up ſome prayer, or made ſome vow. To Odin, they would uſually ſacrificed horſes, dogs, falcons, and ſometimes cocks, or a fat bull. To Thor alſo fat oxen and horſes; and, to Frigga, the largeſt hog they could procure. When they meant to ſacrifice men, the victims were

* Olai Magni Hiſt. l. 3. c. 9.

uſually

uſually choſen from criminals, captives, or ſlaves; but on particular emergencies the firſt nobility, nay, even their kings were not ſpared; for they thought the more noble the victim was, the ſooner the gods would liſten to their prayers, and grant them, in proportion, a larger ſhare of their favour *.

No people were more addicted to ſoothſaying and divination than the ancient Saxons and Danes; for beſides thoſe common methods made uſe of by other nations in general, they had many peculiar to themſelves. Their oracles were not leſs famous, nor leſs revered, than thoſe of Greece and Italy: they paid alſo the greateſt regard to diviners, whether male or female, but more particularly to the latter; theſe pretended to give anſwers by familiar ſpirits, or by conjuring up the ſpirits of the departed people. This art they pretended to have learned from Odin, who uſed frequently to conſult the ſpirits of the dead to know what paſſed in remote countries. Theſe ſecrets the bards pretended to poſſeſs; and boaſted that they could call the dead from their gloomy abodes by certain magic verſes, and by the formation of Runic letters or characters †. Divinations of the Danes.

In the very early times it is ſaid, that the northern nations had no temples for their gods, thinking, perhaps, that it might be offenſive to the deities to pretend to encloſe them within the circuit of walls, ſo that their religious worſhip was performed in the ſacred groves, or within large circles of rude ſtones. In the latter times, however, they proceeded to imitate other idolatrous nations, and erected temples, ſome of which were aſtoniſhingly magnificent; but none of them were more famous than that which was built at Upſal in Sweden, which was covered on all ſides with gold, and a chain of the ſame metal ran round the roof, the circumference of which was not leſs than nine hundred ells. Every temple had a private chapel, which was regarded as the moſt holy place, where, on a kind of altar, the images of their deities were ſet up, and round which the victims, doomed to be ſacrificed, were ranged in order. Another altar was alſo oppoſite to this, plated with iron, that it might receive no damage from the holy fire which was kept burning there perpetually: on this altar was placed a brazen vaſe for the reception of the blood of the victims, and beſide it ſtood a bruſh for ſprinkling the blood upon the by-ſtanders: not far off hung a ſilver ring beſmeared with blood, which was to be held in the hand of a perſon who was about to take an oath ‡. At the temple of Upſal there was alſo a deep well, into which they caſt the victims. Temples of the Danes and Saxons.

* Mallet, chap. 7.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ. Keyſler, p. 59. Mallet, vol. 1. c. 7.

‡ Thus Ælfred, when he had overcome the Danes, A. D. 876, cauſed them to ſwear upon their holy bracelet, which oath they had never taken to any foreign king or nation before, ſays Aſſerius; but the event proved, that they regarded this ſolemn oath no more than any they had ſworn before without this ceremony. Vid. page 29 of this vol.

Images of the Saxon and Daniſh gods.

At the ſame time that the northern nations followed the example of other pagan people in erecting temples to their gods, they alſo proceeded further to imitate them, and ſet up their images therein; for in the famous temple of Upſal, the three ſuperior deities were repreſented, and each of them was characterized by ſome particular ſymbol; Odin was ſeated on a throne compleatly armed, holding a ſword in his right hand. Thor ſtood at the left hand of Odin with a crown upon his head, a ſcepter in one hand, and a club in the other *. Frigga ſtood at the left hand of Thor; ſhe was repreſented as an hermaphrodite, and held a bow in one hand, and a ſword in the other. The other gods were depicted with their various attributes. Alſo, after the arrival of the Saxons in England, they erected many temples, which were filled with the images of their gods; but they were deſtroyed upon their converſion to Chriſtianity †.

Feſtivals obſerved by the Danes and Saxons.

There were three great religious feſtivals celebrated in the courſe of the year by the ancient northern nations. The firſt was held at the winter ſolſtice; and the night on which it was obſerved was called Mother Night, both on account of the feſtival, and of its being the beginning of the new year with thoſe nations: this feaſt was named Juul, a name by which the Chriſtian feſtival of Chriſtmas (obſerved about the ſame ſeaſon of the year) was afterwards called, and by which it is known to this day in many parts of Scotland, and ſome parts of England: the heathen Juul was celebrated in honour of the god Thor, or the Sun, in order to obtain a propitious year, and fruitful ſeaſons. Sacrifices, feaſting, dances, nocturnal aſſemblies, and every poſſible demonſtration of a moſt diſſolute joy were then authorized by the general uſage. The ſecond feſtival, which was inſtituted in honour of the Earth, or of the goddeſs Gaya or Frigga, was celebrated in the firſt quarter of the firſt moon in the year. The third, and moſt conſiderable of them all, was held in the beginning of the ſpring, in honour of the god Odin, when they welcomed the return of that pleaſant ſeaſon, and eſpecially prayed to obtain of the god of battles ſucceſs in their projected warlike expeditions. Beſides theſe three great feſtivals, they had many others in honour of the inferior deities, and they were often multiplied on occaſion of any very fortunate events ‡.

* Sometimes he was painted in a chariot drawn by two he goats, and his head encircled with a crown of ſtars. Mallet, vol. p. 130.

† Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 13.

‡ Mallet, chap. 7. &c.

END OF THE SECOND PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

A DISSERTATION ON THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, MANNERS, HABITS, ECT. OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, FROM THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A. D. 1066.

CHAP. I.

Government, Conſtitution, and Laws, of the Anglo-Saxons.

IN order to make this chapter the more conſpicuous, we broke off, in the former volume, at the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, only mentioning that the conquered lands, which were ſhared amongſt thoſe warriors, were, by them, parcelled out among their ſlaves and dependants, reſerving to themſelves ſuch a ſhare of the produce of thoſe lands ſo divided, as they thought proper to demand. This manner of proceeding naturally gave occaſion to the well known diviſion of their lands into Bockland and Folcland, as it was afterwards termed *.

The government of the Anglo-Saxons renewed.

Bockland was the name given to all thoſe lands that were firſt allotted to the original proprietors by whom ſuch eſtates were held, free from every kind of incumbrance or ſervice whatever, except the three following, which were indiſpenſably neceſſary for the general preſervation of the whole community, viz. Serving in the wars; repairing bridges; building and fortifying caſtles. Theſe eſtates were abſolutely the conquerors own, and perfectly at their diſpoſal, ſo that they might, at their pleaſure, either give them away to others in whole

Explanation of Bockland.

* See the firſt volume of this Chronicle, part 5, chap. 1, page 313, 314.

Or

or in part, or retain them for their heirs and deſcendants; and from thoſe perſons alone, who were poſſeſſed of ſuch eſtates, were the magiſtrates choſen, from the loweſt to the higheſt order *. This original eſtate, or Bockland, was uſually divided into two parts, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Inland and Outland; the former included ſuch part of the eſtate as lay contiguous to the proprietor's manſion, and was generally occupied by himſelf, and cultivated by his own dependants and ſlaves, for the immediate ſupport of himſelf and his family. The latter, or Outland, which is the ſame as Fockland, was ſuch part of the eſtate as lay more remote from the dwelling houſe of the proprietor; and this was alſo divided into two parts, one of which was let out to a ſort of tenants, or conditional occupiers of land, upon ſuch terms, and for ſuch a time, as the lord of the eſtate ſhould pleaſe. Theſe tenants were called by the Anglo-Saxons, Ceorls or Churls, and, perhaps, beſides the exaction their lord might make of ſuch a part as he thought proper of the produce of the lands, held by the Ceorls, for the ſupport of his own hoſpitality, they were obliged to give him perſonal marks of their dependance. The other part of the Outland was, if the eſtate of the proprietor was very conſiderable, ſubdivided into ſeparate portions, according to their ſize. Theſe diviſions, which were called Benifices, were beſtowed by the proprietor upon his faithful companions and followers, for ſuch a length of time as the donor ſhould think proper to limit, or, if he pleaſed, for ever. Theſe Benefices, or, as they were afterwards called Thane Lands, were freely beſtowed upon ſuch followers, and were to be held of them as a reward for their ſervice, and voluntary attendance, without any painful reſtraint, or obligation whatever, thoſe three only mentioned above, of attending in the wars, repairing bridges, and building and defending the caſtles; and not only the proprietor of the eſtate himſelf was ſubject to theſe obligations, but even the clergy, for a long time, were not excepted; and ſuch ſervices were by all agreedupon to be as indiſpenſably neceſſary for their own preſervation, as it was for that of the king himſelf.

Privileges of every freeholder, and his family.

Every free-born Anglo-Saxon, or proprietor of land, preſided as judge over his own ſlaves, his tenants, and his immediate dependants. He became reſponſible for every offence committed by any one of the members of his family, and was obliged to pay the fines incurred by ſuch offence ‡. At their firſt ſettling in Britain, every freeholder not only decided all matters of diſpute which aroſe in his own family, but had alſo authority to puniſh the offenders in what manner he pleaſed, and

* Squire on the Engliſh Conſtitution, p. 109.

† Ibid. p. 135, &c.

‡ So alſo, if a ſtranger ſtaid above three days and three nights in any family, the maſter of that family acquired the ſame authority over him, becauſe he became, in like manner, reſponſible for his conduct. Wilkin's Leg. Saxon. p. 9.

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in ſome caſes, to put them to death. But ſoon after their converſion to Chriſtianity, this great authority which the maſter of a family poſſeſſed, was reduced to narrower limits; for the life of a man, however abject his condition might be, was juſtly conſidered as of too much value to be left to the mercy of an individual.

Tything Court.

In order to preſerve peace and unity amongſt maſters of families themſelves, ten families were formed into a ſociety called a Tything Freeburgh or Decennary, over which a magiſtrate preſided called Borſholder or Tything-man*. No freeman whatever could claim the protection of the law, unleſs he were a member of the Tything in which himſelf and his family reſided; but, on the contrary, ſuch a man was looked upon as an alien and vagabond. A good character was the abſolute requiſite that each man ſhould poſſeſs at his admittance as member of the Tything, for each member was pledge for his fellow, and the whole community were ſureties to the king for the good behaviour of all its members: this made them very cautious not to admit ſuſpected perſons into their ſocieties. Theſe Tythings formed within themſelves a little commonwealth, and they choſe for their Borſholder or Chief, one of the moſt reſpectable of the members, and who was moſt eſteemed for his wiſdom and experience. The Borſholder had authority to call all the members together, who, being aſſembled, conſtituted a court of juſtice, in which the Borſholder preſided, to ſee the ſentence of the court put into execution. In this aſſembly all little diſputes, and matters of private controverſy amongſt themſelves, were decided; but, in critical affairs, where the parties were not willing to abide by the ſentence of this court, the cauſe was referred to the next ſuperior court. In theſe aſſemblies, the arms belonging to the members of the Tything were frequently produced and examined; new members were admitted, and teſtimonials given to ſuch as were obliged to remove from this Tything to another; becauſe, as every Tything was anſwerable for the conduct of its members to the public, none could be eſteemed a member of a Tything where he did not reſide, as he could not be under the inſpection of thoſe who were anſwerable for his good behaviour. When any member of a Tything committed any crime, and made his eſcape, the Tything where he reſided was allowed thirty-one days to purſue him; but if, at the end of that time, the criminal could not be produced, the Borſhold, and two more of the moſt reſpectable members of that body, with the Borſholder, and two more members from three neighbouring Tythings, making in all twelve reſponſible men, were to take oath before a ſuperior magiſtrate, that it was not the fault of the Tything to which the criminal belonged that he had eſcaped, nor

* Sometimes he was called Alderman of the Tything, but his moſt common name was Borſholder, from the Saxon words Boph, a Surety, and Aldep, a Head or Chief. Spelman Gloſs in voce.

had

had any one of its members connived at his eſcape, but that they had all uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring him to juſtice: but if the evidence of their innocence was not perfectly clear, the Tything was obliged to pay the mulct proſcribed by the law for the offence that had been committed. However, in after times, this law was made eaſier; for the oath of all the members of the Tything only, to which the offender had belonged, was received as a ſufficient exculpation; but at the ſame time, they were obliged alſo to ſwear that they would give him up to juſtice as ſoon as he could be apprehended by them *. A great union generally ſubſiſted amongſt all the members of a Tything, who were ſtrongly attached to each others intereſts, and frequently united by the tyes of conſanguinity; they commonly fought together in one band, and often eat together in time of peace; each revenged the injury done to his fellow member as if it was done to himſelf; they each contributed to repair the loſs which any member might have ſuſtained by fire, or by any other dreadful calamity; if any one became poor, he was ſupported by the reſt of the community; all the members attended the funerals, marriages, and feſtivals of the neighbourſhip; if any quarrel happened at the common feſtivals of the ſociety, a ſevere fine was exacted of the aggreſſor; and, laſtly, if any one of the members forfeited his privileges by his bad conduct, he was ſolemnly expelled from the community, which was a laſting diſgrace, and total loſs of his character, for, from that moment, he was conſidered as an outlaw and a vagabond, and treated with univerſal contempt †.

Voluntary ſocieties formed upon the plan of Tythings.

The nobility and clergy were exempted from being members of any Tything, as that would have implied a miſtruſt of their good behaviour, unbecoming their dignity and character; yet the apparent advantages that aroſe from this excellent inſtitution, induced them to enter into voluntary aſſociations, in every reſpect reſembling thoſe of the Tything, excepting only that the one was the reſult of choice, the other of neceſſity. Each of theſe ſocieties, whether of Thanes, biſhops, abbots, or prieſts, had a chief or head, whoſe power was exactly ſimilar to that of the Borſholder; and moſt of them had common tables, at which the members often feaſted together: when a quarrel happened at their feaſts, the aggreſſor was obliged to pay the ſame fine as would have been exacted of a member of a Tything for the ſame offence. Several of their fines were paid in money or malt, un-

* Wilkin's Leg. Sax. p. 201, 202, &c.

† The advantages ariſing from this prudent, political regulation, were ſuch, that in the days of Ælfred the Great, when it was put in full execution, the kingdom was kept in ſuch order, and profound tranquillity, that a traveller had nothing to apprehend; and if, by accident, he might looſe a large ſum of money over-night, he was ſure of finding it the next morning, or, indeed, a month after, entire and untouched. Ingulph. Hiſt.

doubtedly

doubtedly with a view to furniſh mead and ale for their public entertainments *.

In order to ſettle ſuch diſputes as were of too high conſequence to be determined by the members of the Tything, or any altercation between the members of the different Tythings, a court, called the Hundred Court, was inſtituted. Every Hundred contained ten Tythings; and all the members of each Tything were alſo members of the Hundred Court, and obliged to attend its meetings under pain of a ſevere fine. This Court met once a month, and the magiſtrate who preſided in it was called the Hundredary. This officer, who was uſually a Thane or nobleman reſiding in the Hundred, was choſen by the ſuffrages of the members of the Court, and his poſt was productive of both honour and profit †: to him it belonged to appoint the times and places for the meeting of the Hundred Court, to inſpect the arms belonging to the Hundred, and to put its ſentences in force, &c. and for the execution of theſe offices, one third of the fines impoſed by this court, belonged to him, with a certain quantity of corn from each member, for the maintenance of his dogs, which were kept to deſtroy wolves, foxes, and other deſtructive animals. This officer was not only the civil magiſtrate in time of peace, but the captain or leader of the members of his Hundred in time of war. All the members, when they met at the court, came armed, and, before they proceeded to buſineſs, conſtantly touched the Hundredary's ſpear with the points of their own, as a token of their acknowledgment of his authority, and their willingneſs to fight under his command ‡. The archdeacon, and ſometimes the biſhop, preſided with the Hundredary, when matters both civil and eccleſiaſtical were regulated, and an inquiry was made into the ſtates of the ſeveral Tythings. The authority of this court did not extend ſo far as to condemn any perſon to death or ſlavery; and if any man thought himſelf injured by the deciſion of the members, he had full liberty to appeal to the next ſuperior court §. Every thing in this court was determined by the votes of the members, and the Hundredary had only the right to take the votes, and pronounce ſentence accordingly. Sales of land, and other important affairs relative to the members of the ſame Hundred, were publiſhed and confirmed publicly in the Hundred Court ‖.

Hundred Courts

Nor was the government of towns and cities, at this time, much unlike the government of the Hundreds. The chief magiſtrate, in ſuch places, was uſually called the Alderman or Town-grieve; or, if

Government of towns and cities.

* Dr. Hickes hath publiſhed the rules that the members of theſe ſocieties bound themſelves to obſerve. Hickeſii Diſſertatio Epiſt. p. 18.---22; and various laws were made reſpecting theſe voluntary aſſociations. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 725. ſub fin. Spelman, Concil. Brit. p. 407. 448. 495.

† Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax p. 203.

§ Du Cange Gloſſ. in voc. Centenarii.

‖ Dugdale Origines Juridiciales, p. 27.

they were ſea-ports, the Port-grieve: his authority was much the ſame in his town or city with that of the Hundredary in his Hundred. The chief court was called Burgemote or Folcmote, which was a meeting of all the burgeſſes, in order to regulate the affairs of the community, and ſettle diſputes between the ſeveral members. Their meetings were uſually monthly; but, upon any extraordinary emergency, the Alderman had authority to call a court by the ſound of the motbell *.

Trything Courts

Three, four, or ſometimes more Hundreds, formed that diviſion of a ſhire or county as was called a Trything, and, in ſome places, a Lath. Every Trything had alſo a court of juſtice, the next in order above the Hundred Court, and the magiſtrate who preſided at this Court, was called the Trything-man, or Lath-grieve. The Court was compoſed of the ſeveral members of the Hundred Courts within the limits of the Trything, and herein were tried the appeals from the Hundred Court, and the cauſe of differences ſettled between the members of ſeparate Hundreds. Here alſo ſales of eſtates, laſt wills, and other important tranſactions, were publiſhed and confirmed †.

County Courts or Shiregemotes

The next court was the County Court, which was of great importance and authority amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, and may, indeed, be ſtiled a kind of little parliament, in which a great variety of conſequential buſineſs, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical, was tranſacted. In this court the alderman, or earl of the ſhire, together with the biſhop, ſhiregerieve, and the law-men, their aſſeſſors, preſided; and the members were compoſed of a general aſſembly of all the freeholders within the county or ſhire wherein the court was held, and from thence it was called the Shiregemote. The alderman or chief magiſtrate, who preſided at this court, was the earl of the ſhire, a perſon of the greateſt dignity and power amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, under the king himſelf. This office, therefore, was uſually given to the Thanes of the moſt extenſive eſtates, and moſt ancient families. They poſſeſſed both the civil and military government of their ſhires or counties, and aſſumed the title of ſub-king and prince in ſubſcribing to charters, and other deeds ‡. In the time of war, the alderman conducted all the military members of his ſhire to the battle, and was called Heretoge, which ſignifies a general, or commander of an army. In the moſt ancient period of the Anglo-Saxon government, theſe great officers were appointed by the king, but, in latter times, they were elected by the freeholders in their Shiregemote, or county court §. In order to ſupport their dignity with becoming ſtate, they were allowed certain lands, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Earls Land, and had alſo a right to one-third of all the fines impoſed within their ſhires, beſides other perqui-

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 204.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ Selden's Tit. Hon. p. 502.
§ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 205.

ſites.

ſites *. Their office was not hereditary originally, nor indeed always for life; becauſe anciently it depended upon the good-will of the king, or their own unexceptionable behaviour †: but, in the latter times, the ſons of the aldermen frequently ſucceeded their fathers in their offices, which might be rather owing to the great power and influence of ſome few families, than any formal change in the conſtitution itſelf ‡.

The Shiregerieve, who aſſiſted the alderman at the county courts, and indeed when his lord was abſent ſupplied his place, was a man elected to that poſt from his knowledge in the laws and ſuperior learning; for although the alderman was conſtantly choſen from the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages of the ſhire, yet in general the nobility were much more addicted to arms than to letters, and far better ſoldiers than lawyers: many of them alſo had offices at court that frequently required their preſence, which, together with other engagements, might occaſion them often to be abſent from the county courts. To remedy theſe inconveniencies, an officer was choſen in every ſhire, called the Shiregerieve, who was the alderman's aſſeſſor in judgment, and his chief miniſter in the diſcharge of every part of his duty §. In the more early times, the Shiregerieve was choſen by the king, but towards the concluſion of the Saxon government, he was elected by the freeholders in the county court ‖. The Shiregerieve, who he was.

Other aſſiſtants to the alderman were the Reed-boran or lahmen ¶, or lawyers, who were brought up in the ſtudy of the written law, and after they had paſſed an examination as to the knowledge of their profeſſion, they were appointed aſſeſſors to the aldermen, ſhiregerieves and hundredaries, and others acted as advocates and pleaders at the bar **. In ancient times, when few people had the knowledge of letters, three of theſe lahmen were thought ſufficient to aſſiſt at the judgments of the county court; but as learning increaſed, their number was augmented firſt to ſeven, and afterwards to twelve ††. Theſe aſſeſſors took a ſolemn oath faithfully to perform all the duties of their office, and neither ſuffer an innocent man to be condemned, nor an offender to eſcape ‡‡. Some have attributed the inſtitution of lahmen, as aſſeſſors, to Ælfred the Great; but there is ſufficient evidence of their greater antiquity §§. Lahmen, or lawyers.

The meeting of the Shiregemote was opened by a diſcourſe from the biſhop, who explained from the ſcriptures and cannon laws, the duties of the members, as good Chriſtians: after that, the alderman, Manner of conducting buſineſs in the Shiregemote.

* Spel. Gloſſ. p. 141, 142.
† Ibid.
‡ Dr. Henry's Hiſt, Brit. vol. 2. p. 244.
§ Spel. Gloſſ. in voc. Graſio.
‖ Wilkin Leg. Sax. p. 203.
¶ Ibid. 205.
** Hickeſii Diſſer. Epiſt. p. 34.
†† Du Cange Gloſſ. & Wilkin Leg. ut ſup.
‡‡ Ibid. p. 177.
§§ Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 246.

or his aſſiſtant; ſpoke concerning the laws of the land, and explained the duties of good ſubjects and citizens. Theſe preambles being finiſhed, they proceeded to execute the buſineſs brought before them, determining firſt the cauſes of the church; next the pleas of the crown; and, laſtly, the controverſies of private parties *. Every cauſe (being firſt explained and underſtood by the members of the court, and the evidence on either ſide duly delivered) was determined by the votes of the whole aſſembly: theſe votes were collected by the lahmen, who drew up, and pronounced the ſentence †. Alſo, when any material law queſtion aroſe in the courſe of a trial, ſuch queſtion was anſwered by the lahmen from the dome-boc, or book of laws, which was always lying before them in the court ‡. A great variety of buſineſs was tranſacted at the Shiregemote, relative to ſales of land, and donations to the church; the publication and confirmation of charters; beſides the trials of civil and criminal cauſes §.

The Folcmote an aſſiſtant court to the Shiregemote.

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† Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 31, 32.
‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 48.
§ Hickeſii Diſſert. p. 80.
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as the chief judges in their reſpective kingdoms, and often adminiſtered juſtice perſonally, cannot be contradicted; and indeed they were bound to do it by their coronation oath. Ælfred the Great, in particular, frequently employed great part of his time in hearing cauſes that were brought before him, and alſo appeals from the ſentence of inferior judges, which he often changed, and ſometimes ſeverely reprimanded the judges for their ignorance, commanding them either to make themſelves perfect in the ſtudy of the law, or reſign their offices to ſuch as were better qualified *. If he found their wrong judgments proceeded from malice or corruption, he puniſhed them with the greateſt ſeverity †. To aſſiſt the king in the performance of this part of his royal office, he was conſtantly attended by a council formerly made up of his followers or Thanes, and the governors of the ſeveral counties; but after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, to theſe were added the biſhops and others of the dignified clergy, whoſe wiſdom and ſuperior abilities pointed them out as the moſt proper men to be counſellors of ſtate ‡. To render the attendance of theſe counſellors more convenient to them, Ælfred divided them into three equal parts, and they ſucceeded each other monthly §. But after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy in England, this part of the royal office became exceſſively burthenſome to the king, by the prodigious number of appeals from every part of the kingdom, and but few of them had either ſufficient knowledge, induſtry, or, indeed, leiſure to go through it in perſon. Several laws were therefore made to prevent unneceſſary appeals to the king; and a chief juſticiary was appointed to preſide in the king's court to perform the judicial part of this office whilſt he was abſent, or otherwiſe employed ‖. It is not indeed quite certain when this great officer was firſt commiſſioned: it is, however, generally thought to have been ſome time during the tenth century. Æthelſtan, a very potent Thane, in the reign of king Æthelſtan, was advanced to this high office (and perhaps he was the firſt that enjoyed it) and, at the ſame time, the title of half-king was conferred on him, becauſe he performed one half of the king's office, which conſiſted in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Aylwin, who bore a more modeſt title, viz. Alderman of all England ¶. After the inſtitution of this office, which long continued to be the higheſt in the ſtate, the kings, by degrees, left the whole management of this part of their duty to their chief juſticiaries, and other judges.

* Aſſer. in Vita Ælfredi.

† Le Mirroir de Juſtices, lib. 5. declares, that Ælfred condemned to death no leſs than forty-two judges, whom he diſcovered to be corrupt and unjuſt.

‡ Squire, p. 181 & ſeq.

§ Aſſer. Vit. Ælf.

‖ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 77. 250. Spel. Gloſſ. in voce Juſticiarius.

¶ Selden Tit. Hon. p. 505.

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The Anglo-Saxon king was far from being an abſolute monarch, for, on the contrary, his power and prerogatives were limitted by the laws and cuſtoms of his country. They could neither make laws, or impoſe taxes, without the advice and conſent of the Wittenagemot, or great council of the nation; and although they could upon any ſudden invaſion, rebellion, or ſuch emergency, put themſelves at the head of their troops, by their own authority, to preſerve the public ſafety, yet they had not the power to make a formal declaration of war againſt any neighbouring people without the conſent of the grand council, in which alſo alone was inveſted the power of proclaiming peace *. One of the chief privileges annexed to the crown was, the authority inveſted in the king to portion out conquered lands, and divide the ſpoils taken from the enemy; but yet they could, by no means, aſſert this prerogative too greatly in their own favour, nor keep more than one-third of ſuch lands or ſpoils to themſelves, without incurring the indignation of their troops †. In the times of paganiſm, the king could not puniſh any of his ſoldiers for deſertion, or any other offence, this being the office of the prieſts alone; but upon the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the exerciſe of military diſcipline ſeems to have become one of the royal prerogatives ‡. The king (that he might not deprive any injured perſon of his right) had no power to remit the fines impoſed upon any criminal by a court of juſtice; but he poſſeſſed the privilege of changing a capital into a pecuniary puniſhment §. In the early ſtages of the Anglo-Saxon government, the nomination of the civil and military officers appears to have been one of the royal prerogatives; but this power was afterwards taken from the king, and veſted in the great council, though at what time, or upon what occaſion, cannot clearly be determined. At the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity, the Anglo-Saxon kings ſeem to have left to the clergy the principal government of the eccleſiaſtical affairs, and the choice of perſons to fill the offices of the church; but by degrees it was found neceſſary, for the peace and good government of the ſtate, that the king ſhould interfere more directly in the promotion of the clergy, and be careful that the eccleſiaſtical offices ſhould be filled by men who were well affected to government. The king firſt obtained a right of approving, and, at length, of appointing all the dignitaries of the church ‖. Hereditary titles, unconnected with offices, were unknown among the Anglo-Saxons; the granting ſuch titles, therefore, could not be any part of the king's prerogative. The authority of regulating

Prerogatives of the king.

* Squire on Eng. Conſtit. p. 186.

† Malmſbury ſays, that one of the chief cauſes of Harold's ruin was, his retaining to himſelf a larger proportion of the Daniſh and Norwegian ſpoils than was cuſtomary; by which means he ſo much offended his army, that a great part of them deſerted from him as he marched againſt the conqueror. Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 13.

‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 23.

§ Ibid. p. 36. 201.

‖ Spel. Concil. p. 387.

gulating the public coin was veſted in the Wittenagemot, and the king might not enhance or debaſe its value without the conſent of that council. The privilege of coining money was not confined to the king alone, but was granted to the archbiſhop, biſhops, and chief towns *. The king had authority, upon all extraordinary occaſions, to convene the Wittenagemot, and to appoint the time and place of its meeting. In this aſſembly he alſo preſided, and propoſed the ſubjects of deliberation to the members, pronounced the public determination, and was afterwards entruſted with the execution thereof. He had alſo the honour of having his name ſet firſt to all acts of ſtate. It is hardly worth the labour of being more particular in the deſcription of the prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon kings, of which thoſe above-mentioned are evidently the principal, and from them it may plainly be ſeen to what narrow limits they were circumſcribed †.

The revenues of the kings.

The revenue of the Anglo-Saxon kings, like thoſe of other great men, conſiſted chiefly in their own patrimonial eſtates, or that ſhare of the conquered lands, which, at the firſt diviſion, became their due; for every original poſſeſſor of land, as he obtained it by the point of the ſword, received it as his own ſole property, without being ſubject to any payments to the king, or other magiſtrates, or, indeed, any ſervice, excepting thoſe three indiſpenſable duties of fighting to defend the country, keeping the highways and bridges in repair, and in fortifying caſtles. In order, therefore, the better to ſupport the dignity of the king, it was found neceſſary, in every ſtate, to aſſign a certain portion of lands, with their ſlaves, cattle, houſes, &c. the rents of which were annually to be paid to him; and upon his acceſſion to the throne, he was put in poſſeſſion of theſe lands, which, however, he had no power to alienate without the conſent of the Wittenagemot; for ſuch lands, ſtrictly ſpeaking, did not belong to the king, but to the crown, Out of the produce of theſe crown lands, and their own eſtates, which were uſually cultivated by ſlaves and Ceorls, the Anglo-Saxon monarchs ſupported their houſhold ‡. The next ſource, from which the king derived his wealth, was the portion of all the fines and mulcts impoſed on criminals by the courts of juſtice within his dominion; in ſome caſes, one-half, but generally one-third of ſuch mulct became his due; and the profits ariſing from hence muſt have been very conſiderable at that time, when the puniſhment for almoſt every offence was the payment of certain ſums of money proportioned to the crime §. Theſe were the great branches of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs; but beſides theſe, ſome profits, and thoſe

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. pag. 59.
† Squire on the Engliſh Conſtitution, p. 219.
‡ Ibid. p. 219.
§ Wilkins Leg. Sax.

not

not very inconſiderable, were derived from foreign and domeſtic trade *.

It is true, that under the oppreſſive rule of the Daniſh kings, the tax called Dane-geld, became one of the chief branches of the royal revenue. This tax, which ſeems to have been firſt impoſed by the conſent of the Wittenagemot, A. D. 991, was intended either to bribe the Danes to deſiſt from their depredations, and leave the country, or to pay a conſiderable body of troops to defend the coaſts againſt them. At firſt, it conſiſted of one Saxon ſhilling upon every hide of land in the kingdom †; but ſoon after it was raiſed to two, and at laſt to ſeven ſhillings; and it continued to be levied even after the original occaſion of impoſing it had ceaſed. Certain it is, that whilſt the Danes were continually invading the land, Æthelred, or his ſon, could derive no great profit from this tax, the whole being laid out in bribing the Danes, or paying the ſoldiers who fought againſt them. But when the Daniſh kings ſucceeded to the throne, and peace was eſtabliſhed, this enormous tax muſt have filled their coffers. It was collected with ſuch ſeverity in the reign of king Cnut, A. D. 1018, that it amounted to the prodigious ſum of ſeventy-one thouſand Saxon pounds, beſides the ſum of eleven thouſand of the ſame pounds which was exacted of the citizens of London ‡. It appears, however, that this tax was too great to be paid by the diſtreſſed inhabitants of England in one year, ſo that thoſe who were not able to produce the money loſt their lands and poſſeſſions §. This tax was afterwards reduced to four ſhillings on each hide, at which rate it continued until it was finally aboliſhed. Dane-geld.

Having thus ſhewn the importance of the great council, or Wittenagemot, and the dignity and offices of the king, or the chief magiſtrate who preſided in them, we ſhall now proceed to examine the members of this great aſſembly. All archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, preſbyters, aldermen, heretoges, ſhiregerieves, domeſmen, or judges, were, by virtue of their offices, and on account of their wiſdom and knowledge of the laws, members of the Wittenagemot: as alſo was every proprietor of land within the kingdom, whether of the clergy or the laity, if he was arrived at an approved age, and had not forfeited his title by any miſdemeanor. For the Wittenagemot was nothing elſe than a collection of all the members of the ſeveral Shiregemots of that particular ſtate or kingdom where the aſſemblies were held. It is true, indeed, that many, from poſſeſſing greater quantities of land, from the number of their dependants, or their ſuperior valour and wiſdom, Members of the Wittenagemot.

* A part of the profits of all commodities, bought or ſold, was payable to the king, when the price of ſuch commodities amounted to more than twenty-pence. See chap. 5. of this part of the Chronicle.

† There were 243,600 hides of land in England; this tax, at one ſhilling on each hide, raiſed 12,180 Saxon pounds, equal in quantity of ſilver to 36,540 pounds ſterling, and in efficacy to more than 360,000 pounds of our preſent money.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub an. 1018.

§ Leland's Collect. vol. 1. p. 11.

might, perhaps, have more influence in theſe aſſemblies than thoſe who were not endowed with ſuch extraordinary qualifications *.

Ceorls and burgeſſes not members of the Wittenagemot.

It is generally acknowledged, that the Ceorls, and others who poſſeſſed no land of their own, but farmed ſuch as belonged to others, were not looked upon as conſtituent members of the Wittenagemot, and, conſequently, had no ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs: it is alſo thought, that the inhabitants of trading towns were repreſented by their aldermen or portrieve. However, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that ſuch Ceorls or burgeſſes as dwelt near the place where the Wittenagemot was held, might attend as intereſted ſpectators, and intimate their ſatisfaction, when the reſolves of the council were agreeable to them, by ſhouts of applauſe †.

Meetings of the Wittenagemot.

As the members of the Wittenagemot were very numerous, eſpecially after the union of the Heptarchy, ſuch aſſemblies were uſually held in a large open field, and moſt commonly by the ſide of a river for the conveniency of water. The appointing the time and place for theſe aſſemblies belonged to the king, who alſo, when they were met, propoſed to them the ſubjects of debate which had been previouſly determined upon between him and his council ‡; and ſuch a regulation as this was very neceſſary in ſo large an aſſembly, who were certainly more fit to determine ſuch affairs as were laid before them, and well explained, than to propoſe the ſubjects of diſpute themſelves. The Anglo-Saxons, whilſt they continued in their idolatrous worſhip, had, as was cuſtomary in Germany, ſtated times for the meeting of the Wittenagemot, which being well known to all the members, they uſually came thither without any particular ſummonſes.

Stated times for the aſſemblies to meet.

After their converſion to Chriſtianity, theſe aſſemblies generally met on the three great feſtivals, Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide, at whatever place the court happened to reſide at that time. It is thought by ſome authors, and with great ſhow of reaſon, that as theſe ordinary meetings of the Wittenagemot were ſo frequent, they could not be very numerous, compoſed, perhaps, but of few more than the great men and nobles, who were of the king's court and council; and that, therefore, they acted, on this occaſion, rather in their miniſterial and judicial, than their legiſlative capacity: but, on any emergency, when the council and authority of the whole nation was wanted, either to make new laws, impoſe taxes, or declare war, a more ſolemn meeting

* Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 174, & Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 265.

† And theſe ſeem to be the people recorded in theſe terms: "Omnique populo audiente & videnté;" *and all the people hearing and looking on.* "Aliorumque fidelium infinita multitudo, qui omnes laudaverunt;" *a vaſt croud of other people, who all applauded.* Spel. Concil. p. 350---625.

‡ Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 178. & infra.

was

was called, and every perſon, who had a right to be preſent, was ſummoned *.

The members of the Wittenagemot enjoyed ſeveral privileges, and it was particularly enacted by the laws, that their perſons ſhould not be moleſted whilſt they were on their way to the council, or whilſt they attended the buſineſs of that place; and if any one broke the peace at this time by his unruly behaviour, he was puniſhed ſeverely by a much heavier fine than ordinary †. Privileges of the members of the wittenagemot.

The attendance upon the Wittenagenot, during the time of the Heptarchy, could not be ſo exceedingly inconvenient as it became after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy; for, at that time, ſuch as were ſituated in the more remote parts of the kingdom, and whoſe original poſſeſſions, either through the misfortunes of war, or the increaſe of their families, were conſiderably diminiſhed, muſt have found it very difficult to ſupport themſelves, even by their conſtant application to their domeſtic labours; but, to be alſo often obliged to attend the great council, muſt have been an almoſt inſupportable hardſhip; to remedy which, as it is thought, about the time of king Ælfred, ſuch communities as were very diſtant, deputed their borſholder, or tythingman, to ſupply their place in the Wittenagemot, and to repreſent them there, and to take care of the common concerns in the public debates and determinations. The king, undoubtedly, would hardly object to ſuch delegations, as, by this means, the aſſembly became leſs numerous, and, of conſequence, more governable ‡. Delegatory members of the Wittenagemot.

Having ſeen thus much of the Saxon government, we ſhall proceed to examine the different claſſes of people of which the nation was compoſed. The next perſon in rank to the crowned head was the eldeſt ſon of the king, and preſumptive heir to the crown; he was uſually honoured with the title of Ætheling, or the Moſt Noble §; and, after him, were the princes of the royal family, who were diſtinguiſhed by the title of Clitones, or Illuſtrious ‖. Ranks of perſons, and firſt of the princes of the blood.

The only nobility amongſt the Anglo-Saxons were the Thanes, who were a very numerous body, comprehending all the chief landholders in the kingdom. Theſe, in time of war, formed the flower of the army, and, in time of peace, augmented the ſplendour of the king's court; and from theſe all chief officers, either civil or military, were choſen. Such as were not elected to any lucrative office ſupported themſelves by the produce of their own lands, and their conſequence and ſplendour were in proportion to their eſtate. There were ſeveral degrees of theſe nobility among the Anglo-Saxons; but, at this diſ- Thanes, the only Saxon nobility.

* Such extraordinary meetings ſeem to be all thoſe great national councils mentioned by our hiſtorians, which were called only upon extraordinary occaſions; and this may account for the elapſe we frequently find of ſeveral years between ſuch meetings. Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 267.

† Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 146.

‡ Squire on the Eng. Conſt. p. 141, 142, 143.

§ Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

‖ Ibid.

tance of time, it is impoſſible to mark out preciſely the diſtinctions between them. The loweſt order of Thanes ſeem to be thoſe diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Earls, or Aldermans Thane; the next were ſuch as had obtained their title by promotion in the church, or ſucceſs in trade. The king's Thanes were the moſt honourable: theſe ſeem to have been divided into three claſſes according to their different degrees of wealth *. There is not the leaſt ſhadow of a doubt that theſe Thanes were originally the friends and companions of Hengiſt, Cerdic, Ælla, and the reſt of the Saxon chiefs, when they left Germany, and founded the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in Britain; and that they were the ſame with the Comites, or companions, mentioned to have exiſted among the ancient Germans †.

The Ceorl, or huſbandman.

The next claſs of people, who formed a very numerous body among our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, were the Ceorls, or huſbandmen; but our antiquaries are ſomewhat divided in their opinions concerning theſe people; ſome affirming that they were, in general, not only completely free themſelves, but deſcendants from freemen, and compoſed of the original proprietors of land, and their ſucceſſors; and that all ſuch Ceorls had a poſitive right to be members of the Wittenagemot ‡: but others aſſert, that they are the ſame with the Frilazins, or thoſe who had formerly been ſlaves, but, by purchaſe, or good behaviour, had obtained their liberty, ſome of them being ſlaves, brought over by the Saxons from Germany, and others, natives of the conquered land whom they had enſlaved upon their eſtabliſhment in Britain §; but, by whatever method they obtained their freedom, it is certain that they enjoyed it, and might purſue whatever method of life beſt ſuited with their genius or convenience ‖. However, ſo great a number of them applied themſelves to agriculture, and tillage of land, that Ceorl became the moſt common title amongſt our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors for a farmer or huſbandman.

* This may ſufficiently appear from the hereots paid to the king at their death. The hereot of a king's Thane, of the firſt claſs, was four horſes, two ſaddled, and two unſaddled; four ſwords, four ſpears, four ſhields, and one hundred mancuſſes of gold. For the king's Thane of the ſecond claſs was paid two horſes, one ſaddled, and one not, two ſwords, two ſpears, two ſhields, and fifty mancuſſes of gold; and for the king's Thane, of the laſt claſs, was paid one horſe ſaddled, and the Thane's arms. Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 144.

† See volume the firſt of this work, p. 311.

‡ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 231 & 263.

§ Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 111.

‖ Free indeed they were (ſays Squire) as to their perſons, as free as any other members of the community; nor was that ſmall peculium, or ſhare of profit which their induſtry might acquire, ſubject to the arbitrary will of any one. What they got by their ſkill and labour was really their own, and they might diſpoſe of it by will, or in what other manner they pleaſed. They were, moreover, ſometimes entruſted to bear arms for the ſociety under whoſe protection they lived. Theſe ſeem to be the ſole privileges they were in a capacity of enjoying, for they were obliged to marry within their own order, nor had they as yet any expectation of being admitted as members of the great council. Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 110, 111.

The

The Ceorls, however, had great advantages ſet before them; for if one of them, either by the bounty of his lord whoſe land he farmed, or by his own ſuperior ſkill and induſtry, proſpered ſo well as to obtain the property of five hides of land upon which he had a church, a kitchen, a bell-houſe, and a gate-houſe, and acquired a ſeat and an office in the king's court, he was, from that time, eſteemed a Thane or nobleman, and entitled to all the privileges belonging thereto *. If he applied to learning, and attained to prieſts orders, he alſo obtained the privileges of a thane, his were-gild was the ſame, and his teſtimony had the ſame weight in a court of juſtice †. If he applied to trade, and croſſed the ſea three times in a ſhip that was his own property, and a cargo of his own, he alſo obtained the dignity of a thane ‡. If his inclination led him to follow a martial employment, he became a ſithcund man, or military retainer to ſome powerful earl or alderman, and was called his huſcorle §. If this ceorle by his good behaviour obtained from his patron either five hydes of land, or the donation of a gilt ſword, helmet and breaſtplate, as a reward for his valour, he was likewiſe conſidered as a thane ‖. Advantages that the ceorls might make uſe of.

If the ceorls, and the frilazin, were really two diſtinct claſſes of people, the latter was without doubt the loweſt; theſe were evidently ſuch as had been ſlaves, and by ſome means or other had acquired their liberty ¶; "though they were in reality free-men, yet they were not conſidered as of the ſame rank and quality with thoſe who had been born free, but yet remained in a more ignoble and dependant condition either on their former maſters, or ſome new patrons **." The frilazin.

The laſt and loweſt order of people amongſt the Saxons, were ſlaves, who with their wives and families were the ſole property of their maſters: of this rank were not only thoſe who were ſlaves by birth, but often free-men, who fell into that unhappy condition by the fate of war, by bad ſucceſs in gaming ††, by forfeiting their freedom by breach of the laws, or, laſtly, by contracting debts too large for them to pay ‡‡: Theſe miſerable wretches who were very numerous, formed an article of domeſtic and foreign trade §§, the employments aſſigned for the ſlaves were various, ſome (who were called villani, or villans, from their dwelling at villages belonging to their lords) cultivated the lands, and were transferred with ſuch lands from one owner to another ‖‖; Slaves the loweſt claſs of people.

* "That is (ſays Squire in his Eſſay on the Engliſh conſtitut.) he had the privilege of ſitting in the wittenagemot or great aſſembly, and his weregild, or the price of his life, was raiſed from 200 to 1200 ſhillings. Squire's eſſay, p. 116, & Wilkin leg. Sax. p. 70.

† Spelman, concil. p. 405.

‡ Wilkins leg. Sax. p. 71.

§ Spel. Gloſ. in voce.

‖ Wilkins leg. Sax. p. 71.

¶ Spel. Gloſſ. in voc. Frilazin.

** Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 230.

†† Vide vol. 1. of this work, pag. 360.

‡‡ Leges Inæ, c. 7.

§§ If the ſlave was a Chriſtian, he might not be ſold to a Jew or Pagan, or if he belonged to the ſame nation as his maſter, he might not be ſold beyond ſea. Leges Inæ, ut ſup.

‖‖ Spel. Gloſſ. in voc. Villanus.

others

others performed the various domeſtic offices in the houſes of their maſters. Some of the king's domeſtic ſlaves, as well as thoſe of the nobility, were taught the mechanic arts, which they practiſed for the benefit of their maſters, and indeed moſt of the mechanics of this age appear to have been compoſed of the loweſt order of the people. If a ſlave was killed by his maſter, no mulct was paid, becauſe the maſter was ſuppoſed to be the only loſer; but if the ſlave was killed by another, the maſter received his price or manbote *.

The miſeries of ſlavery made lighter.

The miſeries of ſlavery were by degrees made lighter, eſpecially upon the introduction of Chriſtianity amongſt the Anglo-Saxons; for by the canons of the church, ſlaves were allowed certain portions of time to work for themſelves; the biſhops alſo had a right to appoint the quantity of work that a ſlave was to perform, and prevent the maſter from uſing him too ſeverely †; the biſhops and clergy alſo recommended, as the moſt charitable action, the manumiſſion of ſlaves, and ſet the example themſelves by an eſtabliſhed law, commanding that at the death of a biſhop, every one of his ſlaves ſhould receive their freedom, and that every other biſhop and abbot within the kingdom ſhould ſet three ſlaves at liberty ‡. But notwithſtanding all theſe prudent regulations, the greater part of the common people remained in that ſervile ſtate at the end of the Saxon government.

Ranks of women.

As to the ranks of women, little need be ſaid upon that head, for they were always of the ſame rank with their parents before marriage, and of their huſbands afterwards; female ſlaves were ſeldom married to a freeman, before they had obtained their own freedom §.

Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

Having taken this tranſient view of the government of our Anglo-Saxons, our next ſtep will be to make ſome general obſervations upon the laws eſtabliſhed among them. The laws of England are of two kinds, viz. the unwritten or common law, founded upon general and even particular cuſtoms and maxims that have exiſted from time immemorial, and the written, or ſtatute laws, which comprehend the ſtatutes, acts or edicts, made by the king with the advice of his council, and the concurrence of the nobility and the great aſſembly of the kingdom ||.

Three ſyſtems of laws.

The firſt written laws of our anceſtors were extremely conciſe, and not very numerous; in the beginning of the tenth century, three principal ſyſtems prevailed in different parts of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, as the Weſt Saxon law, the Mercian law, and the Dane law; by the firſt, the weſtern part of the kingdom were governed, by the ſecond, the midland counties, and the third, which ſpeaks its own origin, prevailed in the northern counties, and Norfolk and Suffolk the chief ſeats of the

* Dr. Henry, vol. 2. p. 229.
† Spel. Concil, p. 405, &c.
‡ Ibid. p. 330.—331.
§ Hickeſii Diſſertatio Epiſt. p. 13.
|| Blackſtone's Comment. vol. 1. Introd. Section 3.

Danes. But theſe three ſyſtems of laws are not ſuppoſed to have differed from each other in the moſt eſſential part or general matter, but only, or at leaſt chiefly, in the variation of the prices or mulcts affixed to the particular offences, which were higher in ſome parts of the kingdom than they were in others *.

The great object of the Anglo Saxon penal laws, ſeems to have been to repair and make amends for injuries, rather than to puniſh crimes, for they made little or no difference between an injury committed through deliberate malice, and one done in the ſudden guſt of an unruly paſſion. Cnut, however, ſeems to have taken the matter into conſideration, for one of his laws commands a difference to be made between an accidental and a wilful offence. The ſecurity of a man's property muſt at all times have been a great object; we may therefore reaſonably expect to find the thief obnoxious to very ſevere penalties. In the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchy, however, theft of the moſt atrocious kind, ſuch as robbing churches, or the king's palace, did not ſubject the thief to any corporal puniſhment; but if he was detected, the reſtoration he was obliged to make rendered thieving a very dangerous employment. By the laws of Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, all church robberies were obliged to be compenſated by a twelve-fold reſtoration; what was ſtolen from a biſhop was to be returned eleven fold; from a king or prieſt, nine fold; from a deacon, ſix-fold; from other clerks, three fold †; the ſame three-fold compenſation was to be made to every individual freeman; and if the thief was alſo a freeman, his goods were confiſcated to the king ‡. By degrees it was found neceſſary to make the penalties againſt theft more ſevere, and Wihtred, king of Kent, who flouriſhed nearly a century after Ethelbert, made a law, that a thief who was detected in the act of pilfering, might be ſlain with impunity, if he either attempted to eſcape or offered to make reſiſtance §; and Ina, king of Weſſex, who was cotemporary with Wihtred, made theft a capital crime, but at the ſame time the friends or relations of the robber might redeem his life, by the payment of ſuch a fine as his life was valued at by law, according to his rank and dignity ‖. By the laws of Athelſtan, made A. D. 926, a theft muſt amount to the value of eight-pence ¶ at leaſt, to make it capital, and not long after it was raiſed to twelve-pence; and the ſame monarch raiſed the age at which a perſon might be condemned,

Laws againſt theft.

* "For though we talk (ſays Sir Henry Spelman) of the Weſt Saxon law, the Mercian law, and the Dane law, whereby the Weſt parts of England and the middle parts, and thoſe of Suffolk, Norfolk and the North were ſeverally governed, yet held they all an uniformity in ſubſtance, differing rather in their mulcts than in their canon, that is, in the quantity of fines and amercements, than in the courſe and frame of juſtice. Spelm. Remains, p. 49.

† Leges Ethelberti, Cap. 1.

‡ Ibid. cap. 9.

§ Wilkins Leges Saxon, p. 12.

‖ Ibid. p. 17.

¶ Equal in efficacy to 50 ſhillings of our preſent money.

from

from twelve to fifteen years*. Every perſon who had been convicted of theft, and was delivered from the rigour of the law by the payment of the price of his life, was obliged either to procure ſureties for his future good behaviour, or elſe to take oath that he would no more be guilty of the ſame offence; but if after being ſet at liberty, ſuch perſon was again convicted of theft, he was to be hanged without any further redemption †: The accomplices alſo, as well as thoſe who harboured robbers, or received ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſuch, were obnoxious to the ſame puniſhments, as the thief himſelf.

Laws againſt highway robbers and banditti.

Robbers upon the high-way, and bands of robbers, provided they exerciſed their violence out of the territories or ſtate to which they belonged, were not liable to any fine; for all the laws eſtabliſhed by the Anglo-Saxon kings during the continuation of the Heptarchy againſt robberies, have this clauſe annexed to them, "Provided it was committed within the bounds of our dominion ‡." By the laws of Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, a robber within the kingdom, was obliged to return all he had taken, and pay a fine of ſixty-ſhillings; but if he was a leader of a banditti conſiſting of more than thirty-five perſons, the full price of his life was exacted for the fine: a robber alſo, who broke into the king's palace, or a biſhop's houſe, was fined 120 ſhillings; if he broke into the dwelling-houſe of an alderman, his fine was 80 ſhillings; 60 ſhillings if it was a thane's houſe; and 35 ſhillings if it belonged to an inferior landholder §: and thus moderate the compoſitions remained, until the eleventh century, when, by the laws of king Cnut, theſe mulcts were raiſed ſomething higher ‖.

Laws for the preſervation of the public peace.

Amongſt a people of ſuch a warlike diſpoſition as our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors are repreſented, it muſt have been neceſſary to have many laws, and thoſe pretty ſevere, for the preſervation of the public peace, and the prevention of private quarrels, in which men might be wounded or ſlain. By the laws of Ina, A. D. 693, it was ordained, that any one who broke the peace within the limits of the king's court, or in the houſe of a biſhop, ſhould be fined 120 ſhillings; in an alderman's houſe 80 ſhillings; in a thane's houſe 60 ſhillings; and in the houſe of an inferior landholder, 30 ſhillings ¶; and theſe mulcts were conſiderably raiſed by a law of Ælfred the Great, which extends ſo far as to declare, that if a man fought, or even drew his ſword in anger within the verge of the king's court **, his life ſhould lie at the king's mercy, but if his life was ſpared, it was to be redeemed by the payment of his full were-gyld or the price his life was rated at according to his rank ††; ſuch alſo as broke the peace in cathedral churches were liable to the

* Wilkins, Leg. Sax. 56.—65.
† Ibid. p. 70.
‡ Ibid. p. 16.
§ Ibid. p. 16.—23.
‖ Ibid. p. 143.
¶ Ibid. p. 22.

** The verge of the court extended 3 miles and a half every way from the houſe in which the king lodged, Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 63.
†† Ibid. p. 36.

ſame

ſame penalties as in the king's court, but, in middling churches, a fine of 120 ſhillings was exacted for the ſame crime; in leſſer churches, which had a burying place belonging to them, 60 ſhillings was thought a ſufficient recompence; and in the ſmaller churches, that had no burying place, the penalty was only 30 ſhillings *. Laws were alſo eſtabliſhed, with ſevere fines, againſt quarrelling and fighting in inns and public houſes †.

Only a general account of the laws to be given.

The laws for puniſhing perſonal injuries, were very numerous, ſo that the narrow limits of this work permit us only to make ſome general obſervations on a few of the moſt intereſting: and firſt,

Laws againſt murder.

By the Anglo-Saxon laws, a certain value was ſet upon every man's head, from the king to the ſlave, according to his rank; and when any man killed another, he was obliged to pay the price that was fixed by the laws, according to the rank of the perſon ſlain, and this mulct was called a man's were, or were-gyld ‡, and made a chief article in the doom book, as may appear from the laws of king Æthelſtan. By theſe laws the extent of each man's were is fixed, and the perſons declared who were to receive it. The were-gyld for the king was 14400 Saxon ſhillings, equal in quantity of ſilver to about 240 pounds, and to 775 pounds ſterling; this mulct was to be divided into two equal parts, one half of which was paid to the relations of the murdered prince, as a compenſation for their loſs, and the other to the public, for the death of their king. The were-gyld of every other perſon, of what rank ſoever, above the ſlaves, was alſo divided, and one half of it paid to the family of the deceaſed, to compenſate for the loſs of their relation, and to appeaſe their reſentment againſt the murderer, and the other half was due to the king, to make amends to him for the loſs of a ſubject §. If a freeman killed his own ſlave, he had nothing to pay but a ſmall fine for breach of the peace, which was received by the king; but if he killed a ſlave belonging to another man, beſides the mulct above-mentioned to the king, he was obliged to pay the value of the ſlave ‖ to his maſter. If a ſlave murdered a freeman, his owner was obliged to pay the were-gyld of the freeman to the king, and to the deceaſed's relations, or put the murderer into their hands; and if a ſlave killed his own maſter, he was always put to death, becauſe having no property, it was impoſſible for him to make compenſation; and if a ſlave killed another ſlave, it lay in the breaſt

* Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 126.

† Ibid. 9.

‡ From ꝑeꝑe, *a man*, and ȝyldan *to yield or pay*.

§ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 72. Here we may obſerve that the portion of the were-gyld that was payed to the king was called frithbote, from ꝑꝛiꝺ, *peace*, and bote, *compenſation*, and that part paid to his family; mægbote from ᵹæᵹ, *kindred*, and bote.—Somner Dictionar. Sax. in voce.

‖ The value of the ſlave was called ᵹanbote, or *man-price*, Du Cange. Gloſſ. in voc.

of his maſter, to puniſh him as he pleaſed. As it was cuſtomary by law for all the near relations of a murdered man to receive a portion of the payment of his were-gyld, ſo alſo it was uſual with them to contribute their ſhare in the payment of theſe mulcts, for any of their relations that had committed any murder; by this means the puniſhment was conſiderably leſſened, and a great part of the burthen taken from the ſhoulders of the guilty perſons; to prevent this, in ſome meaſure, king Eadmund, who reigned from A. D. 941, to A. D. 946, procured the eſtabliſhment of a law, which declared the murderer to be the only object of the reſentment of the injured parties, and excuſed his relations from paying any ſhare of the mulct that was impoſed upon him; but this law not producing the deſired effect, in the reign of king Æthelred the Unready, A. D. 1008, a law was made, declaring, that a murder committed within the walls of a church was inexpiable without the ſpecial permiſſion of the king, which, however, being obtained, excuſed not the murderer from the payment of a mulct to the church for the violation of its protection, as alſo his frithbote to the king, and mægbote to the injured family *. But ſurely theſe laws againſt murder were much too lenitive, eſpecially when we conſider the Anglo-Saxons as a war-like people, impatient of affronts, and ſwift to revenge them; to which may be added, their having almoſt conſtantly their ſwords in their hands, ſo that quarrels muſt too often have proved fatal in this period.

Laws againſt wounding, and their extent

As there were certain prices ſet upon the life of a man, ſo alſo all his limbs were valued by the ſame laws; and maims, bruiſes, or wounds in any part of them, were to be compenſated according to their breadth, length, or depth; theſe prices were formed into a book of rates, which was ordered to be learnt by heart by every judge, before he was admitted into his office †; and when any perſon was convicted of having wounded or maimed another, he was ſentenced from the doom-book to pay to the injured perſon the price there ſettled, more or leſs, according to the dimenſions of the hurt, or the part of the body it was upon ‡; and theſe prices by the law of king Eadmund, were ordered to be paid without the leaſt abatement whatever.

The

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. ut ſup.

† Ibid. p. 5, 6, 7.

‡ For the further ſatisfaction of the reader, a tranſlation here follows of the laws of Ethelbert, firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, which may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the moſt ancient Anglo-Saxon laws. This prince reigned from A. D. 560, to A. D. 616.—The Saxon original, with a Latin tranſlation, may be found in Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 1.—7.

1. Let him that robbeth a church, make compenſation twelve-fold; he that ſtealeth the goods of a biſhop, eleven-fold; of a prieſt, nine-fold; of a deacon, ſix-fold; of a clerk, three-fold; he that violates the peace of a church, ſhall pay two-fold; of a monaſtery, two-fold.

2. When the king calls an aſſembly of his people, and any injury be done to them therein, it ſhall be compenſated two-fold, and 50 ſhillings be paid to the king.

3. If

Laws for the preſervation of the chaſtity of the fair-ſex.

The Anglo-Saxons, like their anceſtors the Germans, ſeem to have been very tenacious of the honour and chaſtity of the fair-ſex, for by the laws of this period, many ſevere pecuniary penalties were inflicted on thoſe who attempted the violation of their honour; and theſe penalties

3. If the king be at an entertainment in another's houſe, and any damage be done there, let it be compenſated nine-fold.

4. If a freeman ſteal the king's goods, let him repay nine-fold.

5. If any man kill another in the king's city, he ſhall pay fifty ſhillings.

6. If any man kill a freeman, he ſhall pay fifty ſhillings to the king for the loſs of his ſubject.

7. If any of the king's ſervants be killed, as his maſter ſmith, or butler, let the murderer pay the cuſtomary price.

8. If the king's patronage be violated, the compenſation ſhall be fifty ſhillings.

9. If one freeman ſteal from another freeman, he ſhall repay three-fold; a mulct ſhall be impoſed, and his goods confiſcated to the king.

10. If a man ſhall violate the chaſtity of the king's maid ſervant, being a virgin, her virginity ſhall be compenſated by fifty ſhillings.

11. If ſhe be the grinding maid, the mulct ſhall be twenty-five ſhillings, and if of the third rank, twelve ſhillings.

12. If ſhe be the king's victualling maid, let the compenſation be twenty ſhillings.

13. Let him that murders a man in the city of an earl, pay twelve ſhillings.

14. If a man debauch a maid, that is cup-bearer to an earl, let her virginity be compenſated with twelve ſhillings.

15. Let the violation of a yeoman's patronage be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

16. If the chaſtity of a maid that is cup-bearer to a yeoman be violated, let the compenſation be ſix ſhillings; that of a yeoman's other maid ſervant, fifty ſcætas; and of thoſe of the third rank, thirty ſcætas.

17. He that firſt breaketh into another man's houſe, ſhall be amerced ſix ſhillings; the ſecond, three ſhillings; and each of the reſt, one ſhilling.

18. Let him be amerced ſix ſhillings, that ſhall lend a man his arms, where there is a quarrel, though no damage be done.

19 Let a robbery be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

20. But if a man be killed, the murderer ſhall compenſate his death with twenty ſhillings.

21. If one man murders another, he ſhall make compenſation for his death with the ordinary mulct of one hundred ſhillings.

22. If a man be killed at an open grave, the murderer ſhall be amerced twenty ſhillings, beſides the ordinary mulct which he muſt pay within forty days.

23. If a murderer eſcape from juſtice, his relations ſhall pay half the ordinary mulct.

24. He that bindeth a freeman, ſhall make compenſation with twenty ſhillings.

25. Let him that killeth the gueſt of a yeoman, compenſate his death with ſix ſhillings.

26. If a landlord murder his chief gueſt, he ſhall compenſate his death with eighty third, ſhillings.

27. If he kills his ſecond gueſt, the compenſation ſhall be ſixty ſhillings, if the forty.

28. If a freeman cut down a hedge, let the compenſation be ſix ſhillings.

29. If a man take any thing kept within a houſe, let him reſtore it three-fold.

30. If a freeman break down a hedge, the compenſation ſhall be four ſhillings.

31. He that hath committed a murder, ſhall make compenſation according to the true valuation in current money.

32. If a freeman commit adultery with a freeman's wife, let him compenſate by buying another wife for the injured freeman.

33. If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him make amends for the ſame.

34. If he pulls him by the hair, let him pay fifty ſcætas.

35. If the bone appear, let a compenſation be made with three ſhillings.

36. If the bone be hurt, let the payment be four ſhillings.

37. If the bone be broke, let the compenſation be ten ſhillings.

38. If both be done, let it be twenty ſhillings.

ties were ſtated from the ſlighteſt indecency, to the rudeſt violence, greater or ſmaller, according to the rank and quality of the abuſed female; the forcible violation of the chaſtity of a nun, was eſteemed a crime as high as murder, and the ſame fine was accordingly inflicted upon

39. If the ſhoulder be lamed, let it be compenſated with twenty ſhillings.

40. If a man be made deaf of an ear, let the compenſation be twenty-five ſhillings.

41. If the ear be cut off, let it be compenſated with twelve ſhillings.

42. If the ear be bored through, the compenſation ſhall be three ſhillings.

43. If the ear be clipped off, let it be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

44. If an eye be ſtruck out, let fifty ſhillings be the compenſation.

45. If the mouth or eye be injured, let the payment of twelve ſhillings make amends.

46. If the noſe be bored through, let the payment be nine ſhillings.

47. If only one membrane be bored through, three ſhillings ſhall be the compenſation.

48. If both, ſix ſhillings.

49. If both noſtrils are ſlit, let the compenſation be ſix ſhillings each.

50. If they be bored, the compenſation ſhall be ſix ſhillings.

51. If any one cut off the chin bone of another, compenſation ſhall be made with twenty ſhillings.

52. For each of the four fore teeth, the compenſation ſhall be ſix ſhillings; for that which ſtands next, four ſhillings; for the next, three ſhillings; for all the reſt, three ſhillings each; if it be an impediment to the ſpeech of the injured party, twelve ſhillings ſhall be the compenſation; and if the jaw be broken, ſix ſhillings.

53. If a man's arm be bruiſed, it ſhall be compenſated with ſix ſhillings; and if it is broke, with ſix ſhillings.

54. Amends for the cutting off a man's thumb, ſhall be twenty ſhillings; for the nail of the thumb, three ſhillings; for the forefinger eight ſhillings; for the midfinger, four ſhillings; for the ring finger, ſix ſhillings; and for the little finger, eleven ſhillings.

55. For each finger nail, one ſhilling.

56. For the leaſt blemiſh, three ſhillings, for greater ones ſix ſhillings.

57. If one ſtrike another a blow on the noſe with his fiſt, he ſhall pay three ſhillings.

58. If the noſe of an injured party be wounded, it ſhall be compenſated with one ſhilling.

59. If a ſtroke given without the cloths be black, the compenſation ſhall be thirty ſcætas; if the ſame be within the cloths, twenty ſcætas.

60. If the diaphragm be wounded, the compenſation ſhall be twelve ſhillings; if it be bored, twenty.

61. If one be made to halt, let the compenſation be thirty ſhillings.

62. If one wound the callous, let thirty ſhillings be the recompence.

63. If a man's privities be cut off, the compenſation ſhall be thrice the ordinary mulct; if it is bored, ſix ſhillings, if cut, ſix ſhillings.

64. If a man's thigh be broke, the recompence ſhall be twelve ſhillings; if it be lamed, the friends ſhall judge the fine.

65. For a broken rib, be the compenſation three ſhillings.

66. If the thigh be pricked, for every prick let ſix ſhillings be paid; if one inch deep, one ſhilling; two inches, two ſhillings; if above two inches, three ſhillings.

67. If a vertebra be wounded, the payment ſhall be three ſhillings.

68. Fifty ſhillings ſhall be paid if the foot be cut off.

69. For a great toe cut off, ten ſhillings.

70. For each of the reſt of the toes, ſhall be paid half price, as is enacted of the fingers.

71. For the nail of the great toe, ſhall be paid thirty ſcætas, and ten for any one of the reſt.

72. If a free woman wearing her hair, do any thing unworthy, let her make amendment by payment of thirty ſhillings.

73. Let the compenſation of a virgin be the ſame as that of a free man.

74. Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family, be compenſated with fifty ſhillings; of the next, with

upon the raviſher, beſides which he was looked upon as unworthy of Chriſtian burial. A rape committed on a perſon under age was puniſhed by mutilating of the criminal, the moſt effectual method of preventing a repetition of the crime*; the laws alſo againſt adultreſſes were very ſevere, eſpecially that made by ordinance of king Cnut, whereby an adultreſs was not only branded with infamy, and forfeited all her goods, but was condemned to have her noſe and lips cut off, that her beauty might no longer be an object of luſtful enticement †.

Offenders ſecured from ſudden violence.

Nor was the Anglo-Saxon legiſlature defective in endeavouring to ſecure offenders from the ſudden paſſion of the injured parties; for as the Saxons were in general people of a fierce and violent diſpoſition, they would be often apt to revenge their own cauſe, as ſeverely as their unruly paſſion dictated; for this reaſon, certain places were appointed as ſanctuaries, whither the offenders flying, were ſure to find protection from the ſudden violence of thoſe they had offended; of this ſort was the king's court, and all churches, where criminals were ſcreened for a time, that they might have an opportunity of making amends for the injuries they had committed ‡; the king and all biſhops had authority by law, to defend all criminals that ſought protection of them during nine days, and abbots and aldermen had the power of ſcreening them three days, at the end of which ſpace, if proper ſatisfaction was not made, the offending party was delivered up to juſtice, and puniſhed according to the nature of the crime §.

Laws againſt Calumny.

A good name was abſolutely neceſſary among the Anglo-Saxons, for without it no man could be admitted into the tythings or dece-

with twenty; of the third, by twelve; and of the fourth, with ſix.

75. If a widow be married, who is not at her own diſpoſal, the huſband ſhall make double compenſation for the violated patronage.

76. If a man buy a maid with his money, let her ſtand for bought, if there be no fraud in the bargain, if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaſe money reſtored to him again.

77. If ſhe bear any live iſſue, let her have half her huſband's goods, if ſhe outlive him.

78. If ſhe be deſirous to depart with her children, let half his eſtate be hers.

79. If the huſband will not part with his goods, he muſt keep his children.

80. If they have no iſſue, her relations ſhall have her goods and dowry.

81. If a man raviſh a maid, fifty ſhillings ſhall be paid to her firſt maſter, and after he may redeem her at his pleaſure.

82. If ſhe was before betrothed to another, a recompence muſt be made of twenty ſhillings.

83. If ſhe be with child, the offender ſhall pay thirty-five ſhillings, and fifteen to the King.

84. If a man commit adultery with the wife of a ſervant, the huſband yet living, let him make double recompence.

85. If a ſlave kill another ſlave, being innocent, let him recompence his death with all his ſubſtance.

86. If a ſervant's eye and foot be ſtruck off, it muſt be compenſated.

87. If one man bind another man's ſervant, he ſhall pay ſix ſhillings.

88. If a man rob a ſervant, he ſhall pay three ſhillings.

89. If a ſervant ſteal any thing, he ſhall make double reſtoration.

* Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. 40. 72.
† Ibid. 142.
‡ Ibid. p. 15. 37, &c.
§ Ibid. p. 63.

naries,

naries, but was eſteemed a vagabond, and unworthy of the protection of the laws. It was therefore, that in the Anglo-Saxon laws, detraction, and calumny, was thought a crime more atrocious than robbery. By one of the laws of Lothair, king of Kent, who reigned from A. D. 673, to A. D. 685, a calumniator was ſentenced to pay one ſhilling to the maſter of the houſe where he uttered his defamations, ſix ſhillings to the perſon whoſe character he injured, and twelve ſhillings to the king *. But Eadger the Peaceable, who reigned upwards of two centuries and a half after, made a law much ſeverer againſt detractors, by which they were ſentenced to have their tongue cut out, or elſe to redeem it by the payment of their full weregyld, or the price of their life, and this law was afterwards confirmed by Cnut the Dane †.

Other laws.

Beſides what has already been mentioned, idolatry, ſorcery, witchcraft, perjury, forgery, coining, and high treaſon, with various other crimes, were obnoxious to ſevere penalties, but of theſe alſo the greater part were pecuniary ‡.

Proceedings in courts of juſtice.

In matters where the truth could not eaſily be diſcovered, oaths and ſolemn appeals to heaven became frequent, and in all cauſes both civil and criminal, each party appeared in the court of juſtice, attended by a great number of witneſſes, ready to ſwear in favour of the party they came to ſupport. The accuſed was himſelf firſt obliged to take oath that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and then produce a certain number of perſons called compurgators, who were to declare upon oath that they believed him to be innocent. Theſe compurgators were ordered by law to be perſons of unblemiſhed character and credit, and near neighbours, or the relations of the perſons accuſed; their number was not always the ſame, for in ſome caſes two or three were thought ſufficient, but in others a greater number, even forty or fifty, or ſometimes a hundred, though twelve or twenty-four were the moſt common numbers. If the accuſed was a female, the compurgators were alſo of the ſame ſex, but in no other caſe. If the criminal produced the number of compurgators required by law, and they all took oath that they believed him innocent, he was acquitted; but if he could not bring before the court a ſufficient number, or in caſe any one of them refuſed to ſwear, he was ſentenced as guilty §.

Beſides

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 9.

† Ibid. p. 78. 136.

‡ Coiners of baſe money, indeed, were ſentenced to loſe their right hand, and traytors againſt the nation were put to death, becauſe no amends could be made to a whole people for ſo dangerous and capital offence. Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 59. 103.

§ Theſe compurgators are thought by many learned men to have been (ſays a modern author) "the genuine predeceſſors of the jurors, or jurymen of later times; but (adds he) this opinion is liable to many objections: and any reader who attentively conſiders the deſcription of the compurgators, as given above, will perceive

Beſides the compurgators, a vaſt number of witneſſes were uſually examined upon oath, and the oath they took differed greatly from that adminiſtered to the compurgators; for the latter only ſwore that they believed the perſon to be innocent, whilſt the former ſwore they were certain of the truth of the matters which they related. Witneſſes.

Oaths were moſt commonly taken in a church; for which reaſon it was uſual to hold a court of juſtice as near to ſome place of worſhip as was convenient. The perſon to whom the oath was adminiſtered laid his right hand upon the altar, or on the holy goſpels, or upon the relics of the ſaints *. Warriors, and military men, would often ſwear upon their ſwords, and other arms, when an oath was required from them upon any emergency. Nor was the oath of every perſon eſteemed equal by our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors; on the contrary, every man's oath obtained ſo much weight and influence in a court of juſtice according to his rank. As for example, the oath of a Thane was of equal weight with the oaths of ſix Ceorls †. Beſides oaths, other ſolemn appeals to heaven were practiſed amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, which were ordeals, or trials, in which it was imagined that the hand of God would be directly interpoſed to clear the innocent from falſe accuſation, or condemn the guilty. Oaths how taken, and their weight.

There were many different ſorts of Ordeals uſed in England by the Saxons at this period, of which the chief ſeemed to have been the ſix following: Judicial combat; the Ordeal of the Croſs; the Ordeal of the Corſned; the Ordeal of Cold Water; the Ordeal of Hot Water; the Ordeal of Hot Iron. Ordeals.

Judicial combat was, when the accuſed and the defendant were brought into the field, and fought with each other; the conqueror gained the cauſe, and the vanquiſhed party was condemned. This method of trial was very common with the ancient Germans, as being well adapted to the genius and ſpirit of thoſe warlike people; and it is very certain that it was retained by the Anglo-Saxons, but ſeems not to have been ſo often practiſed as thoſe which follow. Judicial combat.

When a criminal appealed to the Ordeal of the Croſs, two ſticks were prepared of an exact ſize and form; on one of them was made the figure of a croſs, and the other was left quite plain: each of them was wrapped up in a quantity of fine wool, and laid upon the altar, or elſe upon the relics of ſome famous ſaint; and after prayers, compoſed for that purpoſe, being ſaid, the prieſt approached the altar, and made choice of one of the ſticks, which, if it proved to be that mark- Ordeal of the Croſs.

ceive they were different, in many reſpects, from our modern juries. They ſeem to bear a greater reſemblance to thoſe witneſſes who do not pretend to know any thing of the fact in queſtion, but are brought to ſpeak to the character of the perſon upon trial." Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. 2. p. 301.--- & vide Spelman Gloſſ. in voc. *Jurata*, et Selden. Janus Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 4. &c.

* Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 12. No man might take an oath, but who was perfectly ſober, and even faſting, Du Cange, p. 1607.

† Wilkins, p. 64.

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ed with the croſs, the priſoner was acquitted; but, on the contrary, if it was the plain ſtick, he was inſtantly condemned *. In civil cauſes, the Ordeal of the Croſs was otherwiſe conducted; for then two repreſentatives were found, one for the plaintive, the other for the defendant, who were both obliged to ſtand, during the celebration of divine ſervice, with their arms extended at full length ſo as to form a croſs with their bodies, and he, whoſe repreſentative firſt dropped his arms, loſt his cauſe †.

Ordeal of the Corſned.

The Ordeal of the corſned, or conſecrated bread, was commonly that to which the clergy themſelves appealed when they lay under any accuſation ‡; and it was thus performed: A piece of barley bread, and a piece of cheeſe were laid upon the altar, which were bleſſed by the prieſt, who pronounced a certain prayer and adjuration upon them, begging that the angel Gabriel might be ſent from heaven to prevent the accuſed from ſwallowing the bread and cheeſe, if he was guilty. Prayers being ended, the criminal going to the altar, took the bread and cheeſe, and began to eat, which if he did, without any impediment, he was pronounced not guilty; but, if he could not eaſily ſwallow it, he was condemned as guilty §.

Ordeal of the Cold Water.

When any perſon appealed to the Ordeal of Cold Water, they were put under the direction of a prieſt, who enjoined them three days faſting, which being ended, and the day being come for trial, the culprit was led into the church, where maſs was performed; but before the criminal was permitted to communicate, the prieſt ſaid to him, as follows: "I conjure you, O man! in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; by the Chriſtian religion which you profeſs; by Jeſus, the only begotten Son of God; by the Holy Trinity; by the holy goſpels, and by all the holy relics of the church, that you preſume not to draw near to the altar, or to receive the communion, if you are guilty of this crime whereof you are accuſed; or, if you have conſented to it; or, know by whom it was committed." If he ſtill declared his innocence, he then had the ſacrament given to him, with theſe words: "Let the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be received by you as a probation this day." This being performed, the priſoner was led to the pool where the trial was to be made in proceſſion, and when he was come thither, a cup of holy water was given him; the prieſt, at the ſame time, praying that "it might alſo be a probation to him that day." Prayers then were made over the pool, and the priſoner ſtripped naked, and bound hand and foot; a rope was next bound round his middle, with a knot upon it at half a yard diſtance, and he was then thruſt into the pool: if he ſunk ſo deep as to pull the knot under water, he was inſtantly drawn out, and declared innocent; but if he ſwam at top, (which caſe we may well conclude rarely happened) he was pronounced guilty ||.

* Spelman Gloſſ. voc. Crucis judicium.
† Murator Antiq. vol. 3.
‡ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 128.
§ Murator, ut ſup.
|| Ibid.

If

If a criminal appealed to the Ordeal of Hot Water, much the ſame ceremonies were uſed as thoſe above deſcribed. When he had communicated, and ſtill declared his innocence, a fire was kindled under the pot in which the water was contained for the trial, and, whilſt it was heating, the prieſt uttered many prayers; and, as ſoon as it began to boil, a ſtone was ſuſpended in the middle of it by a ſtring, and was let down into the water the depth of one or two palms or more, according to the nature of the accuſation. The pot was then taken off the fire, and ſet before it. The priſoner was afterwards to ſay the Lord's Prayer, which being done, and having ſigned himſelf with the figure of the croſs, he thruſt his naked hand and arm into the water, and took forth the ſtone. His arm was then inſtantly wrapped up in linen cloths, and put into a bag, ſealed before the ſpectators, and the priſoner was then committed to the care of the prieſt. Three days after the trial, the priſoner was again produced, when the bag, being unſealed, and the cloths taken off, the arm was examined by four and twenty perſons, twelve of them the friends of the accuſed, and the other twelve, the friends of the proſecutor; then, if the leaſt mark or appearance of ſcalding was viſible, the culprit was condemned; if not, he was honourably acquitted *. Ordeal of Hot Water.

The other Ordeal of Hot Iron was of two kinds, performed either with a ball of iron, or plough-ſhares. The firſt was as follows: a ball of iron was prepared, lighter or heavier, according to the nature of the crime of which the criminal was accuſed †; and, on the appointed day, when all the previous prayers and ceremonies were concluded, the ball, being made red hot, was taken out of the fire. The priſoner having meaſured the diſtance of nine of his own feet, was allowed to ſtand with the toe of one of his feet touching one of the marks; the other ſtretched out as far as poſſible towards the other mark. Then ſeveral prayers were made, and a cup of holy water was given to the culprit, who drank it, and had his hand alſo ſprinkled over with the ſame; then ſigning himſelf with the ſign of the croſs, he took the ball of iron into his hand, and carried it to the end of the further mark. His hand was then inſtantly wrapped up, and three days after examined in the ſame manner, as above-mentioned, before 24 witneſſes: if any marks of burning appeared, he was condemned; if not acquitted ‡. The other method was to blind the criminal, and make him paſs over nine plough-ſhares heated red hot, and placed at unequal diſtances: if he performed this, without touching any one of the plough-ſhares, he was pronounced innocent; and, if not, adjudged guilty. The Ordeal of Iron.

* Du Cange Gloſſ.
† Ibid. tom. 3. p. 399---400.
‡ Of one, two, or three pounds, according to the numbers of articles exhibited againſt him.---Carte's General Hiſt. of England, p. 368.

Laws relative to marriage.

deal of Hot Iron is thought to have been uſually put in practice on perſons only of high rank and quality *.

Before we conclude this ſubject, we will briefly examine a few other laws. And, firſt, thoſe relative to marriage. A woman, from the hour of her birth to the day of her death, was under the protection or guardianſhip of ſome one man or other, without whoſe conſent ſhe could not legally execute any deed. The guardianſhip was called Mund, and the guardian himſelf Mundbora, and whoſe right could not be forfeited unleſs by his own conſent. Fathers were the guardians of their unmarried female children. After the death of the father, the brother ſupplied his place; and, on his deceaſe, the neareſt male relation. In caſe no male relation was left, all unmarried women were conſidered as under the immediate guardianſhip of the king himſelf. Before a man could marry a young lady, it was neceſſary for him to obtain the conſent of the Mundbora, which was uſually done by paying him a certain ſum of money, more or leſs, according to the rank of the lady †; and if any man married a woman, without having firſt obtained the conſent of the Mundbora, he was not only liable to a ſevere penalty for being guilty of the crime of Mundbreach, as it was termed, but he obtained no legal authority over his wife, or her goods, that authority ſtill remaining with the guardian, who could not be deprived of it without his own conſent; but, at the ſame time, the demand of the guardians were limitted by law, according to the rank and wealth of the lady. A widow was only eſtimated at half the price that was fixed upon a maiden lady of the ſame rank. The conſent of the guardian being obtained, the lovers were ſolemnly contracted, and a friend of the intended bridegroom became ſurety on his behalf that he ſhould treat the lady well, and maintain her agreeable to her rank ‡; and, on the making this contract, the dowry was ſettled by the huſband. All the friends of either party were uſually invited to the marriage, and made ſome preſent or other to the new married couple, particularly the father, brother, or guardian, whoſe preſents generally conſiſted of arms, or furniture, cattle, money, or the like, according to his abilities §, and this was all the fortune the huſband received with his wife. The preſence of the Mundbora alſo was neceſſary at the time of marriage, who delivered the bride to the bridegroom, declaring that he gave her to be his wife, to keep his keys, and to ſhare with him the honours of his bed and board, in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; and then the nuptial

* Du Cange Gloſſ.

† This preſent or payment, was called *Mede*, or *Price*; and, in the barbarous Latin of the middle ages, *Metha*, or *Methum*, which gave occaſion of its being ſaid that in thoſe days men bought their wives. Murator, vol. 2. p. 113, 114.

‡ Spelman Concil. p. 425.

§ This preſent was called *Fadermium*, or *Father's Gift*. Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

bleſſing

bleſſing was pronounced by the prieſt. Beſides the dowry, which the huſband had already made to his wife, the morning after the marriage it was uſual for him to make her ſome valuable preſent *, which was perfectly at her own diſpoſal. There ſeems anciently to have been no poſſibility of ſeparation between man and wife, but by death, or in caſe the wife was found guilty of adultery: but, towards the latter end of this period, voluntary ſeparations, and even divorces, by degrees, became frequent, eſpecially amongſt the nobility; and the great merit that the monks made concerning the vows of chaſtity contributed not a little to the encouragement of ſuch ſeparations. Indeed, by the common law, if either party made a vow of chaſtity, the other could not prevent a ſeparation, nor even marry another perſon. The huſband, after marriage, became the guardian, lord, and protector of the wife; he might diſpoſe of her goods, and was the governor of all the iſſue of the marriage, whoſe conduct he might regulate, and correct their faults. He alſo had the ſole power of diſpoſing of his daughters in marriage, and might even ſell, either his ſons or daughters, into ſlavery, provided it was done to relieve his immediate neceſſities.

Rules of ſucceſſion.

When a father died, and left children behind him, they became his heirs. If they were all ſons, it has been thought, that the poſſeſſions of the parent were equally divided amongſt them, and that the ſame method was purſued, if, on the contrary, they were all of them females; but whether, when they conſiſted of boys and girls, any diſtinction was made, or what was the extent of ſuch diſtinctions, cannot be known. When a man died without any children, the eſtate deſcended to the next neareſt relations; and, if no relations laid claim to it, it became the property of the king †.

Succeſſion of the crown.

Concerning the crown itſelf, in the beginning of the Heptarchy, it deſcended regularly from the father to the eldeſt ſon, as may be eaſily perceived by examining the records of that period; but, by degrees, the regularity of the ſucceſſion was violated, and brothers, of a warlike diſpoſition, ſupplanted their infant nephews. After the order was once broken through, the breach, by degrees, was made ſtill wider, and princes of the royal blood, at a diſtance from the throne, were frequently preferred to thoſe that were nearer, and had a better title, if they appeared more capable of ſupporting the royal dignity, or, indeed, if they were more powerful: and, in ſome caſes, the matter was carried to ſuch a length, that the crown fell a prey to tyrants and uſurpers, who were not of the blood royal. After the union of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the regular ſucceſſion continued to be broken; and even Ælfred, the greateſt of our Anglo-Saxon monarchs,

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 144. This preſent was called, Morgengife, or *Morning Gift*.

† Legis Saxonicæ.

mounted the throne which belonged to his young nephews; but the troubles and immediate danger of the nation, at that time, may ſufficiently juſtify the proceeding. The like happened afterwards; but the daring uſurpation of Harold, earl of Kent, is the moſt extraordinary. The laſt wills of deceaſed monarchs had frequently great weight in the appointment of the ſucceſſor; though ſuch wills were never regarded as valid, or of any binding authority to the kingdom, unleſs they were farther confirmed by the approbation of the Wittenagemot, or great aſſembly of the people*.

Conveyances of eſtates.

The conveyance of eſtates by will was firſt practiſed by the Anglo-Saxon kings, and other great men, in order to provide for their youngeſt children or relations, or to enrich the church for the good of their ſouls. But this cuſtom ſoon gained ſuch ground among the commoner ſort of people, that Ælfred found it neceſſary to make a law forbidding any perſon to alienate an eſtate which had deſcended to him from his natural heirs, if the firſt proprietor or purchaſer had directed, by writing, or before creditable witneſſes, that ſuch eſtates ſhould remain in the family †. But, ſoon after, ignorance and ſuperſtition among the people, and avarice among the clergy, prevailed ſo much, that entails, and all legal reſtraints, were removed; and a man was permitted to leave as much as he pleaſed to the church, though his family was thereby brought to beggary and diſtreſs.

Laws relative to compacts, &c.

The Anglo-Saxons had a variety of laws relative to the making of contracts; the ſecurity of real and perſonal eſtates; for recovering juſt debts, and eſtabliſhing a mutual confidence in each other, and for the preſervation of peace and good order. Before the introduction of writing, all compacts were made in the preſence of a magiſtrate, or in the Hundred Court, that in caſe any diſpute ſhould afterwards ariſe, unexceptionable witneſſes might be produced ‡; and, on the introduction of writing, in any conſiderable tranſactions, to prevent miſtakes in terms and conditions, they were ſometimes written upon the blank leaf of the church bible, which was always accounted a ſufficient and authentic record §. The laws againſt inſolvent debtors were very ſevere; for the creditors were empowered not only to ſtrip them of every thing that they had, but to impriſon their perſons, and even reduce them to ſlavery ‖.

* "Thus we are told," (ſays Squire) "by king Ælfred himſelf, that he, as well as his father before him, had read their laſt teſtament to a general aſſembly, knowing well enough, that however they might diſpoſe of the kingdom, their wills could not be duly executed without the general aſſent and conſent firſt obtained. Squire on the Eng. Conſtitut. p. 203.

† Leges Ælfredi, cap. 37. Wilkins & Lamborde.

‡ Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 3.

§ Ibid. p. 22, 23.

‖ Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. &c.

Such

Such is the general idea of the government and laws of our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, which may juſtly be eſteemed as the great foundation of our preſent more perfect conſtitution—and that liberty we have ſo long happily enjoyed. Concluſion of the chapter.

CHAP. II.

State of architecture amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, from the acceſſion of Egbert to the arrival of William the Conqueror, A. D. 1066.

IT evidently appears from our ancient hiſtorians that the Anglo-Saxons, particularly in the eighth and ninth centuries, did not attend to the building caſtles, or the fortifying their great towns, with ſo much aſſiduity, as was neceſſary for the public ſafety. And their neglect in theſe important particulars, are circumſtances that greatly facilitated the incurſions of the Danes. Indeed, Ælfred the Great ſeems to have been the firſt monarch who took the matter into ſerious conſideration; for after he had in a great meaſure ſubdued the Danes, in order to prevent if poſſible their future attacks, he ſpent great part of his time, and his meaſures, in repairing the ruined walls of the great towns, and building ſtrong caſtles and places of defence in the moſt advantageous ſituations *. After the death of Ælfred, his ſon Edward cloſely imitated his example, and repaired many places that had been ruined by the Danes, made new fortifications, and built ſeveral very ſtrong caſtles. Æthelfleda, governeſs of Mercia, Edward's martial ſiſter, not only led the people whom ſhe governed perſonally to the field of battle, but alſo erected many caſtles and places of defence for the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, by which means ſhe ſo much over-awed the neighbouring Danes, that they ſubmitted themſelves to her, and many of them voluntarily became her ſubjects. From this period the building and re- The Saxons neglected to build caſtles.

* The idleneſs and ignorance of the infatuated people, hindered not a little the progreſs of this material buſineſs, as we may learn from the mouth of Aſſerius, who after taking notice of the cities that Ælfred repaired, the royal forts and caſtles that he built with ſtone and wood, with admirable art, he proceeds to inform us, that notwithſtanding the example of this good prince, and all his perſuaſions, intreaties, and threatnings, the nobility and officers were remiſs in their duty, and backward in the building of forts, and repairing places of defence, (which were frequently quite neglected, or begun in ſuch unſeaſonable times, that they were deſtroyed by the enemy, before they were compleated) nor would they be perſuaded of the unreaſonableneſs of their indolence, till the loſs of their parents, their wives, families, friends and eſtates, all which were deſtroyed by the barbarous enemy, convinced them of their fault, and made them applaud the council of their prince. Aſſer. vit. Ælfredi.

repairing

pairing of caſtles for the national defence, became an object of public attention, and one of the three ſervices to which all the landholders of the kingdom became ſubject *.

Earth-works of Saxon caſtles.

In the former volume is given a ſhort account of the remaining earth-works of Tong Caſtle in Kent, accompanied with two copper-plates, one of them containing the plan, and the other a perſpective view of that caſtle †. This venerable fortification was built either by Hengiſt himſelf, or his immediate deſcendants, and conſiſts, as we there ſee, of a large circular hill, flat at the top, (upon which the caſtle itſelf was erected) and ſurrounded with a broad deep ditch, which is again encircled with a ſtrong external bank or vallum; ſuch was the conſtant form of the ground-work of the Saxon caſtles, or at leaſt, if it was varied, the difference was not material or intended, but evidently occaſioned by the nature of the place, where the caſtle was conſtructed. At Witham and at Malden, two towns in Eſſex, are alſo to this day to be ſeen, the ground-works of two famous Saxon Caſtles, both thought to have been built by Edward the elder, but that the former was, we are poſitively aſſured by the Saxon Chronicle, which informs us that it was built A. D. 913, the king himſelf and his army mean-while lying at Malden, which is barely ſix miles off. Theſe two fortifications correſpond exactly with that of Tong, above deſcribed, conſiſting only of one large flat hill, ſurrounded by a broad deep ditch and an external vallum ‡. Thoſe authors appear to me to be very much miſtaken, who attribute the double fortification of a keep and baſe court § to the Saxons; ſuch fortifications are of Norman original, and one chief reaſon for this ſuppoſition is, that the keep is never to be found but in ſuch places as the Normans are expreſsly ſaid to have built. It may indeed be argued, that they frequently took poſſeſſion of the Saxon caſtles, and dwelt in them; and that they did, will not be doubted, but it is as certain that whenever they did ſo, they altered the mode of fortification, and added a keep to the Saxon baſe court, in order to make it compleat, which is conſtantly to be found in all the fortifications wherein the Normans reſided.

* In the life of Edward the elder, pag. 41. of this vol.

† Vol. I. of this Chron. plates XII and XIII, and pag. 317, 318, &c.

‡ Theſe two entrenchments are repreſented in a work called Þoþda Ænzelcynnan, or a View of the Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the Engliſh, and a full deſcription of them, with their menſurations, vol. I. page 24, 25.

§ The keep, is a high hill, raiſed at one end of the fortification, higher than the area of the caſtle, which is thence called the baſe or lower court. This keep was firſt added by the Normans to the low flat hill or baſe court of the Saxons, This matter is fully diſcuſſed and explained in the work laſt quoted, vol. I. pag. 91, 92. with views of the different ſorts of fortification given on the plates.

Great

No great variations between the Saxon and Daniſh entrenchments.

Great pains have been taken, in order to trace out, if poſſible, ſome ſure criterion, by which the Saxon and Daniſh entrenchments might be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and on the examination of the two encampments given in the former volume, the one of king Ælfred, and the other of Haſting the Dane, it was hoped that it might eaſily have been done, becauſe the former was of a circular form, a little inclining to the oval, and the latter an oblong ſquare, with the corners gently rounded; this obſervation naturally led to further reſearches, and as Haſting, beſides the preſent temporary camp, is ſaid poſitively to have built a ſtrong caſtle at Bemflet, in Eſſex, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary to examine that, and ſee how far it correſponded with this camp. But the earth works of that fortification, which yet remain in a pretty perfect ſtate, were found to differ from the above-mentioned camp, and agree exactly with thoſe of the Saxons deſcribed before. This circumſtance will render it exceedingly difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, to fix any certain rules for diſtinguiſhing the Saxon and Daniſh fortifications, where we cannot call in the aſſiſtance of hiſtory to our aid; perhaps all the entrenchments that are found, like that before deſcribed of Haſting, the Dane, either ſquare, or an oblong ſquare, may with great reaſon be called Daniſh, becauſe we find none abſolutely Saxon that are of thoſe forms; but then on the other hand it muſt be owned, it cannot poſitively be affirmed, that all thoſe that are circular or oval, like that of Ælfred, are always Saxon, and not of Daniſh conſtruction; for as theſe two people differed from each other ſo little in their original manners, it is not at all ſurprizing, that they ſhould both follow the ſame, or nearly the ſame modes of fortifications, and make war upon the ſame plan.

Superſtructure of the Saxon caſtles conſidered.

Having ſeen the earth-works of the caſtles of the Anglo-Saxons, we may next enquire concerning the nature and form of the ſuperſtructure, which conſiſted of high thick walls on the outſide, flanked with baſtions, and ſtrong towers at the corners; the external form of the caſtles was varied according to the nature of their ſituation, or the will of the builder. The caſtle was alſo ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall, doubtleſs fortified with towers and baſtions, erected upon the external vallum, which encloſed the broad deep ditch, over which it was neceſſary for the enemy to paſs, before they could come to the caſtle itſelf, and the communication between the outer gate of the external wall, and the gate of the caſtle, was either by means of a draw-bridge, or elſe a ſtrong covered way, which conſiſted of a narrow paſſage, cloſely guarded; the caſtle had but few windows on the outſide, and thoſe very ſmall, through which they could diſcharge their darts and other offenſive weapons at the enemy *.

* See the account of Colcheſter caſtle in the work above quoted, vol. I. p. 26.

In

Towns how fortified.

In the days of the heptarchy, large towns were frequently void of any other fortification, than a large bank that ran round them, and planks of wood of great thickneſs erected thereon, in the manner of a paliſade. But principal cities were afterwards by degrees made more ſtrong, and encircled with walls of ſtone; this prudent regulation, as we have before obſerved, went but ſlowly on, until Ælfred the Great, and his ſon Edward the Elder, encouraged the purſuance of it by their advice and examples. Then the cities and large towns were encloſed within ſtrong walls of ſtone, having baſtions and towers at convenient diſtances from each other, the better to defend them *.

Manner of beſieging ſtrong places.

The general method of attacking fortified places amongſt either the Saxons, or the Danes, ſeems to have been by aſſault, and if they could not quickly prevail, it was common for them to raiſe the ſiege and depart, revenging themſelves upon the bordering countries. The idea of ſurrounding a garriſon, and cutting off all the communication between it and the country, in order to oblige the beſieged to ſurrender for want of food, ſeems firſt to have been practiſed by king Ælfred, and was afterwards followed, though not very often, by the Danes as well as the Saxons. However, if a garriſon was well victualled, and held out a conſiderable time, their impatience ſeldom permitted them to continue long enough to reduce it.

Decline of the art of architecture and its revival.

We meet with many accounts of grand and noble edifices being erected by the Anglo-Saxons, not only after the union of the heptarchy, but even long before, ſome account of which we have already ſeen; and architecture was without doubt riſing to a conſiderable heighth at the time of the commencement of the united monarchy, but from the dreadful devaſtations occaſioned by the Danes in the ſucceeding times, the moſt beautiful edifices were deſtroyed, and this art much neglected; ſo that in the days of Ælfred the Great, ſtone buildings were very rare, not only from the want of time to erect them, but alſo of artiſts ſkilful enough to undertake the performance: ſo that when that great prince formed the deſign of rebuilding the ruined cities, churches and monaſteries, he was obliged to ſend into foreign countries for artiſts, and numbers that excelled in the various branches of the mechanic arts from ſeveral different nations, came readily to his aſſiſtance; theſe were uſually all overlooked by the king himſelf, who was the beſt architect of his age †. Many of the buildings erected by him were ſuch as in thoſe times were called magnificent, and were viewed with the greateſt admiration. Some idea of the mode of building may be

* To expreſs this in the words of Malmſbury, who mentions Edward the Elder's repairing Exeter, ſays, "Urbem igitur illam, quam contaminata, gentis repurgis defæcaverat *turribus* munivit, muro ex *quadratis lapidibus* cinxit."—Malmſ. in vit. Edwardi.

† This building, together with a view of the church itſelf, is given by Hearne in his preface to Leland's Collect. vol. I. together with a plan and full deſcription of every part of it.

formed

formed from an examination of the ancient church of St. Peter, at Oxford, if we can ſuppoſe (as indeed there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt it) that the vault on which the preſent chancel ſtands is the original building that was compleated under the direction of Grimbald, a monk of Reims, who came to the court of king Ælfred to aſſiſt him in reviving the ſtudy of letters amongſt his ſubjects. This building is low, and arched over, the arches are ſupported by two rows of columns, ſhort, thick, and exceedingly heavy, and on four of the capitals of columns that front the weſt, are rude ſculptures of foliage, and ſome attempts to repreſent figures by way of ornament *; the windows are but few and very ſmall, ſo that, according to the preſent taſte of building, it wears but an unfavourable aſpect, and perhaps we may in general conclude, that the moſt eſteemed Saxon edifices were ſuch as would now be called low, gloomy, irregular and heavy.

The arches of the Anglo-Saxon buildings were always ſemi-circular, the architecture plain and ſimple, the ornaments few, and thoſe chiefly conſiſting of foliage and branches, interwoven with birds, or beaſts, or elſe rude ſculptures repreſenting ſome church hiſtory, or the actions of a particular ſaint. Such arches as compoſed the doors and windows of the Saxon edifices, ſeem to have had no other ornament whatever, than a variety of cornices, which were more or leſs numerous, as the architect thought neceſſary; and theſe are all the ornaments we find them charged with, in ſuch of the remaining ruins of that age, as ſtill bear the marks of their original purity; the ſame alſo are all thoſe that are found in the various Saxon manuſcript delineations †. The arches of the Saxon buildings, round.

The devaſtations occaſioned by the frequent incurſions of the Danes, put ſo great a ſtop to the progreſs of architecture, that though it was again revived by Ælfred, and purſued by his ſon and ſome of the immediate ſucceſſors, yet it does not ſeem to have been in ſo flouriſhing a condition as it might have been before the Daniſh invaſions; for even in the days of Eadgar the Peaceable, who reigned from A. D. 959, to A. D. 975, many of the monaſteries and large churches in England, were mean wooden ſtructures; and indeed ſome of them had no other covering than thatch ‡. Whilſt the magnificence and beauty of the more conſequential buildings were ſo much affected by the miſeries which the Danes occaſioned, we may depend upon it that the private houſes of the nobility, and thoſe of the common people, were alſo proportionably rude and inelegant; and of this our ancient hiſtorians ſeem to have agreed, declaring, that the Anglo-Saxon This art declines again.

* Aſſerius vit. Ælfredi.

† See vol. II. pag. 2. of the Þoþda Anzel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

‡ This prince himſelf at his acceſſion to the throne, obſerved that all the monaſteries in England were in a ruinous condition, and conſiſted only of rotten boards. W. Malmſb. lib. 2.

nobility had no great taſte for magnificent buildings, but uſually dwelt in ſmall and inconvenient houſes *.

Domeſtic buildings of the Saxons.

Unhappily, few or no remains of Saxon architecture, eſpecially of the palaces and private houſes, are to be met with in the kingdom, ſo that very little can be ſaid reſpecting their form and extent. In order, if poſſible, to throw ſome light upon this matter, the buildings repreſented upon ſome of the plates of this volume, are ſuch as occur in Saxon manuſcripts, and might moſt likely bear ſome reſemblance to thoſe they inhabited †. If theſe can be depended upon (as there ſeems no reaſon to the contrary) we ſhall find them irregular, inelegant, and to all appearance inconvenient; the windows in general are ſmall and long, and very few in number, which was owing to the want of ſkill in manufacturing of glaſs, for though this art had been introduced into Britain as early as the ſeventh century, yet it was afterwards ſo neglected, that very few or no private houſes had glaſs windows till the end of this period ‡.

Materials uſed by the Saxons.

The materials which the Anglo-Saxons uſed in their buildings, during the time of the heptarchy, were briefly mentioned in the foregoing volume; and, during the preſent period, eſpecially in their fortifications, and moſt magnificent buildings, the ſame materials might continue in uſe: but that their domeſtic buildings were chiefly conſtructed with wood, we may be well aſſured, and without doubt thoſe of the more middling claſs of life were only framed with timber, and the ſides covered by weather boards, or elſe with walls made with lath and plaiſter, which they underſtood how to beautify before this time; for in the days of the heptarchy, when biſhop Wilfrid repaired the cathedral of York, he cauſed the walls to be white-waſhed with lime §.

Carpenters art better underſtood than maſonry.

Though, from the ſcarcity of ſtone buildings, it is likely at this period that maſonry was not arrived at full perfection, yet from the multiplicity of wooden ſtructures, it is certain that the carpenters and joiners art muſt have been well underſtood; and, it can be made appear, that there were many who excelled in theſe important branches of architecture. This indeed is poſitively affirmed by ſeveral authors, who were eye-witneſſes to their ſkill. Egelric, the ſucceſſor of Turketull, in the abbey of Croyland, made great additions to the building there, adding many beautiful edifices, as they were then called, which were conſtructed of beams of wood moſt exactly joined together, and highly poliſhed by the admirable art of the carpenter ‖.

* Malmſb. lib. 3. Roſſii.

† See plates III. V. XVIII. and XIX. All the buildings repreſented upon theſe plates are particularly deſcribed in the Appendix, where the account of the plates is given, and the MSS. mentioned from whence they are taken.

‡ Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. II. p. 395.

§ Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. lib. 2.

‖ Ingulf Hiſt. Croyland.

The

The roofs of palaces, cathedral churches, and large monaſteries, as well perhaps as thoſe belonging to the houſes of the greateſt nobility, were covered either with ſheets of lead, or ſhingles, or elſe ſlates, which latter appear to be moſt common in the ancient delineations; and, in general, the ſlates are cut rounding at the bottom, and laid one over the other, ſo that they ſomewhat reſemble the ſcales of a fiſh *. As the commoner ſort of people could not purchaſe ſuch expenſive coverings, they were obliged to be content with thatch.

Coverings of the Anglo-Saxon buildings.

CHAP. III.

Art of War and Military Diſcipline of the Anglo-Saxons.

WE have already ſeen, in the preceding volume, the ancient habits of the Anglo-Saxon ſoldiers: we ſhall now make ſome more particular enquiries into their methods of making war, and their military arrangement in battle. But it may not be impertinent, in the firſt place, to examine the manner in which they raiſed troops; who were qualified to bear arms; and who were the commanding officers according to the law.

Enquiry into the military diſcipline of the Anglo Saxons.

Every one of thoſe valiant followers of Hengiſt, and the other Saxon chiefs, who ſettled in Britain, upon their having ſubdued the natives, received each his ſhare of the conquered land, which became his own and ſole property, and ſubject to no kind of ſervices whatever, but what the public ſafety abſolutely required †. The firſt and chief thing required of him was, that he ſhould attend perſonally and aſſiſt in the wars for the public defence; but if he refuſed to obey this requiſite duty, he forfeited his eſtate, and became an object of contempt: ſo that in caſe of an invaſion from the foreign enemy, or when the great council propoſed any military expedition for the public emolument, every land-holder was obliged to obey the ſummons, and advance to ſave his country from the foe, or to promote its glory and wealth.

Who were ſoldiers at that period.

Every freeman who was of an age capable of bearing arms, and had not forfeited his privileges by any indiſcretions, had a right to attend upon the war, ſo alſo might the Ceorls if their inclination lead them to fol-

Clergy and ſlaves forbid to bear arms.

* See plate XVIII.

† Theſe ſervices were then called *Trinodis Neceſſitas*, and were attending perſonally in war for the public defence, and fortifying caſtles, and places of defence, and repairing bridges. Spel. Remains, p. 19. See alſo the firſt chapter of this part of the preſent volume of this Chronicle. Nor were the crown lands, or thoſe belonging to the church exempted; but the clergy uſually performed this duty by ſubſtitutes, which were deemed ſufficient, and theſe ſubſtitutes were generally the Ceorls that farmed their lands.

low a military employment; but they were not obliged by law to do ſo, unleſs upon ſome extraordinary danger or emergency. The military life was looked upon as honourable, therefore all ſlaves were prohibited bearing arms, unleſs ſome ſudden or preſſing occaſion obliged the maſter to arm them for the immediate defence of his own life or property*. In the days of paganiſm, the Anglo-Saxon prieſts were forbidden to ride on horſeback, or to bear arms †; and the Chriſtian clergy were alſo exempted from the performance of the duties of military buſineſs, that they might the better attend to their religious offices, and, indeed, in the latter times, they were forbidden to bear arms under ſevere penalties.

Officers of the Anglo-Saxons.

All ſuch as were qualified to bear arms in a family, were conſtantly led to the battle by the maſter, or head of that family, and every tything, (or ten families,) were conducted by the borſholder ‡, or chief of that tything: the ſoldiers of every ten tythings, which formed a hundred, were led by the hundredary, or chief magiſtrate of the hundred; and as ſeveral hundreds formed a trything, ſo the ſoldiers of every hundred that compoſed the trything were under the conduct of the trythingman, or head of the trything, and the members of as many trythings as formed a ſhire, or county, were conducted by the alderman § of that county; and the alderman, and his followers, were under the conduct of the king, or, in his abſence, of his lieutenant ‖.

Every landholder obliged to be provided with arms.

That every landholder, and ſuch of his family, as were able to bear arms, might, upon all occaſions, be ready to defend their country, laws were made obliging them to be in conſtant poſſeſſion of ſuch arms as were neceſſary for them, and ſuitable to their rank. They were, by the ſame laws, ſtrictly forbidden either to ſell, lend, or pledge thoſe arms, or even to alienate them from their heirs; alſo, that they might be expert in the management of them when they were called upon to ſerve their country, they had certain ſtated times for the military exerciſe, which was done under the direction of the ſuperior magiſtrates; and once a year, generally about the month of May, a general review was made throughout every province, when each man was obliged to appear with his own proper arms, in order to prevent the public being impoſed upon by ſome lending their arms to others, or the like impoſitions.

* Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax.

† An inſtance of this is given by Bede, who tells us, that Coifi, the pagan high prieſt of Northumberland, was thought by the people to be mad when they ſaw him mounted on a horſe, with a ſpear in his hand, like a ſecular Thane; becauſe (adds he) they knew it was unlawful for a prieſt to bear arms, or ride on horſeback. Bede lib. 1. c. 13.

‡ The Borſholder, in his military capacity, was called Siðcundman, or *conductor*.

§ This officer, in his military capacity, was called Þeoðoza, or *general*.

‖ In Saxon called Cyninzer þolð. Vide page 181 of this vol.

When-

Whenever the members of the Hundred Court aſſembled together, they met armed, and every one of them (as we before mentioned) touched the ſpear of the hundredary, or chief magiſtrate, declaring thereby their willingneſs to fight under his command*. Indeed, the lance, and other arms, were ſuch a neceſſary part of the dreſs of an Anglo-Saxon nobleman, that he was ſcarcely ever ſeen abroad without them, which well accounts for the various laws to prevent miſchief being done by carrying arms in a careleſs manner †. Wappentac, its ſignification.

The far greater part of the Anglo-Saxon forces were compoſed of their infantry, the cavalry being chiefly thanes, and ſuch great men as could afford to purchaſe horſes, and maintain them; although, on particular occaſions, the Saxons may reaſonably be thought to have varied the form of the arrangement of their armies; yet, in general, it is ſuppoſed that they drew up their infantry in the form of a wedge, whoſe point fronted the enemy; and that the cavalry, on either ſide, formed the wings, and aſſiſted the infantry in the onſet: nor was this a new method of arrangement, but the ſame as had been practiſed by their fore-fathers in Germany; and it was in this very form that Harold the ſecond drew up his army, when he fought that memorable battle againſt William duke of Normandy at Haſtings. At this period, the ſucceſs of the battle depended ſolely on the ſuperiority of the numbers, or the perſonal valour and diſcipline of the troops, and the good conduct of the leaders. We have, in a very ancient author, a ſhort, but curious deſcription of the famous battle of Brunanburh, where Æthelſtan overthrew the joint forces of Conſtantine king of Scotland, Anlaf, the ſon of Sithric, and the king of Cumberland. The confederate army came down before break of day, intending to attack the camp of Æthelſtan, and fell upon a party of ſoldiers belonging to the retinue of a biſhop, who had pitched his tent there the preceding night, about a mile diſtant from the king's army; the ſoldiers of the biſhop, not expecting any ſuch aſſault, made what reſiſtance they could, but in vain, for being oppreſſed by the number of their enemies, they were finally overthrown with great ſlaughter. The main army where Æthelſtan was preſent, being in the mean time alarmed by the noiſe which the ſkirmiſh with the biſhops troops had occaſioned, were inſtantly drawn up in order of battle, and by break of day came down upon Anlaf, whoſe army over-wearied with the ſlaughter they had already made, was thrown into ſome diſorder. Æthelſtan led one body of the army in perſon, which was compoſed chiefly of the Weſt Saxons, the other body he committed to the charge of his chancellor Turketull, which was made up of Mercians and Londoners. Againſt the king The Anglo-Saxon forces, and their arrangement.

* Wilkins Leg. Ang. Sax. for this reaſon theſe meetings are ſometimes known by the name of peapun tace, or the *Touch of Weapons*.

† Ibid.

fought

fought Anlaf, with his aſſiſtants, and Turketull was oppoſed by Conſtantine, with the Scottiſh army. The battle began by ſhowers of miſſive weapons, as darts and javelins, but ſoon after both armies cloſed; the engagement was long and terrible, neither party giving way for a conſiderable time *, until the chancellor Turketull, with ſome few Londoners of great valour, being joined by a captain of undaunted courage named Singin, who led the Worceſterſhire men, broke into the main body of their enemies, making way firſt through the Picts and Orkeners †, and then thro' the Cambrians and the Scots, and at laſt reached the place where Conſtantine, the king of the Scots, was fighting. Turketull unhorſed him, and uſed all means to take him alive; but he being well defended by the Scotch, Turketull would have been overcome, had he not been immediately aſſiſted by Singin his faithful ſecond, who, at the ſame time, ſlew Conſtantine. The rumour of this diſaſter being carried to Anlaf, he, with the remainder of his army left the field, and fled away with the utmoſt precipitation, but not without great loſs.

The battle began with loud ſongs.

The Danes and other northern nations began the battle with loud ſongs, and continual ſhoutings, and this cuſtom without doubt prevailed amongſt our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors at the battle of Haſtings, in which William Duke of Normandy obtained the conqueſt over Harold. The Normans began the onſet with ſinging aloud the ſongs of Rowland ‡.

Many battles fought by the Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons were well verſed in the art of war, for the number of battles they fought from the time of their arrival, to the Norman conqueſt, is almoſt incredible. Ælfred himſelf, in the firſt year of his acceſſion to the throne, is ſaid to have fought no leſs than ſeven pitched battles, beſides many ſkirmiſhes againſt the Danes §. What increaſed the miſery of thoſe unhappy times was, the inſatiable cruelty of the conquering armies, who, not contented with the overthrow of ſuch as oppoſed them in battle, would frequently deſtroy the weak and defenceleſs women, children and ſlaves.

Armour of the Anglo-Saxons.

The ſimplicity of the habit of the Saxon ſoldiers, as already mentioned ‖, was towards the latter end of the monarchy in ſome meaſure broken through. In the more early delineations, we cannot find that they wore the leaſt kind of defenſive armour upon their bodies, their whole confidence being placed in the ſmall ſhield they bore upon their left arms; ſoon after, we find the ſhield gradually growing larger, and

* The words of Ingulfus are—ceſſantibus citò ferentariis armis, pede pes, & cuſpide cuſpis, umboque umbone pellebatur. Cæſi multi mortales, confuſaque cadavera regum & pauperum corruebant. Ingulf Hiſt. Croyland.

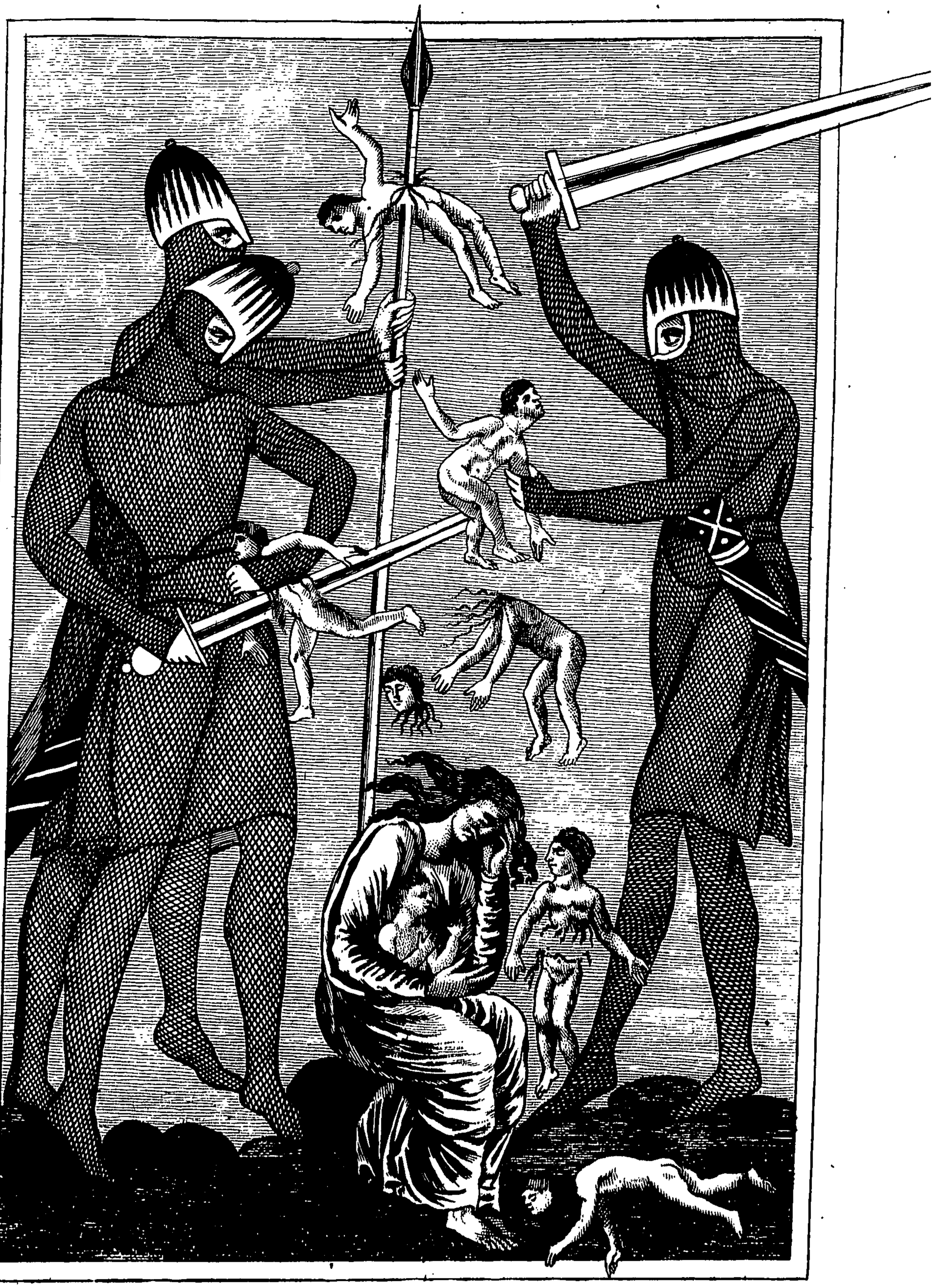
† Jam Orcadenſium ac Pictorum globos pertranſierat, ſilvamque jaculorum & telorum quæ thorace fideliſſima ſufflaverat. Ibid.

‡ Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

§ Aſſerius vit. Ælfredi.

‖ Vide vol I. p. 318.

the



the ſoldiers appear with helmets upon their heads, and their form ſuch as has been already deſcribed. In the reign of king Æthelſtan, the chieftains of the army wore a breaſt-plate *, yet it is highly probable that this armour, as well as ſome which in the Saxon delineations appear like coats of mail, and cover the whole trunk of the body, were not in general uſe, but only worn by the nobility, and ſuch great men as could afford to purchaſe them †.

Armour of the Danes.

During the reign of Cnut, and the ſucceeding Daniſh kings, the armour was greatly improved, the ſoldiers then began to wear compleat ſuits, which, from its appearance in the ancient manuſcript delineations, appears to have been compoſed of leather, overlaid with a kind of net-work of ſtrong wire, yet ſo contrived, as to render it pliable at the joints; and this armour not only covered the trunk of the body, but the arms, the legs, and the feet of the wearer, leaving only part of his hands bare, that he might the better graſp his ſpear, his ſword or his ſhield. Beſides this compleat ſuit of armour, the helmet alſo at this period underwent great improvement, for it ſeems not only to be made of iron or braſs, but is alſo made high above the head, the better to ſuſtain the ſhock of a violent blow; beſides, a piece of iron, or other metal whereof the helmet was compoſed, was ſo contrived as to come down ſtraight over the noſe, in order to prevent the face receiving any injury from a croſs cut of the enemies ſword ‡.

Suits of armour become common.

And this ſort of armour, ſeems to have become very common at the time of the Norman conqueſt, from the numbers of figures ſo cloathed in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux §. With regard to the cavalry of the Anglo-Saxons, although in ſome delineations they are ſeen riding on horſes without either cruppers or ſtirrups, we muſt by no means conclude, that they knew not the uſe of thoſe neceſſary accoutrements; for in ſeveral Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, of very early date, we find the horſemen well provided with both theſe particu-

* Ingulph in his hiſtory of Croyland, in the account of the battle of Brunanburh, informs us, that Turketull wore a *breaſt-plate*, ſee note † page 214 of this vol.

† Two figures habited in armour like coats of mail are given from a Sax. MS. in the work before quoted, entitled Horda Angelcynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. I. plate IV. fig. 6, 7, and on the ſame plate, is a very curious armour, worn by a king who is ſuppoſed to be fighting at the head of his troops. See the deſcription of them in the ſame book, page 29, 30.

‡ See theſe ſoldiers repreſented from an Anglo-Daniſh MS. plate IV. of this volume.

§ This celebrated tapeſtry which is yet preſerved in the cathedral church of Bayeux in Normandy, is ſaid to have been the work of Matilda, wife to William the Conqueror, and repreſents in needle-work, the hiſtory of the conqueſt of England by William, and ends with the death of Harold, at the battle of Haſtings. Vide Montfaucon's Monarchie Francoiſe, tom. 1 & 2.

lars.

lars *. The Saxon ſpurs have no rowel, but only a ſharp point; in other particulars, they do not differ much in ſhape or ſize from thoſe uſed in the preſent day †.

Tents, ſtandards, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons.

The encampments of the Saxons having already been mentioned, and the form of their tents, as they appear in ancient delineations ‡, any further deſcription of them here would therefore be unneceſſary; the offenſive arms of the Anglo-Saxons, were large ſwords, and long ſpears, to theſe the Danes added the battle-axe §. Every different body of troops that compoſed the Anglo-Saxon army, had their ſeveral ſtandards, which in form were not widely different from thoſe uſed by the cavalry at preſent ‖; theſe ſtandards had various figures wrought or embroidered upon them, and were highly eſteemed, eſpecially in the days of Paganiſm. The Danes in particular, had one, (in which they placed a ſuperſtitious faith) richly embroidered, having upon it the figure of a raven, and was ſaid to have been the work of the three daughters of Lothbroc, the ſiſters of Hinguar and Hubba, which ſtandard was taken from them when their army was overcome, and their chieftain, Hubba, ſlain by the men of Devonſhire, A. D. 878. Some of our ancient Anglo-Saxon kings had ſtandards born before them, as they rode from place to place throughout their territories, even in time of peace ¶, and ſometimes the military ſtandard of a king was after his death laid carefully upon his tomb **.

CHAP. IV.

State of Agriculture amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, after the Union of the Heptarchy.

Agriculture neglected, and why.

WE have already conſidered the ſtate of agriculture amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, during the Heptarchy, ſo that the leſs remains to be ſaid in the preſent chapter. At that time we ſaw how very low the rent of farms were, from whence it may be reaſonably concluded, that agriculture was not in a very flouriſhing ſtate, and the dreadful

* See vol I. of the Ꝑoꝑda Angel-cynnan above-quoted, plate IV. fig. 1. plate XI. fig. 2. plate XVII. fig. 6.

† See one of theſe ſpurs delineated, plate XVII. of this volume.

‡ See plate XI. of the firſt volume of this Chronicle.

§ This weapon was frequently not unlike a common ax, only longer and ſmaller; ſometimes it was double-edged, then it was ſtyled by the hiſtorians the *bipennis*, and at the battle of Haſtings, the front ſoldiers of Harolds army were armed with theſe axes, as Malmſbury has aſſured us. Malmſb. lib. 3. See various ſorts of theſe double-edged axes in the work above quoted of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. I. plate XXII.

‖ See their form plate XVII. of this volume.

¶ Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 16.

** Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 11.

troubles

troubles and calamities that followed, from the frequent invaſion of the Danes in the ſucceeding times of the monarchy, and which kept the chief landholders almoſt continually under arms for the defence of the country, muſt greatly have impeded the making any very material improvements in this uſeful art. This neglect of agriculture was undoubtedly the great occaſion of the famines that ſucceeded unfruitful years; for ſo little attention could be paid to the cultivation of land, that they ſeemed only to have taken care to ſow as much as might ſuffice for the ſucceeding ſeaſon, without any intention of procuring a reſerve in caſe of neceſſity, ſo that when an unfavourable ſeaſon deſtroyed their crops, or when they were trampled down by their enemies, which was frequently the caſe, the miſeries that enſued for want of proviſions were truly dreadful; thus, in the year 1043, a quarter of wheat was ſold for ſixty Saxon pennies *, which exorbitant price muſt have greatly diſtreſſed not only the poor, but even thoſe of a middling rank; and this was the cauſe, together with the ſcarcity of money, that the purchaſe of land at this period was ſo remarkably low; for at or near Ely, about the reign of king Eadger the Peaceable, an acre of the beſt land, upon an average, was valued at only ſixteen Saxon pennies †, but, perhaps, as the Eaſt-Angles was one of the parts of England that ſuffered moſt from the Danes, and was at this very time partly poſſeſſed by that rude people, this price ought not to be conſidered as the average rate of land throughout the kingdom, eſpecially in Weſſex, where the outrages of the Danes had not been ſo ſharply felt. About the ſame time, and at the ſame part of the kingdom, the price of a ſheep was one Saxon ſhilling, and of a good horſe, ten ſhillings of the ſame money: thus we ſee, that four ſheep would purchaſe one acre of the beſt land, and one horſe three acres ‡.

The great ſcarcity of proviſions, and the various neceſſaries of life which frequently afflicted the Saxons during the preſent period, is conſidered by ſeveral authors as a ſtrong proof of a ſcanty population; and indeed ſuch arguments ſeem to carry great weight with them. The general prices of proviſions at this time were undoubtedly often changed, according to the produce of the ſeaſon, and affected by many other various accidents. In the reign of Æthelſtan, a good ram is ſaid to have been worth four-pence §, and in the laws of Æthelred the Unready, who reigned from A. D. 979, to A. D. 1016, the prices to be paid for the following animals were aſcertained, if they

Scarcity of proviſions.

* Sixty Saxon pennies was equal in weight of ſilver, to about 15 or 16 of our ſhillings, and were equal in value to ſeven or eight pounds of our money.

† Equal to four or five ſhillings of our money; here we may add that the above average price of land is taken from the various eſtimates recorded in the Ancient Hiſtory of Ely Church, publiſhed by J. Gale. Hiſt. Brit. XV. Script. &c. t. 1. p. 477, &c.

‡ Ibid.

§ Leges Æthelſtani.

were deſtroyed by any one; and it is with the greateſt reaſon that we may conclude them to be the average price by which thoſe animals might be purchaſed at market; they are as follows. For a horſe thirty Saxon ſhillings *; a mare or colt twenty ſhillings †; a wild boar, twelve ſhillings ‡; an ox, ſix ſhillings §; a cow at four and twenty pence ‖; a ſwine, eight pence ¶; a ſheep, one ſhilling **; a goat, two-pence ††.

The art of gardening.

We have ſufficient evidence that gardens were cultivated at this period, and that the art of planting fruit-trees, and ingrafting them, was alſo well underſtood, but more particularly amongſt the monks who were very aſſiduous in their rural labours. Their gardens were not only ſtocked with ſuch ſort of herbs and trees as were uſeful, but ornament and pleaſure was frequently conſidered ‡‡; and theſe, as well as their orchards, were diſpoſed in ſuch manner as to afford amuſement to the mind, as well as food for the ſupport of the body. In what manner their gardens or orchards were laid out, or their rules for planting, with variety of other particulars relative to them, are not to be diſcovered at this diſtance of time, not only from the ſilence of ancient hiſtorians upon theſe heads, but alſo becauſe nothing of the ſort capable of giving any ſatisfaction can be derived from the manuſcript delineations.

Inſtruments of huſbandry ſeem to have been improved.

Though agriculture was neglected at this period, yet in the delineations of the more modern Anglo-Saxon artiſts, ſome improvements were made in the inſtruments of huſbandry. The plough in particular had a ſecond handle added to it, which muſt have made it more convenient and uſeful. The form and nature of their other implements of huſbandry, as ſcythes, rakes, ſickles, carts, &c. will be far better underſtood, by being repreſented to the eye as given by the Saxons themſelves, than by the moſt elaborate deſcription §§.

* Equal in ſterling money to 1l. 15s. 2d.

† Equal to 1l. 3s. 5d. ſterling.

‡ Fourteen ſhillings and one penny, ſterling.

§ Seven ſhillings and one halfpenny, ſterling.

‖ Five and ſix-pence, ſterling.

¶ One ſhilling and ten-pence halfpenny, ſterling.

** One ſhilling and two-pence, ſterling.

†† Five-pence halfpenny, ſterling. Vide Leges Æthelredi, apud Wilkins et Lambard.

‡‡ The author of the Ancient Hiſtory of Ely cathedral informs us, that Brithnod, firſt abbot there, was very ſkilful in the art of planting and gardening; and to make the place more beautiful, he ſurrounded it with plantations, and laid out a very extenſive garden, with an orchard, filled with a vaſt variety of ſhrubs and fruit-trees, which being ſkilfully managed and engrafted, in a few years grew up to ſuch perfection, that at a diſtance the orchard looked like a wood loaded with abundance of excellent fruit, which made no little addition to the beauty and agreeableneſs of the place. Hiſt. Elien. a T. Gale Eddit.

§§ See the moſt material inſtruments of huſbandry repreſented upon plate V. of this volume; for a more particular account, ſee the Appendix.



It is almoſt certain that at this period, there were water-mills in England, as may appear from a prodigious number of charters, wherein mills are mentioned as ſtanding near to rivers and bridges. Theſe low ſituations would have been very inconvenient for windmills, which however ſeem alſo to have been known to the Anglo-Saxons, and ſometimes are mentioned in the charters, but not ſo frequently as the former, which is a good argument that they were not ſo common. The form and conſtruction of theſe ancient watermills would be eſteemed a very curious acquiſition, but unhappily no ſuch thing can be traced from their delineations, or any deſcription be found in the ancient hiſtorians, ſo that nothing ſatisfactory can be ſaid upon that head. Mills in England.

CHAP. V.

Navigation and Commerce of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Acceſſion of Egbert to the Norman Conqueſt.

TO thoſe obſtructions or reſtraints upon a free trade mentioned in the former volume, the following, and perhaps not one of the leaſt, may be added, namely, the granting to the king a certain portion of the price of all commodities bought or ſold within his dominions, if that price amounted to more than twenty-pence, and this was one of the chief reaſons that all bargains of ſale above that value were ordered to be made within the gates of a town, and in the preſence of the ſheriff or portgrieve, whoſe office it was to collect this duty, which continued to be exacted to the end of the preſent period *. Reſtraint on trade

If ſuch laws as thoſe above referred to, are to be conſidered as eſſential obſtructions to commerce, the following inſtitutions were certainly well calculated to promote and encourage an internal trade, namely weekly markets, and anniverſary fairs. In the early days of Chriſtianity, amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, weekly markets were generally appointed to be held on a Sunday, that the people might have convenient opportunity of purchaſing what they wanted, at the ſame time they aſſembled together to perform religious worſhip; but it was ſoon found that this mixture of religious and ſecular affairs was productive of great irregularities, and hurtful to the true cauſe of religion itſelf. To reform theſe proceedings, many laws were Origin of markets.

* In Domeſday book, it appears that a certain portion of every thing bought or ſold in the borough of Lewis, in Suſſex, was to be paid to the portrieve, one half by the ſeller, and the other half by the buyer; and particularly four-pence was to be paid him for every man ſold within the borough. Scriptores Brit. apud Gale, p. 762.

made to prevent the holding weekly markets upon the Sunday as had been uſual, but it was ſome time before the cuſtom could be entirely aboliſhed, as may appear from the frequent repetition of theſe laws, and the ſeverity of the fines which at laſt extended ſo far as not only to exact a certain mulct, but further ordered that all the goods expoſed to ſale upon the Sunday, ſhould alſo be forfeited *; and at the ſame time the market day was changed from Sunday to Saturday, ſo that all ſuch as lived at a diſtance, and had occaſion to come to the market, might alſo attend divine ſervice the day following, if they were ſo inclined; and this was a matter of great conſequence to them, when we conſider how few churches there were in England at this time, and the great diſtance they ſtood at from each other.

Origin of fairs. The yearly fairs were alſo appointed to be held near ſome cathedral church or monaſtery, upon the anniverſary of the ſaint to whom ſuch church or monaſtery was dedicated; the firſt inſtitution of theſe meetings was for a religious purpoſe, and it was then uſual for the people from the neighbouring villages to aſſemble the evening preceding the ſaints-day, to go into the church to watch and pray, during the night †; but, as the concourſe of people gradually increaſed, petty merchants and pedlars who had goods to diſpoſe of, attended alſo to vend them amongſt the multitude, ſo that by degrees thoſe religious meetings were broke in upon by affairs of a ſecular nature, and at laſt became meer ſcenes of licentiouſneſs and debauchery, which, being offenſive to the clergy, all nocturnal attendance was forbidden, and the people appointed to meet in the day-time, when a regular fair was held, to which were wont to repair not only the people of the village, in which the church or monaſtery ſtood, but others from neighbouring pariſhes, amounting to a prodigious number, eſpecially if the ſaint was held in great repute and veneration. If the ſaint's day happened to fall during the time of harveſt, that the people might not be induced to leave their neceſſary labours, the fair was ordered to be held on the following Sunday. The abuſe of this cuſtom, however ſoon became offenſive to the clergy, who failed not to preach ſeverely againſt theſe aſſemblies on the ſabbath-day, but notwithſtanding all their endeavours, they were not entirely aboliſhed, till a conſiderable time after the end of the Saxon monarchy ‡.

* Spelman's Concil. Brit. vol. I. p. 377. 404. 450. et alia.

† And hence theſe nocturnal meetings were called *wakes*, from the people's watching or *waking*, and the name continued to be given to the meetings by day, after the original cuſtom of *waking* was laid aſide. See a work entitled Þonda Angelcynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh. Vol. II. pag. 98, and vol. 3. p. 179.

‡ Vide the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, as above.

The

The union of the Heptarchy muſt certainly be conſidered as a circumſtance highly favourable to the internal trade of the nation, ſince an end was thereby put to the continual wars and diſputes that ſubſiſted between the two ſeveral ſtates, and this advantage would undoubtedly have been productive of happy conſequences, had it not been overbalanced by the obſtruction put upon their foreign trade by the cruel and frequent invaſions of the Danes, who, in a few years, made themſelves maſters of the ſea, and plundered every merchantſhip that fell in their hands. We may readily ſuppoſe, that Egbert himſelf but more eſpecially his three eldeſt ſons, could not but be thoroughly ſenſible of the misfortunes they laboured under in not having a fleet ſufficiently powerful to defend their coaſts, and protect the foreign trade; but then the vaſt difficulty of raiſing ſuch a fleet ought to be conſidered. At this time the navy itſelf was fallen into decay, and few mariners were to be procured ſkillful enough to work the ſhips in caſe they had been in poſſeſſion of them. Yet, amidſt all theſe manifeſt diſadvantages, Ælfred the Great, the beſt of all our Anglo-Saxons kings, formed the deſign, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, of putting the Anglo-Saxons in the way of diſputing with the Danes the maſterſhip of the ſea, where they had long reigned invincible.

Commerce reſtored by king Ælfred.

We may eaſily be convinced of the low ſtate of the navy when Ælfred firſt formed this deſign, for in the ſpace of four years, he could not get together any more than five or ſix ſmall veſſels, with which he put to ſea in perſon, A. D. 875, and overcame ſeven of the Daniſh ſhips, taking one, and chaſing the reſt away *; but the troubles that ſucceeded upon the back of this victory were ſo numerous, that this great prince was obliged for a time to neglect the maritime affairs, and pay all his attention to the defence of the kingdom by land; but after the juſtly famous victory which he obtained over the Danes of Etheldune, A. D. 878, he purſued his favourite ſcheme with redoubled aſſiduity, and having perſuaded the conquered Danes to embrace Chriſtianity, he aſſigned them lands in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and made it their intereſt to defend that country they formerly came to plunder. Aſſiſted by them, who had many ſhips, and were excellent mariners, he fitted out a very powerful fleet, with which he encountered the other Daniſh fleets, with various ſucceſs. At this time, many of his own natural ſubjects, under the inſtructions of the confederate Danes, acquired ſkill in the art of navigating ſhips of war †.

Ælfred improves the navy.

Nor did this great monarch ſtop here: he alſo invited foreign ſailors into his ſervice, whom he rewarded very bountifully, and gave every other poſſible encouragement to navigation and commerce. Thus, in a few years, he raiſed a navy ſufficiently potent to guard the ſea coaſts, and protect the foreign trade: he alſo repaired the ſea port towns, and

Sea port towns repaired.

* Chron. Sax. Aſſer. &c.

† Aſſer. vit. Ælfredi.

parti-

particularly London, which had long been the famous reſort for merchants: beſides this, he introduced new manufactures, and furniſhed many things for exportation.

Ships made on a new conſtruction.

The ſhips uſed by the Anglo-Saxons, at this period, were called keels or cogs, and they were clumſily built, being low, ſhort and broad, which made them very hard to work, and ſlow ſailors. Theſe diſadvantages Ælfred took into conſideration, and cauſed others, A. D. 897, to be built upon a different conſtruction, according to an invention of his own. Theſe new veſſels were twice as long as the keels, and much higher, which not only made them more beautiful in appearance, but alſo much more commodious for either war or commerce; for they ſailed much ſwifter, and, at the ſame time, their motion in the water was more ſteady and certain. Some of theſe veſſels had ſixty oars, and ſome more, ſo that they could not be very ſmall *.

Foreign ſailors encouraged.

When Ælfred had thus prudently ſecured the ſea coaſts of his kingdom, and afforded ſuch protection to foreign trade, he then proceeded to give great encouragement to ſuch foreigners as were in his ſervice, and alſo to his own ſubjects to undertake voyages, and to make diſcoveries both north and ſouth.

Ochter's voyage to the north.

One of theſe voyages was undertaken by Ochter, a Norwegian. He afterwards related his ſucceſs to king Ælfred, who took the pains to tranſcribe it from his own mouth †. Ochter herein gives an account of his ſailing from his own country, which was North of all the Normans, and proceeded beyond where the whale fiſheries were accuſtomed to go. He alſo relates his touching upon the coaſts of the Finnans and the Bearms, and his ending his voyage at the mouth of a great river, with variety of particulars extremely curious, though foreign from the preſent ſubject. The river, where Ochter finiſhed his voyage, is thought to be the ſame with the Dwina, upon whoſe banks the city of Archangel was long afterwards built. The Bearms were the inhabitants of the country anciently known by the name of Beormland, and probably lay upon the eaſtern banks of the Dwina. Hence we may ſee, that, even at this early period, when the art of navigation was ſo very imperfect, Ælfred had acquired a greater knowledge of the northern ſeas and land than any Engliſhman for more than 650 years after his death ‡.

Wulfſtan's voyage to the North

Another voyage was undertaken in the life time of king Ælfred by one Wulfſtan, an Anglo-Saxon, who, at the deſire of that prince, ſet

* Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 897.

† This voyage is preſerved in the Cotton Library, and it was firſt publiſhed with a Latin verſion at the end of Walker's Latin tranſlation of Spelman. Vit. Ælfredi.

‡ Capt. Richard Chancellor was the firſt European navigator who diſcovered the White Sea and the river Dwina, A.D. 1553, from the time of Ælfred. Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 386.

ſail.

ſail from Sleſwic in order to explore the coaſts of the Baltic, with the countries that are bordering upon that ſea *. He made a diſcovery of Langaland, Zealand, Falſter and Sconen, all countries belonging to Denmark. From thence he ſailed to Bergendaland †, which had a king of its own; and from thence to Blekinga, Meora ‡, Ocland, and Gothland on the left, which belonged to the Sweons §; and afterwards coaſted about Weonadland ‖, making many curious obſervations concerning the countries, the rivers, the people, and their manners. Whether the deſign of Ælfred, in promoting theſe diſcoveries of the northern countries, was purely commercial, or whether he might have meditated any military expedition into thoſe ports, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be diſcovered.

Sighelm's voyage to India.

Ælfred was equally as aſſiduous in opening a communication with the ſouthern world as he had been in his diſcoveries towards the north. He kept a correſpondence with Abel, patriarch of Jeruſalem, and, through his means, might likely receive information of various important particulars. He alſo ſent one Sighelm, an Anglo-Saxon prieſt, with relief to the Chriſtians, who were ſettled at St. Thomas's at Meleapour on the Coromandel coaſt in hither India, which voyage Sighelm performed, and returning back, brought with him a quantity of jewels of a new kind, and ſuch as had never before been ſeen in England ¶. We are certain, beſides, that Ælfred was poſſeſſed of great quantities of the moſt precious productions of the eaſt, which is a ſtriking proof of a large and flouriſhing trade **.

State of trade under Edward the Elder and Æthelſtan.

After the deceaſe of Ælfred, the former part of the reign of his ſon Edward was taken up by the diſturbances of the rebellious Danes, who broke from their allegiance, and harraſſed the kingdom. However, he not only ſecured his dominions by land, by erecting ſtrong caſtles, and places of defence, by which means the enemies were at laſt reduced, but carefully kept an hundred ſhips at ſea to protect the trade and guard the coaſts ††. Æthelſtan, his ſon, who ſucceeded him, A. D. 925, took ſtill more pains to increaſe the fleet, and made trade a road to honour: for, by one of his laws, he decreed, that if any mariner or merchant ſo proſpered as to make three voyages over the high ſeas in a ſhip and cargo of his own, he ſhould thenceforth be

* A ſhort journal of this voyage is alſo extant, taken down, as it is ſaid, by king Ælfred, from the voyager's own deſcription. Vita Ælfredi Mag. Appendix, p. 207.

† Perhaps *Bornholm*.

‡ Perhaps *Morby*.

§ *Swedes*.

‖ This is the name he gave to the whole coaſt of Germany waſhed by the Baltic.

¶ Malmſbury informs us, that in his days many of theſe jewels were to be ſeen amongſt the treaſures of the church of Sherborne, of which Sighelm was made biſhop upon his return from India. Malm. de geſt. Pontiff. Angl. lib. 2.

** Aſſerius tells us, that king Ælfred one morning gave him a fine ſilk robe, and as much frankincence, *(incenſe)* as a man could carry. Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.

†† Chron. Sax. &c.

advanced

advanced to the dignity of a thane, and entitled to the ſame privileges *; and, alſo, the further to facilitate and encourage commerce, he eſtabliſhed mints in ſuch large towns as enjoyed any conſiderable foreign trade. The principal of theſe towns were the following: London, Canterbury, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Exeter, Lewis, Haſtings, Chicheſter, Southampton, Wareham, and Shafteſbury †. By theſe, and other prudent means, the ſtate of trade was conſiderably improved during the reign of this prince.

State of commerce during the reign of Eadgar.

From the time of the deceaſe of Æthelſtan to the acceſſion of Eadgar, nothing material relative to commerce appears to have been done; but the ſpirit of trade, however, continued to increaſe, ſo that Eadgar was enabled to make a more powerful appearance at ſea than any one of his predeceſſors; but, it is probable, not ſo great as the monkiſh authors would have us believe, who talk of his having no leſs than three thouſand ſix hundred, or four thouſand ſail of ſhips, an incredible number to have been ſo ſoon collected together after the deplorable ſtate the navy was in, not ſo much as a century before ‡. In ſhort, it appears that Eadgar, being a great favourite with the monks, they took all occaſions of augmenting his grandeur; but thus much may with certainty be depended upon, that he had not only a very large fleet, but alſo that he kept them in excellent order, and cauſed them to be ſo properly ſtationed as to guard the ſea coaſts from all ſurpriſe, and effectually protect the trade. In order to facilitate commerce, he cauſed an excellent law to be made, that all the money, coined in the kingdom, ſhould be of one kind, which ſhould not be refuſed in payments; and alſo that the meaſures uſed at Wincheſter ſhould be the ſtandards of all the meaſures uſed throughout his dominions. If theſe laws were beneficial to commerce, the following may perhaps ſeem to lay it under ſome reſtraint, one of which was, that in all large towns, twenty three honeſt men ſhould be choſen, and in all ſmaller towns, twelve, to be witneſſes to all bargains made in the ſame town, and that no man ſhould buy or ſell any thing, but before two or more ſworn witneſſes. Another law enacts, that when a member of a tything went to a diſtant market, he ſhould before he ſet out acquaint the tything-man, or borſholder, what he intended to buy or ſell, and alſo

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 71.

† Leges Æthelſtani, cap. 14.

‡ From this prodigious number of ſhips ſaid to have been in the navy, ſome authors have been led to think that the tranſcribers of the ancient records may, by ſome miſtake or other, have added a cypher to the original number, and by that means made it ten times as great as it really was. If the number of ſhips was only 3000, ſuch a fleet would on a moderate computation, require no fewer than 300,000 ſailors to navigate it, which muſt have far exceeded the number of mariners then in the kingdom; and to favour the above ſuppoſition of a cypher being added, we may refer to the authority of Thorn, the ancient hiſtorian of Canterbury, who makes the number only 300, which is a great many, and ſhews how much they were increaſed from 100, the full compliment during the reign of Edward the Elder.

when

when he returned, declare to him what he had bought or ſold; theſe laws, though good in themſelves, muſt certainly have been very troubleſome in the execution *.

In the reign of Æthelred the ſecond, commonly called the Unready, the maritime affairs were ſo much neglected, that the Danes began afreſh to commit their uſual depredations, ſo that for the want of a proper and well-managed fleet to protect the ſea-coaſts, the foreign trade was greatly hurt. But, afterwards, in the year 1008, when the deluded people began to ſee the error in leaving their ſea-coaſts unguarded, a law was made, commanding the proprietors of every 310 hydes of land, to furniſh one ſhip for the royal navy, and in conſequence of this order, a fleet of ſhips was raiſed, amounting to 800 ſail †, which is a certain proof that the mariners and merchants, notwithſtanding the great diſtreſs of the nation, had not abandoned it or neglected the foreign trade, for without their aſſiſtance it would have been impoſſible to have collected ſo large a fleet together in ſo ſmall a time, and to have manned them as they ought to be ‡. State of trade in the reign of Æthelred.

Several good laws were made in the reign of Ethelred, as well for the ſecurity of the effects, as the perſons of merchants, when by contrary winds they were obliged to put into Engliſh harbours, or were wrecked upon the coaſts, which is a ſufficient proof of the encouragement given to foreign commerce, and from the laws made in the wittenagemot, held at Wantage (in which amongſt other things the rates of cuſtoms to be paid on the importation of various goods at the wharf of Bellins gate, at London are aſcertained) it appears that a ſociety of German merchants reſided at London, called Emperor's men, who paid to the king twice a year (viz. at Chriſtmas and Eaſter) for his protection, two pieces of grey cloth, one piece of brown cloth, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, and two caſks of wine ‡. Laws relative to trade.

After the acceſſion of king Cnut to the throne of England, (which put a final ſtop to the cruel wars that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the Danes and the Engliſh,) trade began again into flouriſh, and ſuch was the repute of that prince, and the tranquility of the times, that he found it neceſſary to keep only forty ſhips at ſea to protect the trade and guard the ſea coaſts, and this number was alſo ſoon after reduced to ſixteen. He had ſuch influence with foreign princes, that he obtained of them ſeveral privileges for the encouragement of his trading ſub- State of trade during the reign of king Cnut.

* Wilkins Leg. Sax. Reg. Ædgari.
† Chron. Sax. ſub. an. 1008.
‡ Leges Æthelredi apud Bromton. Theſe merchants were probably the ſame company ſo well known afterwards by the name of *Merchants of the Steel-yard*. Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit.

jects *. Under these favourable auspices, trade flourished so greatly, that the merchants of London acquired a much greater influence in public concerns than they had been formerly known to possess, for it plainly appears, that they had a great hand in placing Harold, the son of Cnut upon his father's throne, being present, and assisting at the wittenagemot, convened at Oxford for that purpose †.

State of trade till the Norman Conquest.

The sixteen ships that Cnut had kept at sea for the protection of the coasts, during his reign, were supported at a moderate expence; but his successor, Harold, raised the wages of the sailors, giving to every common man, eight mancusses ‡, and to every commander, twelve mancusses yearly, out of which they were to provide themselves with every necessary, this it is certain, at that time, must have been considered as a very liberal allowance. But Hardicnut, who succeeded Harold, raised the number of ships to sixty, and gave the same wages to all the mariners as his predecessor had done; the payment of which occasioned so severe a tax to be levied upon the people, as became the subject not only of great murmuring, but of some tumult §; from this period to the death of Harold the second, A. D. 1066, the naval power and commerce of the kingdom gradually encreased, and was, upon the arrival of the duke of Normandy, in a very flourishing state. It is true indeed, that it is impossible to make any certain guess at the number of ships in England at this period, or of their general size, but, with regard to the number, we may be well assured that it was greatly increased, and also that many of them were large and commodious.

Form of the Saxon ships considered.

The form of the Anglo-Saxon ships, according to their appearance in the ancient manuscript delineations, has already been given in the preceding volume; the representations of which spare all further description of them. In the reign of king Cnut, if we can implicitly believe the accounts of a very ancient author, we shall find the ships were much more elegant and striking than those we have already represented. "So great (says the author above-mentioned) was the beauty and splendor of his (Cnut's) fleet, that at the same time that it dazzled the eyes of the spectators, it struck a

* This himself declares in his own letter sent from Rome to the English nobility. "The emperor Rodolf, and other princes have consented, that all my subjects, merchants as well as those who travelled on account of religion, should not be interrupted on their way, but protected without paying any toll. W. Malms. lib. 2. c. 11.

† The Saxon Chronicle informs us, that amongst the number of nobility then present, were the *seamen of London*, and by joint consent, Harold was there chosen to be king of England. These *seamen of London* that at this time were members of the wittenagemot, were probably such merchants as had made three voyages beyond sea with their own ships and cargo, and by that means acquired the dignity and privileges of thanes. Vide Chron. Sax. sub an. 1035.

‡ A mancuss was worth about seven shillings and a penny, sterling.

§ Chron. Sax. et Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 12.

terror

terror into their hearts; the rays of the ſun reflected from their poliſhed ſhields, the ſhining arms of the ſoldiers, and the ſides of the ſhips, which were richly gilt with gold and ſilver, formed a ſight as terrible, as it was magnificent; on the top of every maſt was the gilded figure of a bird, which turning on a ſpindle, diſcovered from what point the winds blew. The ſtems of the ſhips were adorned with various figures caſt in metal, and gilt with gold or ſilvered; on one was ſeen the image of a man, whoſe menacing countenance made him look as if alive; on another, was a moſt terrible lion of gold; on a third, a dragon of burniſhed braſs; and on a fourth, a fierce bull, whoſe horns were gilt, and in the act as if to ruſh on the affrighted beholders." Such, with ſome paſſages of admiration, is the deſcription given of this formidable fleet by a co-temporary writer *, and we have only to lament that no delineations whatever of any of theſe magnificent ſhips are handed down to poſterity, by comparing which, with the words of the author, we might the better judge of the impartiality of his encomiums. It were to be wiſhed that the repreſentations (which accompany this chapter) of a large ſailing ſhip, and the row-galley could compenſate for the deficiency we have juſt noticed †. Theſe are from a very ancient manuſcript copy of Virgil, written and illuminated at Rome, which if we may rely on the general report, is almoſt a thouſand years old ‡, and without doubt are exact repreſentations of the veſſels uſed at Rome at the time the delineations were made; as their form ſeems much more commodious than thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons given in the former volume, it may not perhaps be thought inconſiſtent if we ſuppoſe, that as a frequent intercourſe was kept up between the Anglo-Saxons and the people of Rome, they might in the more advanced ſtate of navigation borrow from them ſuch improvements as were neceſſary in the conſtruction of their veſſels. We may here obſerve indeed, that the figures in the ſailing ſhip are conſiderably too large for its ſize, but this fault the ancient artiſts conſtantly ran into in their delineation and baſs reliefs, where may be frequently ſeen, cities inhabited by people, whoſe heads riſe above the tops of the houſes, diſproportions of which ſort they ſeldom paid any great regard to, and which by no means hinders both the building and the figure to be in every other reſpect exact repreſentations of the things they were intended for.

Of the articles which were imported and exported by the merchants of this period, very little can be ſaid, or few additions made to thoſe which are already mentioned in the former volume. One great article of exportation amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, was ſlaves, in which kind Exports.

* Author of the Encomium Emmæ.

† See plate VI. of this vol.

‡ This MS. is in the Vatican library at Rome, and all the delineations were engraved and publiſhed by that excellent artiſt *Bartolo*, to whoſe induſtry we owe the engravings of the Trajan and Antonine Columns, the Admirandi Roman, and ſeveral other valuable works.

of traffic the Northumbers in particular were very famous, amongſt whom it continued for ſome time after the Norman conqueſt *; the people of Briſtol were alſo very much employed in the ſlave trade, which they purſued with ſuch eagerneſs, that they frequently ſpared not their neareſt relations; but at laſt they were prevailed upon by the preaching and exhortation of Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, (who poſſeſſed that ſee at the time of the conqueſt) to quit ſo barbarous and inhuman a traffic †. Horſes alſo were amongſt the articles exported by the Anglo-Saxons, and it ſeems that ſuch numbers of them were ſent abroad, that in the reign of Æthelſtan, a law was found neceſſary to prohibit the exportation of horſes, but ſuch as were preſents ‡.

Imports. Books, which were exceſſive dear at this period, certainly formed a part, and that perhaps not very inconſiderable, of the imports, eſpecially in the early time of the heptarchy, and upon the firſt converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, and if in the after ages when they began to write themſelves, and tranſcribe the moſt uſeful authors, this article might become leſs conſequential, another was quickly found to ſupply its place, which was leſs uſeful, though equally eſteemed, ſuch as the relics of ſaints with their images and pictures, which bore a vaſt price, and were manufactured chiefly at Rome, from whence they were diſpoſed of to the deluded multitude, who were as highly pleaſed as they were wretchedly deluded by their purchaſe. The various habits for the clergy, the veſſels for the celebration of the holy offices, with a great variety of other things at this time held neceſſary for moſt of the religious ceremonies, might alſo be conſidered as articles of foreign importation. Precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, ſilk, linen, ſpices, drugs and other precious productions of the eaſt, were alſo imported from the city of Italy, whither, if an Engliſh ceorl went three times, and returned back with his cargo to England, he obtained the dignity of a thane. Various other merchandiſes were alſo imported at this period, as wines from France and Spain; cloths from Germany and Flanders; furs, deer-ſkins, whale oil and ropes, &c. from Scandinavia §; after all, however, it appears, that the balance of trade was in favour of England, otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for the inhabitants to have raiſed ſuch vaſt ſums of money as were from time to time exacted of them, and carried out of the kingdom.

* Malmſb. lib. 1. c. 3.

† Vita Wulfſtani apud Anglia ſacra, tom. 2. p. 256.

‡ Leges Æthelſtani apud Wilkins, vel Lambard.

§ Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, vol. I. p. 52.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Art of working Metals, and the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.

THE art of working metals of all ſorts, as we have ſeen in the former volume, was well underſtood by the Anglo-Saxons during the time of the heptarchy *, ſo that we ſhall not be ſurprized to hear that they were carried to ſome degree of perfection during the monarchy. The chief ſmith, of all other artiſts, was held in the higheſt eſtimation at this period; his office and dignity was great in the king's court, where he enjoyed ſeveral privileges, and his were-gyld was higher than that of any other artificer; this may be eaſily accounted for, when we recollect, that to the ſmith belonged the fabricating not only their arms, but a vaſt variety of other neceſſary utenſils both for the uſe and conveniency of life. Some of theſe artiſts arrived at ſuch perfection, that the arms or utenſils made by them were particularly regarded, as may appear in ſeveral wills of the Anglo-Saxon princes and nobles, where the name of the maker is often put to the arms bequeathed, in order to make the gift more eſtimable †. At this period, the ſmith's employment ſeems by no means to have confined him to the working in iron alone, the working in gold, in ſilver, in braſs, and every other metal, appear to have been but different branches of his profeſſion, and the clergy themſelves (for they were all obliged to learn ſome mechanic art) were not the leaſt ſkilful in theſe works, for even the celebrated St. Dunſtan, underſtood the art of working metals, whether gold, ſilver, iron, or braſs, in the greateſt perfection; and the things that he made, he ſometimes ornamented with images and letters, which he engraved thereon ‡.

Progreſs in the art of working metals.

Though all theſe arts were underſtood in ſome degree during the heptarchy, yet it is certain they received conſiderable improvement in the reign of Ælfred the Great, who invited a great number of foreign artiſts into his kingdom, and amongſt the reſt were undoubtedly ſome who excelled in the working of metals, by whoſe inſtruc-

This art improved in the reign of Ælfred the Great.

* Vol. I. part V. chap. VI. p. 338.

† Thus in the will of prince Æthelſtan, ſon to king Æthelred the ſecond, made A. D. 1015, we find bequeathed to the church at Wincheſter his "ſilver hilted ſword, which Walfrike made, and his gilt pouch and bracelet, which the ſaid Walfrike alſo made." The original of this will in the Anglo-Saxon language is in the poſſeſſion of Thomas Aſtle, Eſq. who politely communicated it to the author.

‡ Oſborn, his biographer, ſays of him as follows: "Præterea manu aptus ad omnia, poſſe facere picturam, literas formare ſculpello imprimere, ex auro, argento, ære & ferro quicquid liberet operam." Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 94.

tions;

tions, and the encouragement of that great prince, the Engliſh artizans ſoon arrived at a great degree of perfection, and before the end of this period, the works of the Anglo-Saxon goldſmiths were held in the greateſt eſteem, not only at home, but alſo upon the continent. The ſhrines or caſkets they made for the preſervation of the relics of ſaints, which they very curiouſly ornamented with gold, ſilver and precious ſtones, were, in particular, univerſally admired *.

A curious ornament belonging to Ælfred.

It were greatly to be wiſhed, that ſufficient number of the works of the artiſts of that period were at this time to be produced, by which a compleater judgment might be formed of the perfection they arrived at. There is yet in being a valuable jewel, made of gold, richly ornamented with a foliage, and a kind of work like filligree: in the midſt of it is the figure of a man holding two branches †. This figure is expreſſed only by a thin outline which is upon an enamelled ground, and over the figure is ſet in a piece of fine chryſtal, and round the border of the chryſtal are letters which import that the jewel itſelf was made at the command of Ælfred; the back part of the jewel is alſo ornamented with foliage, and very ſkilfully engraved ‡. Many conjectures have been made concerning the uſe of this curious relic; but the moſt probable appears to be, that it was a perſonal ornament which king Ælfred uſed to wear §. It was diſcovered at Ethelingrey in Somerſetſhire, where that prince concealed himſelf during his great diſtreſs, and where he alſo frequently reſided in his proſperity. The workmanſhip of this jewel is much beyond what we might expect to have ſeen at this early period, and fully confirms the accounts preſerved in hiſtory of the perfection the art of working metals is ſaid to have arrived at; but we need not have doubted, had we not luckily had the proof juſt mentioned, that the workers of gold and ſilver muſt have been ſkilful from the great demand there was for utenſils and perſonal ornaments of every kind made of that metal, which we ſhall find hereafter were in general uſe ‖.

Art of making gold and ſilver thread, &c. known at this time.

Nor were the abovementioned branches of working metals the only arts of that kind that were underſtood in the period we are now treating of; for we have the fulleſt proof that they were well acquainted with the making gold and ſilver thread for the ladies to work with in embroidery. They alſo not only gilded metals in great perfection, but beat the gold and ſilver into thin leaves, which they uſed for gild-

* They were called abroad by way of eminence, *Opera Anglica*, Engliſh works. Murat. Antiq. tom. 2.

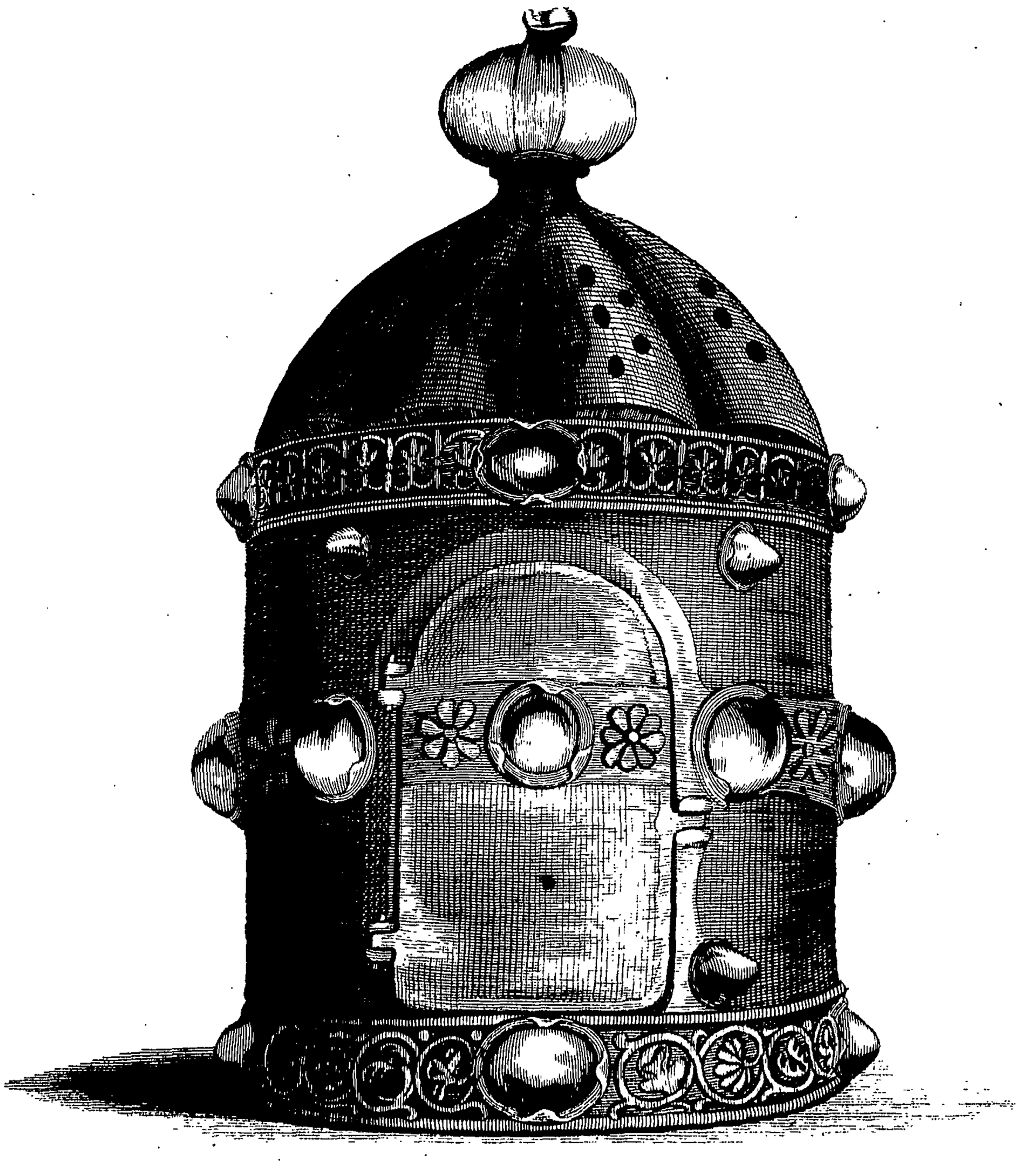
† Thought to be the image of Saint Cuthbert.

‡ See two views of this jewel, plate XVI. of this volume, which are the exact ſize of the original, which is preſerved at the Muſeum at Oxford. See the explanation of the writing in the Appendix, where the plates are particularly deſcribed.

§ Hickeſii Theſau. vol. 1. p. 142. Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 247. Wotten's Coſppectus, p. 18. &c. &c.

‖ See the following chapter on dreſs and habit.

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ing wood *, and in their manuſcripts to adorn and ornament them. There is now extant a beautiful manuſcript †, written in the reign of king Eadgar, and dated A. D. 966, in which is a picture repreſenting that king, our Saviour, and other figures richly ornamented with gold ‡, and all the letters are gilt from the beginning to the end of the book.

Setting and poliſhing precious ſtones.

A thouſand proofs appear in hiſtory, that the art of poliſhing and ſetting of precious ſtones, was alſo underſtood by the Anglo-Saxons at this time; for the multitude of ornaments that were worn by the kings and nobles of this period, adorned with jewels, muſt have made this art a neceſſary branch of the goldſmith's employment; beſides which, the veſtments of the clergy, and the variety of utenſils belonging to the church, were frequently enriched with a profuſion of precious ſtones. The ornament deſcribed above, belonging to Ælfred, has a cryſtal ſet before it ſo ſtrongly, that it remains firm to this day.

A curious lantern deſcribed.

A curious lantern is in being, which is univerſally looked upon to be of Saxon workmanſhip, and from the ſimilarity between the ornaments that appear upon it, and thoſe that are found in the manuſcripts of the tenth century, we may fairly conclude it to be of that date; and this renders it very curious, both as a ſpecimen of the art of metalry, as alſo that of ſetting precious ſtones. The lantern is of braſs, and not inelegantly made, about ten inches high, and five in diameter at bottom, with a ſmall door on one ſide of it. The light was emitted from it through five rows of holes, in each of which was ſet a piece of fine cryſtal; and, on the top is a large piece of the ſame, through which a handle, now broken off above, was fixed to the cone. From the nature and conſtruction of this lantern (which as an exact repreſentation of it accompanies this chapter, need not be more fully deſcribed §) it is evident that it could not furniſh much light, and this has led many to think that it was uſed for ſome religious purpoſe, and might be ſet upon the altar in ſuch a manner as to throw light upon particular places where the images of ſaints, or precious relics might be hung up, in order to inſpire the congregation with the greater awe and reverence by an appearance ſo unuſual.

Ælfred the inventor of the lantern.

Before we entirely quit the preſent ſubject, it will be but juſt to acknowledge, that we owe the invention of the lantern to Ælfred the Great (whoſe actions ſhine ſo glorioufly, in every point of view, that we cannot ſufficiently admire them); and the origin of this invention was as follows: That prince, who was particularly careful

* Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, made, ſays the author of the annals of Winton, "Magnam crucem duabus imaginibus, "viz. Sanct. Mariæ & Johannis; & illas "cum trabe veſtitus auro & argento."--- Angl. Sacra, p. 293.

† In the Cotton Library marked Veſpaſian A. VIII.

‡ An exact copy of this curious picture may be ſeen in a work intitled, *The Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of England*, plate I. with a full deſcription of it.

§ Plate VII. of this volume.

that

that no part of his life ſhould be ſpent in vain, for the more regular diſpatch of buſineſs, he divided the four and twenty hours of the day into three ſeveral portions, in which he conducted the affairs of ſtate, attended to his ſtudies, and refreſhed himſelf with food and ſleep. That he might know when each portion of time was at an end (for clocks were not at this time diſcovered, and dials could only be uſeful when the ſun ſhone) he cauſed ſeventy-two pennyweights of wax to be made into ſix tapers, of equal weight and ſize, for his daily uſe; every taper was twelve inches long, and at every inch a mark was made; three inches of the taper burned one hour, and the whole of it four, and all the ſix, being lighted one after the other, compleated the twenty-four hours; and, by this contrivance, he knew what time it was, either by day or by night. But finding that oftentimes the wind, coming through the doors and windows of his chapel, (where the lights were kept burning) or the cloth of his tent, when he was in the field, waſted the tapers, and prevented their burning to any great certainty, to remedy this great inconvenience he cauſed lanterns to be made, framed with wood, which encloſed thin ſquares of oxens horns, and within theſe the taper was ſhut up, where it burned more regularly, and the rays of light were emitted through the horn, which was ſo contrived as to be almoſt as tranſparent as glaſs *.

Coinage, only a general account intended.

In the former volume, the account of the Anglo-Saxon coins was poſtponed, in order that it might be the more regularly purſued in the preſent chapter. It is true, that this article would require much more room than the limits of the preſent work can afford; if every particular were to be minutely entered upon; but as it is here propoſed not to give a hiſtory of coinage, but only to explain ſo much as may be neceſſary to give the reader a general idea of the Anglo-Saxon coins, we ſhall chiefly attend to ſuch particulars as are in general agreed upon among the moſt celebrated authors and judges, and paſs over diſputed points.

Sorts of money among the Anglo-Saxons.

The Saxons had two ſorts of money, one of which was ſingular enough, and is named, in their records, living money. This conſiſted of ſlaves, and cattle of all ſorts, which, according to the value fixed upon them by law, were equally current with gold or ſilver in the payment of debts †. The other money was of gold and ſilver, and the latter conſiſted chiefly of coined pieces, called by the Saxons penigas, or, in the preſent language, pennies.

Not known what Saxon king firſt coined money.

It is not poſſible to diſcover what Saxon king firſt coined pieces of money; however, the honour is generally attributed to Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, who reigned from A. D. 560 to A. D. 616, as no coins more ancient than his have hitherto been diſcovered. After

* Aſſerius Vita Ælfredi.

† Hiſt. Elien. apud Gale. lib. 1. cap. 10.

ter

ter his time, the coining of ſilver pennies became very common, not only in Kent, but alſo in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy *.

The various names of the Anglo-Saxon money mentioned in their laws, and other ancient monuments, are as follows: The pound; the mark; the mancus; the ora; the ſhilling; the thrimſa; the ſceata; the penny; the halfling; the feorthling; and the ſtica: but only two of theſe, namely, the penny and the ſtica, are poſitively known to be real coins; the reſt are eſteemed as merely nominal money. Names of the current money.

It is univerſally agreed, that the pound was by no means a real coin; but an appellation given to as many coins as weighed a pound in the ſcales. The Saxon pound is thought to have been the very ſame with the old tower pound, which was as follows: 450 grains in an ounce, and 12 ounces in a pound. Some have imagined, that the Saxons had two money pounds, one conſiſting of 12, and the other 16 ounces; becauſe it is very evident from ſeveral of the laws during this period, that it ſometimes contained only 48 Saxon ſhillings; and, at other times, no leſs than 60 †. But others have accounted for this alteration in the number of ſhillings that compoſed the pound, another way, by ſuppoſing the value of the ſhilling itſelf to have been altered, ſo as at one time to conſiſt of four Saxon pennies, and, at another, of five, which, if granted, makes the pound always equal. Beſides the money pound, the Saxons had another weight of the ſame denomination, which was called the mercantile, or market pound; and the weight was ſo regulated as to contain 15 ounces, and was obliged to be properly ſtamped ‡. The pound.

The mark, according to the univerſal agreement of the learned, was no real coin. Its value is thought to have been anciently as it now is, two-thirds of a pound. The Saxons had alſo two marks, as well as two pounds; one of them was called the money-mark, by which pure gold and ſilver were weighed; in the days of king Cnut it contained eight ounces: and the other was named the mercantile mark, by which all goods and merchandize were to be weighed: it contained 12 ounces §. The mark.

The mancus has occaſioned ſome diſpute amongſt the learned, whether it was really a coin, or only a part of the Anglo-Saxon nominal money; the latter, however, is, at this day, generally believed to be The mancus.

* See plate XVII. vol. I. of this work, and the explanation in the Appendix, p. 362.

† It is plain that there were 60 ſhillings in the pound in the days of Æthelſtan, as appears from one of his laws, wherein the Weregild of a thane is declared to be 1200 ſhillings, and the Weregild of a king to be ſix times as much as that of the thane, namely, 7,200 ſhillings, which, adds the ſame law, is equal to 120 pounds; but by a law of Cnut againſt the violation of the peace in churches, 240 ſhillings is equal to 5 pounds, which reſtored the ſhilling to its former value. *Vide* Leg. Æthelſtani & Cnuti.

‡ Leg. Æthelredi apud Brompton.

§ Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Brit. vol. 2. p. 497.

the truth, becauſe no ſuch coins have hitherto been diſcovered. The mancus contained 30 Saxon pennies; and was therefore the eighth part of the Saxon money pound *.

The ora. The ora is univerſally conſidered as a money merely nominal; its value is ſuppoſed to have been the weight of twenty Saxon pennies, equal to one-twelfth of the Saxon pound †.

The ſhilling. Many are the diſputes concerning the Anglo-Saxon ſhilling, which not a few authors have affirmed to have been a real coin; and true it is, that no money is ſo frequently mentioned in the ancient Saxon monuments as the ſhilling, by which the greater part of the mulcts or fines were regulated and to be paid: but it is now acknowledged as merely nominal, no ſuch piece having been diſcovered amongſt the vaſt variety that have been found from time to time. The value of the ſhilling was not always the ſame; ſometimes it was the fortieighth, and ſometimes only the ſixtieth part of the pound; but the exact times in which theſe changes took place cannot eaſily be diſcovered.

The thrimſa. The thrimſa was no coin, but a nominal money, containing three Saxon pennies; but the thrimſa is ſuppoſed to have never been univerſally uſed in accounts and reckonings ‡.

The penny. The penny was certainly a real coin, and perhaps the only ſilver one of theſe times, at leaſt no other have yet been diſcovered. The weight of the penny is not always the ſame, but varies conſiderably; and this difference is not only found in thoſe ſtruck during the Heptarchy, and in ſeparate kingdoms, but alſo in moſt, if not all, of thoſe that were ſtruck after the union of the Heptarchy, and that too in the coins of the ſame monarch. As 240 pennies were coined out of a pound weight of ſilver, every one of theſe pennies ought to have weighed 22 grains and a half; but they are rarely, if ever, found to be ſo heavy as that; the weight of thoſe which are yet extant, is found by perſons moſt converſant in this ſtudy, to be from 19 to 22 grains upon an average.

The Sceata. The Sceata is thought to have been the ſame as the penny.

The halfling. The halfling, ſo called from its being the half of a penny, is, by ſeveral authors, reported to have been a real ſilver coin, and, if it was weight, it ſhould have been 11 grains, or thereabout.

The feorthling. The feorthling; as the halfling has its name from being the half of a penny, ſo the feorthling alſo receives its name from its being the quarter or fourth part of the ſame coin, and if this alſo was a real ſilver coin, as many ſuppoſe it was, its weight ſhould have been five grains and an half. There are two reaſons advanced by the advocates for the halfling and feorthling's having been real coins; the firſt

* Aelfric, the grammarian, mentions this money, and declares this to be the the value of it.

† Ora valbnt 16. denarios, vel duæ 32. denarios. Spelman Gloſſ. in voc.

‡ Clark on coins.

is,

is, that they are frequently mentioned in the ancient records of the Anglo-Saxons, in ſuch a manner as gives reaſon to conclude that they were; and the ſecond is, that it would have been very inconvenient, if not almoſt impoſſible for the poorer claſs of people eſpecially, to have purchaſed all the various neceſſaries of life without continual trouble and confuſion, if there had been no ſmaller coin than a penny. Theſe two reaſons ſeem very juſt, and if the prices of any article were fixed at a halfling or feorthling, as doubtleſs many were, how was the purchaſer to pay the vender if there was no coin leſs than a penny? However, it is certain that no ſuch coins as either the halfling or feorthling have yet been diſcovered; which, on the other hand, is a ſtrong reaſon to think, that they were not real coins.

The ſtica was undoubtedly a real coin of braſs, and many of them are in exiſtence at this day; but as there are no others found but what were coined apparently in the kingdom of Northumberland, it may very reaſonably be concluded, that they were not coined elſewhere. Their value is half a farthing. The ſtica.

After the foregoing ſhort account of the Anglo-Saxon money, whether real or nominal, the following table of their weights, and ſterling value may not be unuſeful. Table of coin.

	Weight Troy Grains.	Sterling Value. l. s. d.
Pound	5400	2 16 3
Mark	3600	1 17 9
Mancus of gold	56	0 7 $0\frac{1}{4}$
Mancus of ſilver	675	0 7 $0\frac{1}{4}$
Ora	450	0 4 $8\frac{1}{4}$
Greater ſhilling	$112\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 2
Leſſer ſhilling	90	0 0 $11\frac{1}{4}$
Thrimſa	$67\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $8\frac{1}{2}$
Penny and Sceata	$22\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $2\frac{2}{4}$
Halfling	$11\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 $1\frac{1}{4}-\frac{1}{2}$
Feorthling	$5\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $0\frac{3}{4}$
Stica, braſs coin		0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$

Beſides the money that was ſtruck in England, ſome foreign coins were current amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, as the old Byſantine ſolidus, called the byzant *; the moſt ancient Frank ſolidus; and the leſſer Frank ſolidus. The byzant weighed 73 troy grains of gold, and was worth about forty Saxon pennies, or nine ſhillings of our preſent money. The ancient Frank ſolidus was of the ſame weight and value as the Saxon mancus; the leſſer ſolidus was far inferior, being worth no Foreign coin current in England.

* The famous St. Dunſtan bought an eſtate at Hindon in Middleſex of king Eadgar, which he payed for in *byzants*. Cambden's Remains, p. 182.

more than twelve Saxon pennies, or two ſhillings and ten-pence ſterling *.

Fineneſs of Saxon coins.

The Saxon ſilver pennies (of which vaſt numbers are yet preſerved in the cabinets of the curious) are found in general to conſiſt of nine parts of pure ſilver to one of copper, and great penalties were exacted by law upon thoſe who debaſed the coin; one of the laws of Æthelſtan commanded, that if any minter coined money below the ſtandard, he ſhould have his right hand cut off, and nailed upon his mint-door; and another law of Æthelred the ſecond, commanded the offender to be put to death †: but however juſt the mint-maſters might have been in keeping the ſilver as pure as it was commanded, they did not always attend with the ſame exactneſs with regard to the weight, which is found frequently to differ eſſentially, as hath been before obſerved.

Allowance made for the wear of coins.

Some authors tell us that the Saxons, having obſerved that the weight of the coins was conſiderably leſſened by long and conſtant uſe, ordained, that when a debt amounting to one pound was paid in pennies that had been ſometime in uſe, 250 of thoſe pennies were given inſtead of 240, the real number coined out of the pound weight of ſilver, adding one to every four and twenty, to make up the deficiency of weight, occaſioned by the wear of coin ‡.

The art of coining imperfect.

The art of coining amongſt the Anglo-Saxons was certainly very imperfect at this period, as all their money now in being may ſufficiently evince; there is little doubt to be made of the coins being ſtruck with a hammer, becauſe the invention of a preſs or vice for that purpoſe is of much later date. Concerning the workmanſhip of theſe coins, or their ſize, much need not here be ſaid, as theſe particulars will be much better explained by an exact repreſentation of ſome of them §.

Name of the town put on the coins.

On the coins of the heptarchy, as well as thoſe of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, until the reign of king Æthelſtan, we ſeldom find any other name than that of the mint-maſter, which is ſtamped upon the reverſe; but that prince in the third year of his reign, A. D. 928, cauſed an edict to be made, commanding for the future, that the name of the town where the piece was coined, as well as the mint-maſters name, ſhould be put upon the reverſe; and this law was univerſally obſerved, not only during the Saxon monarchy, but in after times, as late down after the conqueſt, as the reign of Edward the firſt.

* Dr. Henry, vol. II.

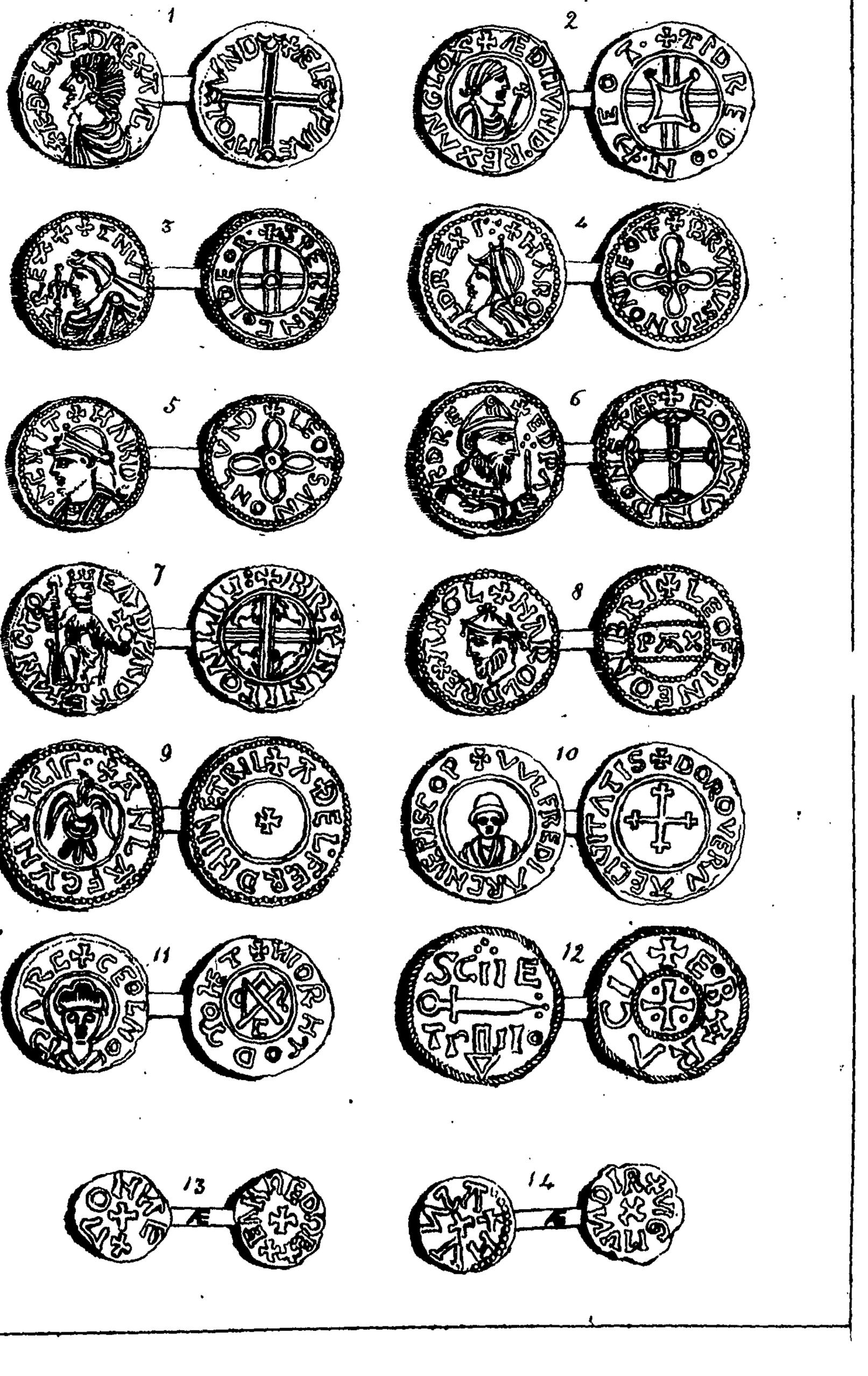
† Vide Leges Æthelſtani et Ethelredi apud Wilkins.

‡ Vide Dr. Henry, ut ſup.

§ See plates VIII. and IX. of this volume, with the explanation of the coins in the Appendix.

CHAP.


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CHAP. VII.

Habits of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes.

THE art of weaving cloths, and of dying, with other dependent operations, were known to the Anglo-Saxons long before the union of the Heptarchy, ſo that it will be needleſs to enter into any further diſcourſe concerning them, and more particularly, becauſe it will be impoſſible to diſcover to what degree of perfection they were carried in England at this period; ſilks, linen, and the moſt eſteemed cloths, however, appear to have been imported from abroad, and conſtituted a conſiderable part of the articles wherewith other nations ſupplied the Engliſh, not only at this time, but even long after the Norman conqueſt.

The art of weaving, &c. known before this period.

One thing we muſt not omit, for which the Anglo-Saxon ladies were very famous, and that was the art of needlework and embroidery with threads of gold and ſilver, and various colours, wherewith they not only delineated flowers, birds or other ornaments of the like kind, but alſo hiſtorical repreſentations of particular events, and the actions of great men. Wiglaf, king of Mercia, had a golden veil, whereon was worked in embroidery, the deſtruction of Troy, which he gave to the abbey of Croyland *. We may alſo mention the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux, on which is repreſented a whole ſeries of events, beginning with the embaſſy of Harold the ſecond, to the court of William duke of Normandy, and ending with his death at the battle of Haſtings about two years after †; this, we are poſitively told, was the work of Matilda, wife to duke William, and the ladies of the court, many of whom were Engliſh, and greatly aſſiſted in the completion of this curious performance.

Anglo-Saxon ladies famous for embroidery.

The art of embroidery was in the higheſt eſteem at court, and a material part of the education of a young princeſs, or lady of the firſt nobility, and to excel in it was accounted a great honour. The four daughters of Edward the elder, in particular, are highly praiſed for their ſkill in ſpinning, weaving, and needle-work ‡.

Art of embroidery learned by ladies of higheſt rank

We ſhall now proceed to give as minute a deſcription of the dreſs of the Anglo-Saxons, as is conſiſtent with the preſent deſign.

The habits of the Anglo Saxons deſcribed.

* "Velum meum (*ſays Wiglaf in his charter to the abbey of Croyland*) aureum quo inſuitur excidium Troiæ." Ingulf. a Saville edit. p. 487. 6.

† Montfaucon's Monarchié Francoiſe.

‡ Malmſ. lib. 2. cap. v.

The

General habit of the men.

The general exterior habit of the men among the Anglo-Saxons, from the king to the huſbandman, appears to have been nearly of the ſame form, and to differ only in the fineneſs of the cloth, and the ornaments with which thoſe of the kings and nobles frequently abound. This common habit was a tunic, with ſleeves reaching to the wriſt, bound about the waiſt, from whence it was continued down to the top of the knee; over this they uſually wore a ſhort cloak, which was moſt frequently buckled upon the left ſhoulder, though ſometimes indeed, inſtead thereof, it was faſtened upon the middle of the breaſt; but this variation ſeems to be always the mark of a perſon of diſtinction *.

Particular habit of the nobility.

The habits particular to the nobility, and which ſeem never to be worn by perſons of the lower claſs, differed from thoſe above deſcribed, and bore a much nearer reſemblance to the royal robes of the king †; this habit conſiſted of a tunic with ſleeves, that reached down to the ankles, or at leaſt to the middle of the leg, and over that they wore a robe proportionable to it in length ‡; this habit however the nobility, to whom alone it ſeems to have belonged, did not often wear, but only when they were exerciſing their civil authority, or appeared on ſolemn occaſions at the king's court.

General habit of the women.

The general exterior habit of the women conſiſted of a tunic, which reached down to their ankles, and had looſe open ſleeves, that commonly ended at the wriſts, though ſome few inſtances are found of theſe ſleeves being long enough to cover the hands and reach ſome diſtance below them §; the tunic was girded about the waiſt with a girdle of cloth. They alſo conſtantly wore a veil which covered all the head and ſhoulders, and in general extended no further than the middle of the breaſt ||, though in ſome inſtances the ſame veil reaches down all round the body, like a large cloak, without being open before ¶.

General habit of the clergy.

The habit of the Anglo-Saxon clergy, in the early ages of chriſtianity, was very plain and ſimple, and ſuch indeed we find it in the moſt ancient delineations; the dreſs of the monk conſiſted of a tunic like that of the nobles, long, looſe, and reaching to the ancles, over which they wore a large looſe gown, with large ſleeves reaching a little below the elbow **, and not much different from this was the habit of the biſhop, the chief diſtinction was the looſe gown or ſurplice

* See fig. 4, 5, 6. plate X. and fig. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. plate XI. and fig. 6, 7. plate XII. of this volume, &c.

† See plate XIX. of the firſt volume of this work, p. 343. and plate I. of the preſent volume.

‡ See fig. I. plate XI. and fig. 10. plate XV. of this volume.

§ See fig. 4. plate XII.

|| See fig. 4, 5. plate XII.

¶ See fig. 1, 2, 3. plate XII. of this vol.

** Fig. 3. plate X,

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being rather longer than that of the monk, and the bottom of this tunic, as well as the edges of the ſleeves of the ſurplice, are ornamented with embroidery, while all the habit of the monk is perfectly plain and unadorned with edgings *. The archbiſhop has alſo a tunic like the two former clergymen, and a looſe ſurplice with large ſleeves, part of which falls down before him to his middle, and two other parts of it fall from each ſhoulder behind him as low as that in front; there alſo appears before him on the outſide of the tunic, two long pendant fillets, reaching nearly to the bottom of it, and ornamented at the ends with thin pieces of gold †. But in the ſucceeding times of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, the clergy laid aſide the ſimplicity of habit, and adopted other modes far more rich and pompous ‡.

Fine hair an ornament.

The Anglo-Saxons, and the Danes, conſidered fine long flowing hair as one of the greateſt ornaments a perſon could poſſeſs, which made them very careful to preſerve its beauty, and deck it out to the greateſt advantage; ſo happy were the Danes (who reſided in England, in the reign of Eadgar the peaceable) in the ſkilful management of their hair, that they thereby captivated the hearts of the Engliſh ladies §. To have the hair ſhorn off, was alſo a mark of the greateſt diſgrace amongſt the fair ſex, and was therefore one part of the puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as committed adultery ‖. Long hair being eſteemed beautiful, it was conſidered as a mark of ſelf-denial amongſt the clergy to be deprived of ſuch an ornament, for they were obliged to ſhave the crowns of their heads by way of diſtinction, and were by ſeveral canons forbid to conceal the tonſure ¶. The wearing of long hair was carried to ſuch an extravagant length during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, that it gave great offence to the clergy, and ſome of them preached vehemently againſt ſo unmanly a cuſtom **. Though the Anglo-Saxon ladies admired long hair, and were very particular in putting it into form, yet it is certain that when they were dreſſed, none (or at moſt a very ſmall part) of it could be diſcovered, their heads being conſtantly covered with a kind of hood or veil ††. The men

* See fig. 2. plate X.

† Fig. 1. plate X.

‡ See the figure of St. Dunſtan, plate III. of this volume.

§ J. Walingford apud Gale.

‖ Tacit. de morib German.

¶ Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 960. cap. 47.

** An ancient author gives us the following curious anecdote "The wearing of long hair during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor was ſo common, that Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, who flouriſhed at that time, not only boldly inveighed againſt this cuſtom and ſeverely reproached the people for their effeminacy, but when any one bowed down their heads to receive his bleſſing, before he gave it, he cut off a lock of hair with a little ſharp knife that he carried about him for that purpoſe, and commanded, by way of penance, that they ſhould cut the reſt of their hair in the ſame manner, denouncing dreadful judgments againſt ſuch as refuſed to comply with this impoſition." Vita Wulſtani Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 254.

†† See plate XII.

frequetly

frequently appear in the manuſcript delineations without any covering for their heads; but when they are covered, their common caps bear a great reſemblance to the ancient Phrygian bonnet, ſetting cloſe round the forehead, from whence they riſe with a curve *, but when we find the nobility attending upon the king, the curve at the top of the cap is omitted, and the cap is preciſely conical †; at other times they wore no caps, but diadems or circles of gold, or metal gilt ‡, and in ſome of the ancient monuments of this period, we find mention of half circles of gold, or gilt, which probably were uſed as hair tires by the women §.

Shaving of beards by the clergy.

Another particular mark of diſtinction between the clergy and the laity was, that the former conſtantly ſhaved their beards, whilſt the latter were permitted to let them grow as they pleaſed; but the cuſtom of wearing long beards gradually decreaſed, ſo that in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the Anglo-Saxons ſhaved off all their beards, except what grew upon the upper lip, which was permitted to extend to a conſiderable length ‖.

Shirts of linen.

The Anglo-Saxon nobility, and ſuch as could purchaſe them, were very fond of wearing linen ſhirts, which were made of ſofter and finer materials according to the purchaſer's price; as this part of the dreſs was worn next to the ſkin, we do not meet with the ſhape of it in the ancient delineations. In almoſt all the drawings of female figures, there is the appearance of an internal garment under the tunic, with cloſe ſleeves reaching down to the wriſts, which very likely was a linen ſhift ¶. The wearing of linen ſhirts was certainly looked upon as a ſpecies of luxury, becauſe woollen ſhirts are by the canons enjoined by way of penance for great offences **.

Tunics.

The form of the tunics we have already ſeen, and thoſe of the ſoldiers are ſaid to have been made of linen; if we may judge from the appearance of the womens tunics which are ſeen in the ancient delineations, we ſhall alſo have reaſon to believe that they alſo were linen, though dyed of various colours according to the fancy of the wearer. The tunics of the kings and nobility very probably were of ſilk, or at leaſt bordered and ornamented with ſilk and rich embroidery ††.

Robes or mantles.

The cloaks or robes of the Anglo-Saxons, like the tunic, were made of a variety of materials according to the rank and riches of the wearer; they were oftentimes ornamented round the edges with borders of embroidery of gold, or ſilks of various colours, and thoſe worn by the

* See figure 1. 3. plate XI. of this volume.

† See fig. 8. plate XV.

‡ See fig. 1, 2, 3. plate XV.

§ healpne bœnd gyldenne. Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 51.

‖ Malmſb. lib, 3.

¶ See plate XII. of this vol.

** Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 963. cap. 64.

†† See fig. 2. plate XIX. vol. I. and fig.

kings

kings at the time of their coronation were purple*; we find them of ſeveral colours in the ancient delineations; and from their appearance they ſeem to be made in general of fine cloth. The cloaks or mantles of the queens, or ladies of diſtinction, moſt likely were either ſilk or fine linen.

The veil part of the regal habit.

Wiglaf, king of Mercia, in a charter to the abbey of Croyland, makes mention of a golden veil, which was richly ornamented with embroidery, repreſenting the hiſtory of the deſtruction of Troy†, but what part of the royal habit this was, cannot be eaſily explained.

Stockings.

Figures in the moſt ancient delineations, appear with naked legs, but towards the latter end of the Saxon monarchy we find ſtockings very common, eſpecially amongſt perſons of condition, and might be made of woollen or linen; they appear to be made to fit the leg, and are wrapped about with a bandage, that makes many turns round the leg from the calf to the middle ‡.

Shoes.

The ſhoes ſeem to have undergone little or no alteration during the whole of this period, their form in moſt modern Saxon manuſcripts differs but little from thoſe in the moſt ancient; in the former they ſometimes appear to be enriched with ornaments and jewels §, and the uſe of them ſeems to have become more general, becauſe none but the ſlaves, and the very loweſt claſs of people, are painted without them.

Gloves.

Gloves were worn at the latter end of the period we are now ſpeaking of by the Anglo-Saxon kings and noblemen, and were a part of the duty that was paid to king Æthelred the Second by the foreign merchants ſettled in London for the protection he afforded them ‖.

Linen by whom moſt worn.

The greater part of the dreſs of the women of diſtinction and of the clergy ſeems to have been of fine linen, which was frequently ornamented with borders enriched with embroidery, if not with precious ſtones ¶.

Ornaments of gold.

Perſons of wealth of both ſexes were, at this period, extremely fond of ornaments of gold; ſuch as maſſy bracelets for the arms ** and neck ††; and rings for the fingers; chains of gold, and circlets ſet with jewels, which they wore upon their heads: golden bracelets were

* Ingulph. Hiſt. Croyland.
† Ibid.
‡ See fig. 6. plate XI.
§ See plate I. of this vol.
‖ See page 225 of this vol.
¶ See fig. 4. plate X. 2. 4. 5. plate XI.
** See one of theſe bracelets for the arms, as given from an ancient Saxon manuſcript, plate XVI. fig. 11.
†† We find bracelets for the neck mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon wills, where they are called by the name of ꝥpeoꝛn-beah, and ſome of them weighed 80 mancuſſes of gold, and ſome more. Some of the arm bracelets of the men would weigh 180 mancuſſes of gold, equal to ſeventeen ounces and three quarters of gold, Troy weight. Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 51.

worn by officers of diſtinction as civil and military badges of their office, and were frequently given by kings and princes to their followers as the reward of their valour or conduct; for which reaſon thoſe royal perſonages are ſtiled in the poems of that age bracelet-givers *.

Girdles, ſwords, &c.

Belts or girdles were admired ornaments among the Anglo-Saxon perſons of diſtinction, which were often curiouſly embroidered, and richly ſet with precious ſtones; from this belt the men uſually ſuſpended their ſwords, the hilts of which as well as the ſcabbards, were often adorned with gold, ſilver, or precious ſtones †.

Furs.

Furs alſo came into uſe towards the latter end of the preſent period, and were worn by the nobility: thoſe of ſables, beavers, and of foxes, were eſteemed the moſt valuable; but ſuch as could not afford to purchaſe them were forced to be content with others of leſs price, as the furs of cats and of lambs. The clergy, who at this time were as fond of pomp and finery as the laity, wore the richeſt furs, for which they were rebuked by Wulſtan biſhop of Worceſter, who contented himſelf with lamb's fur, which was eſteemed the moſt common of all ‡.

CHAP. VIII.

Learned Men, and the State of Learning amongſt the Anglo-Saxons, from the Beginning to the End of the Saxon Monarchy, with a ſhort Account of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

Decline of learning.

LEARNING was upon the decline towards the latter end of the eighth century, and, at the commencement of the ninth, was almoſt totally extinguiſhed §. Indeed, there were not above one or two men of the leaſt note in literature from the death of Alcuinus, A. D. 804, to the acceſſion of Ælfred the Great to the Saxon throne, A. D. 871, at which time the moſt learned man was Johannes Scotus Erigena, ſo named from his country Scotland, and the town of his birth, ſuppoſed to be the town of Air in that kingdom. This extra-

* Æþelſtan cyning, eorla dryhten, beorna beah gyfa; *Æthelſtan, the King, the Lord of Earls, the Child of the Bracelet giver.* Chron. Sax. ſub. an.

† Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 51.

‡ Vita Wulſtani Angl. Sax. t. 2. p. 259.

§ "At my acceſſion to the throne" (ſays king Ælfred himſelf, in a letter to Wulfsig, biſhop of Worceſter) "all knowledge of "learning was forgotten in the kingdom of "England, inſomuch that few to the ſouth "of the Humber underſtood the common "prayers of the church, or were capable "of tranſlating a ſingle Latin ſentence into "the Saxon tongue; but on the ſouth of "the Thames" (adds he) "I cannot re-"collect one that could do this." Spel. Vita Ælfredi, Appendix, p. 196.

ordinary

ordinary man finding none at home capable of inſtructing him, travelled as far as Greece in order to improve himſelf in learning, and by his aſſiduity acquired a greater knowledge in that language, and in philoſophical inquiries, than any other of his cotemporaries *. His learning, and other accompliſhments, gained him the favour of Charles the Bald, king of France. He wrote ſeveral books, ſome of which gave offence to the clergy; but his moſt capital work was a book concerning the Nature of Things, or the Diviſion of Nature †. Our Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that after the death of his patron Charles the Bald, he came over into England at the invitation of king Ælfred, and taught in the ſchools of Oxford, and that afterwards retiring thence to the abbey of Malmſbury, he was murdered by the ſcholars with their penknives ‡. But it has been juſtly obſerved by the modern authors, that the ancient hiſtorians have confounded this man with another John Scot a Saxon, who was a preceptor at Oxford, and ſlain by the monks of Ethelingey of which he was abbot; Erigena probably ended his days in France §.

Learning reſtored by Ælfred.

In the reign of Ælfred the Great, learning was again reſtored; but in ſuch profound ignorance were the times invelloped in the early part of his life, that although he was the ſon of a king, yet, at twelve years of age, he had not been taught to diſtinguiſh one letter from another, ſo little was learning eſteemed neceſſary to compleat the education of a prince ||; and, indeed, at the laſt, the knowledge that Ælfred acquired in literature ſeems rather to have been owing to an accident than deſign. One day, the queen his mother, had in her hand a book of Saxon poems, beautifully written and illuminated, which attracted the notice of Ælfred and his royal brothers, which the queen perceiving, ſaid to them, he who will firſt learn to read this book ſhall have it for his pains, which promiſe prevailed ſo much with Ælfred, that he inſtantly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of letters, and made ſuch a haſty progreſs that, in a little time, he not only read, but repeated the poem to his mother, and had the book beſtowed upon him according as had been promiſed. From this time he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to reading, and his thirſt after knowledge, inſtead of abating increaſed daily; but, want of proper maſters to inſtruct him, and the troubles of the ſtate which required his aſſiſtance, were great obſtacles to his improvement. However, that he might neglect no opportunity that offered, he conſtantly carried a book in his boſom, to ſtudy when he found leiſure. When he had reſtored peace to his kingdom by the reduction of the Danes, he redoubled his diligence in the purſuit of literature, and by conſtant application, became one of the greateſt ſcholars of the age wherein he flouriſhed. It

* Ball de Scriptor.
† This book was publiſhed by Dr. J. Gale.
‡ Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 4.
§ Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.
|| Ibid.

is ſaid that he ſpoke the Latin language as fluently as his own, and was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek, though he did not ſpeak it *. He was, in ſhort, an eloquent orator, a great philoſopher, an hiſtorian, a ſkilful muſician and architect, and an excellent poet †.

Learned foreigners invited.

Ælfred, for the greater encouragement of literature, among his ſubjects, invited learned men from foreign countries to his court, where he gave them every poſſible encouragement, and favoured them with the higheſt marks of his eſteem. Some he kept about his own perſon as companions of his ſtudies, and to aſſiſt him in the education of his children; others he ſtationed in ſuch places as they might prove uſeful to the public, and advance the general cauſe of literature ‡.

Aſſerius a man of learning.

One of the chief of thoſe learned men whom king Ælfred invited to his court was Aſſerius, a monk of Saint David's in Wales, to whom we owe the full account of the life and actions of that great prince. Aſſerius was a great favourite with Ælfred, who was charmed with his converſation, and entreated him to ſtay with him at court, and return no more to his monaſtery; but though Aſſerius could not well conſent to this requeſt, he obtained permiſſion of the fraternity to reſide one half the year at the king's court, on condition of his tarrying the other half at the monaſtery. The greater part of the time he ſpent with the king was taken up in ſtudying with him, who, in return, made him many noble preſents §.

Grimbald.

Grimbald, a monk of Rheims, was another learned man, whom Ælfred invited to his court to aſſiſt him in the revival of learning among his ſubjects, who, from his knowledge in theology and eccleſiaſtical matters, and ſkill in church muſic, was very ſerviceable to the king.

John Scot, and other learned men.

John Scot, a native of Old Saxony, was another that received an invitation from the king, who came over into England, and taught in the public ſchools in Oxford. This man has been confounded by ſome of the ancient hiſtorians with Johannes Scotus Erigena; but it is evident that he was a different perſon ‖. Other learned men, who aſſiſted king Ælfred in his laudable deſign, were Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Werefrid, biſhop of Worceſter; Dunwulf, biſhop of Wincheſter; Wulfig and Æthelſtan, both biſhops of London, and Werebert, biſhop of Cheſter ¶.

Ælfred tranſlates books.

Ælfred not only cauſed theſe aſſiſtants to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to promote the advancement of literature, but alſo joined his own labours, compoſing many original works, and tranſlating others out of the Latin into the Saxon tongue, that they might be underſtood

* Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.
† W. Malmſb. l. 2. c. 4. Ingulph, &c.
‡ Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ingulph. Hiſt. Croyland.
¶ Aſſerius Vit. Ælfredi.

ſtood by the people *; for whoſe uſe, and the encouragements of learning they were ſolely deſigned.

University of Oxford inſtituted.

At the time Ælfred came to the throne, all public ſchools and ſeminaries of learning were deſtroyed; therefore, when he repaired the ruined monaſteries, and built new ones, he erected a ſchool in each for the education of youth; but as the learning acquired at theſe ſchools was chiefly religious, and confined to ſuch youth as were deſigned for the church, they contributed very little in ſpreading the light of literature amongſt the laity, the conſideration of which cauſed king Ælfred to form a noble deſign to make learning more univerſal, which he ſoon after executed. He determined, therefore, to inſtitute public ſchools on a more extenſive plan, wherein youth might be inſtructed in all the known ſciences by the beſt maſters that could be procured, and he fixed upon Oxford for the ſpot; and to enable his deſigns to be carried forward with the greater ſucceſs, he provided at that place all ſuitable accommodations, as well for the tutors, as the ſcholars †.

Revival of literature.

He alſo did all that lay in his power to encourage the purſuit of learning, the way to which he had rendered ſo eaſy and pleaſant, not only by his own zealous example, but by ſpeaking of literature at all times with the greateſt commendation, and by making it the road to preferment both in church and ſtate ‡. He was ſo ſucceſsful in his undertaking, that the thirſt for learning began to grow univerſal; the old nobility bewailed their want of knowledge, and corrected that error in the education of their children; and ſome of them, even in their advanced age, applied themſelves to letters with great aſſiduity. Before his deceaſe all the ſees in his dominions were filled with learned prelates, and ſuch as well underſtood the nature of their offices, and the duty they ought to perform; by which means the precepts of religion were better explained to the people than they had been done heretofore.

Decline of learning again.

After the death of Ælfred, learning gradually declined again; for Edward the Elder, his ſon, who ſucceeded him, not having a genius or taſte for ſtudy equal to his father, was not ſo zealous a patron of learned men. The ſubſequent invaſion of the Danes, who were profeſſed enemies to all civility and ſcience, may be thought ſufficient reaſons for this decline, and the occaſion that when thoſe men of learning who flouriſhed under the protection of king Ælfred, died, they were not ſucceeded by others of equal abilities; ſo that during the greater part

* The ignorance of the clergy was the occaſion of his undertaking this taſk, as he himſelf informs us in his preface to his Saxon tranſlation of the Paſtoral of St. Gregory. Vid. Spelm. Vit. Ælfredi, where may be found a compleat liſt of the works of this king, amongſt which his tranſlation of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is one of the chief.

† Spelman Vit. Ælfredi Johan. Roſſii, &c.

‡ Malmſb. l. 2. cap. 4.

of

of the tenth century, and in the beginning of the eleventh, the light of literature was almoſt totally extinguiſhed, not only in England, but indeed all over Europe *.

Univerſity of Cambridge inſtituted.

But although Edward the Elder had not that ardent zeal in the cauſe of literature which his father manifeſted, yet he, in many things, imitated his example, and went ſo far (if we may believe ſome of the later writers) as to found or reſtore the univerſity of Cambridge after the ſame manner as his father had done at Oxford †. If this report is true, that univerſity was deſtroyed by the Danes in the beginning of the eleventh century, and not rebuilt till after the Norman conqueſt.

The children of king Edward famous for learning.

Edward was alſo very careful to give his children a liberal education, and they ſo far profited thereby, that they far excelled all the princes and princeſſes that were cotemporary with them in literary accompliſhments. Ethelward, his third ſon, in particular, is noticed by hiſtorians to have been a young man of very promiſing genius, but he died young ‡. Alſo Æthelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded him in his throne, is ſaid to have been a prince of great learning for the age in which he flouriſhed §; and his love for literature ſeems evident from one of his laws, by which it was decreed, that any man who acquired ſuch a proficiency in learning as to obtain prieſt's orders, ſhould be honoured with the dignity and privileges of a thane ‖. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, it is certain, that no men of any great note in the literary line flouriſhed, either during the reigns of Edward the Elder, of Æthelſtan, or, indeed, of any of the five ſucceeding kings; for notwithſtanding all the extravagant encomiums that have been beſtowed by the monks upon their favourite Dunſtan, and the praiſes they heap upon him on account of his learning, their aſſertions are rather ſuſpicious, becauſe in many inſtances, they have not ſcrupled to depart from the truth.

Total decline of literature.

After the deceaſe of Eadgar, the power of the Danes continually increaſed, and England became a ſcene of ruin and deſolation, and among other places that felt the effects of the rage of thoſe mercileſs invaders, Oxford and Cambridge, the ſeats of literature, were buried in ruins ¶. Ælfric, the grammarian, was the only learned man of note that flouriſhed at this time in England. He was a man of great erudition, and a voluminous writer, but his hiſtory is clouded with many difficulties. He appears to have been born about the middle of the tenth century, and was educated under Ethelwald, biſhop of Winchеſter, who took great pains to teach youth the rules of grammar, and the art of tranſlating Latin into Engliſh. Whilſt Ælfric was yet young, he manifeſted his ſuperior abilities by the progreſs he made in

* J. Roſſ.
† Malmſb. lib. 2. c. 5.
‡ Ibid. c. 6.
§ Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 406.
‖ Chron. Sax. ſub an.
¶ Ib. ſub an. 1010.

his

his learning *, and A. D. 987, he was ſent by Elphegus (who ſucceeded Ethelwald in the ſee of Wincheſter) to the monaſtery of Cerne in Dorſetſhire, then newly founded, where he compoſed a grammar of the Latin tongue †, and tranſlated eighty homilies out of the Latin into Saxon for the uſe of the clergy ‡. Theſe and other learned works procured him ſuch great reputation, that he was advanced at laſt to the archiepiſcopal chair.

State of learning at the concluſion of this period.

King Cnut on his being eſtabliſhed upon the Saxon throne, reſtored peace to the nation, after the long and diſtreſſing wars which it had ſuſtained, and being himſelf a man fond of literature, it is ſuppoſed he re-edified the public ſchools at Oxford, and granted them the ſame privileges and revenues they had formerly enjoyed §; but theſe they were deprived of again, after his death, by his ſon and ſucceſſor, Harold, and ſo remained until they were again reſtored by Edward the Confeſſor, under whoſe influence, Oxford once more became the chief ſeat of learning ‖.

Cauſes that hindered learning.

The ſcarcity of books at this period, was a great hindrance to the progreſs of literature. Beſides the difficulty of procuring proper maſters of the ſciences for the inſtruction of youth, the tedious and perplexing methods in which the ſciences were taught, rendered them very diſcouraging to young minds, as for example, arithmetic, which is now learned by every common ſchool-boy, was at that time conſidered as a ſcience, almoſt exceeding the powers of the human mind to attain ¶. Nor is it at all ſurprizing, when we are informed, that the invention of Arabian figures was not known to them **, and this want of figures moſt probably gave riſe to the digital or manual arithmetic, by which various calculations were made ††, and this was eſteemed a ſtudy of ſuch importance, that it claimed the attention of one of the greateſt Anglo-Saxon writers, who took great pains to explain the rules whereby it was to be learned §§.

* Spelman's Concil. t. I. p. 572. Anglia Sacra, t. I. p. 130.

† Hence he obtained the ſirname of *Grammarian*.

‡ Anglia Sacra, theſe homilies are yet extant in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries.

§ Wood's Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon.

‖ Thus much we may gather from the words of Ingulphus, who lived at this time. "I was born (ſays he) in England, of Engliſh parents, in the beautiful city of London, and educated in my tender years at Weſtminſter, from whence I was after ſent to *Oxford* to compleat my ſtudies, where I made a greater progreſs in the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, than moſt of my companions, and became well acquainted with the rhetoric of Cicero. Ingulf. Hiſt. Croyland.

¶ Epiſt. Aldhelm. apud Anglia Sacra. t. 1. p. 6, 7.

** They had only the ſeven following MDCLXVI, or the 27 letters of the Greek alphabet. Bedæ opera, p. 8.

†† Bedæ opera, p. 127.

§§ The reader may eaſily conceive that the want of ſuch numbers as are now in uſe muſt have rendered the ſtudy of arithmetic very tedious and perplexing.

Various sciences considered.

As great difficulties undoubtedly attended the methods in which geometry, aſtronomy, and all the other ſciences were taught, ſo but few were found poſſeſſed of reſolution and aſſiduity equal to the taſk of acquiring the knowledge of them. How far they underſtood geography, at this period, may be ſeen by an old map delineated about the latter end of the ninth century *, which, however devoid of truth it may be in ſome particulars, yet there is ſomething in the general idea, or form, which plainly ſhows that the deſigner muſt have had better information of things than could have been expected, eſpecially when we conſider how few the travellers of this age were, and how confined their expeditions, and that learning of all kinds was chiefly, if not entirely, confined to monks, who ſcarcely ever quitted their cells.

State of medicine.

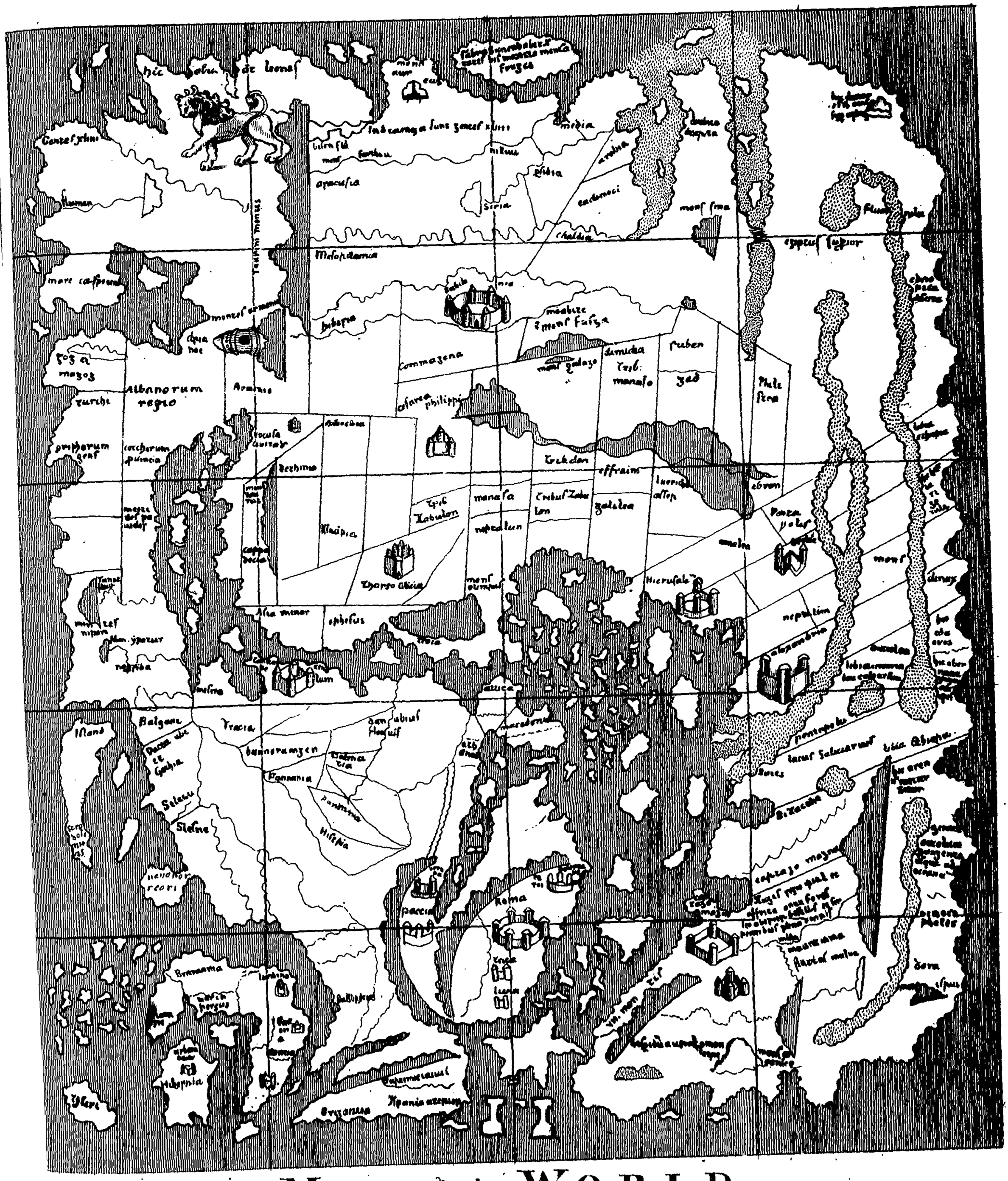
Concerning the ſtate of medicine at this period, we have but little information; but, in the early part of it we may believe, that it conſiſted chiefly of noſtrums which had been handed down from one age to another, which were often accompanied with whimſical rites and ceremonies, to which the ſucceſs was often in a great meaſure attributed. When this was the caſe, the profeſſion of medicine fell into the hands of the moſt ignorant people, and particularly old women were ſuppoſed to be the moſt expert in the applying remedies for the diſeaſes, and accordingly were in high repute amongſt the Anglo-Saxons; but after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the clergy took upon them the profeſſion of medicine, and the reputation of the old medicinal women gradually decayed. However, there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the clergy were not leſs ſuperſtitious in their methods of application of medicine, than their venerable predeceſſors, obſerving carefully, certain times and ſeaſons, which were eſteemed either fortunate or unfortunate, eſpecially the changes of the moon, and appearance of the planets, which were a matter of the greateſt moment to be conſidered, when any medicines were to be adminiſtered, or the patient bled †. After Ælfred the Great had ſet the example of tranſlating Latin and other books into the Saxon tongue, amongſt others that were tranſlated, were many medicinal ones, copies of ſome of which are at this day remaining, and one of them embelliſhed with delineations of a variety of herbs not ill done, when we conſider the low ſtate of the arts at the time in which it was written, which as near as can be judged from the hand, appears to have been during the tenth century §. By ſuch means as theſe, ſome knowledge of medicine was acquired before the concluſion of the Saxon government, at which time, per-

* An engraving of this map is given plate XIII. of this volume, which the reader will find particularly explained in the appendix.

† Vide page 345 of the firſt volume of this work, note ‡.

§ This MS. is in the Cotton library, marked Vitellius, c. 3.

haps,



MAP of the WORLD.

From an Ancient M.S. in the Cotton Library, marked Tiberius B.V.

haps, beſides theſe phyſical clergy, there might be perſons whoſe only profeſſion was ſurgery and phyſic.

Anglo-Saxon language conſidered.

Before we conclude this chapter, it is thought neceſſary to add ſome few obſervations concerning the antiquity and excellence of the Anglo-Saxon language. It was a branch of the Gothic or Teutonic tongue, which was one of the moſt ancient original languages of Europe. It is impoſſible to trace its origin; but at the period we are now treating of, it was copious and expreſſive, ſo that thoſe who ſpoke it might deliver their ideas with great force and perſpicuity *.

Its excellency.

As a mark of its ſuperior excellence, it has been affirmed, that almoſt all the original words of the Teutonic tongue conſiſted of but one ſyllable, and which was expreſſive of the nature of the thing ſo named, and that by a happy conjunction of theſe words a moſt expreſſive diſcourſe was eaſily framed †; but after all, there is not ſufficient proof that this was really the caſe, for in the moſt ancient remaining monuments of this language, it is certain that monoſyllables are not ſo very frequent, and though it muſt be confeſſed that moſt of the preſent monoſyllables in our modern language are of Saxon origin, yet it is equally certain that many of them formerly conſiſted of two ſyllables ‡.

The great change made in it at this period.

There is not the leaſt reaſon to imagine that any very great change was made in the Anglo-Saxon language during this period: we have no remains of it as it was ſpoken before their converſion to Chriſtianity, therefore it is impoſſible to trace it ſo high. All that can be done therefore in a work of a general nature, like the preſent, will be to lay before the readers ſome few ſpecimens of the Anglo-Saxon language in the remoter and more modern parts of this period §.

The Daniſh language.

With regard to the Danes, the language they ſpoke originated from the ancient Teutonic, as well as that of the Saxons, and on their ſettlement in Britain, did not long continue a diſtinct tongue, but was ſo blended into the Saxon language, that it ſoon became a particular dialect of the ſame. And this kind of Anglo-Dane-Saxonic was chiefly ſpoken in Northumberland, and the Eaſt-Angles where the Danes principally reſided.

* Camden's Remains, Verſtegan, &c.

† Ibid.

‡ As for inſtance, the Saxon word Cyn-ning is now contracted to a word of one ſyllable, *king*, ſo u-ꝑen is *our*, ꝑil-lo *will*, no-ma *name*, &c.

§ Theſe ſpecimens the reader will find in the Apppendix to this volume.

CHAP. IX.

State of the Polite Arts amongſt the Anglo-Saxons.

Sculpture. THE deſign of the preſent chapter is to offer ſome general remarks upon the ſtate of ſculpture, painting, poetry and muſic, during the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. With regard to ſculpture, ſo few ſpecimens of it are now remaining, that it will be impoſſible to form a fair judgment upon its defects or excellencies; the few baſs reliefs, perhaps the only ſpecies of ſculpture of the Anglo-Saxons yet undeſtroyed, are, it is true, but rudely cut, and particularly deficient where the human figure is intended to be repreſented, and more eſpecially where an attempt is made to ſhow the figure naked. If we can depend indeed upon ſome monumental effigies, which are ſaid to be the workmanſhip of the Saxons, we ſhould paſs a more favourable judgment * upon the ſtate of this art at the concluſion of the preſent period, than we had formed an idea of from the rudeneſs of ſome of the baſs relievos or the manuſcript delineations; however, it is generally thought, that the beſt ſculptures of the Saxons, were ſtiff, aukward and clumſy.

Painting. If the art of ſculpture was carried to no great perfection by the Anglo-Saxons, that of deſign and painting ſeems ſtill to have been more defective. The delineations we meet with in the more ancient Saxon manuſcripts are ſcarcely more than outlines, and in general of but one colour, which at preſent appears to be a deepiſh brown; but in the more modern times of the Saxon monarchy, we meet with ſome few attempts at finiſhing the delineations, which perhaps may indeed be thought by artiſts of the preſent age to be no great improvement, ſince the ſpirit of the outline is often loſt, or at leaſt they are rendered rather more gaudy than elegant; but ſome ſpecimens of theſe delineations in the manner they really appear, will doubtleſs be eſteemed more ſatisfactory than the beſt deſcription that can be given †.

* Such as the monumental effigy of *Vitalis*, abbot of Weſtminſter, (who died A. D. 1082.) in the cloiſters of Weſtmiſter abbey, which although at preſent almoſt defaced bears the marks of having once been well executed.

† Specimens of the art of deſign amongſt the Saxons may be ſeen plate XX. and XXI. vol. I. Alſo plates III. IV. XIII. XIV. and XV. of the preſent volume. Plate XV. in particular contains a variety of ſpecimens, and the MSS. from which they are taken are declared in the deſcription of the plates in the Appendix at the end of this volume. For a greater variety of ſpecimens the reader is referred to the firſt volume of the Þonda Angel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

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The famous St. Dunſtan is celebrated by his biographer, as very ſkilful in the art of deſign, inſomuch, that applications were made to him by religious ladies, to draw out patterns for them when they were deſirous of making any curious piece of embroidery *, and there is yet extant a drawing ſaid to have been done by the hand of this extraordinary man †; but if we may judge of the taſte of that age from this rude delineation, the concluſions we muſt draw from thence will be very unfavourable; at the ſame time it is but juſtice to declare, that this drawing of Dunſtan's is far out-done by many others about the ſame date; yet, after all that can be ſaid in favour of the manuſcript delineations of the Anglo-Saxons, it muſt be acknowledged, that they are in general ſtiff and inelegant, without any regard being paid to the proportion or perſpective; and the ornaments with which they are frequently crowded, (though better drawn than the figures,) are for the moſt part heavy and void of taſte. Dunſtan a famous artiſt.

It was very common not only to ornament books with the portraits of ſaints, of kings and other great men, but paintings of them were alſo placed in churches and monaſteries ‡; ſeveral of the former are remaining to this day, but all of the latter have been long ſince deſtroyed. Nor did the painters confine themſelves to portraits, hiſtorical delineations are frequent in the ancient manuſcripts, beſides which, they had larger pictures, repreſenting paſſages in hiſtory, and the actions of great men; ſuch a one was preſented to the church of Ely by Edelfleda, the widow of the famous Brithnod, duke of Northumberland, in the tenth century, wherein ſhe had cauſed to be painted the hiſtory of the great actions of her deceaſed lord, in order to preſerve the memory of his valour and other virtues §. Portrait and hiſtory painting.

It is a queſtion if the art of painting upon glaſs was known or not at this early period; but as there is by no means any ſufficient evidence that it was, all further enquiries concerning it are likely to prove ineffectual; we ſhall, therefore, paſs it over with a ſuppoſition that it was not. Painting on glaſs thought not to be known.

As writing, at this time, may be eſteemed a ſort of painting, we will offer ſome few general remarks upon it in this place. We have already ſeen, that even during the Heptarchy, books were written and ornamented with uncommon pains; and it became faſhionable to Writing.

* Anglia Sacra, vol. II. p. 94.

† It is a figure of Chriſt, ſeated with Dunſtan, himſelf in the habit of a monk kneeling at his feet; this delineation is copied from the original MS. in the Bodleian library, in the firſt volume of Hickes's Theſaurus, and alſo in the firſt volume of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh above-quoted, plate XVIII.

‡ Malmſbury informs us, that there were portaits of Styward, firſt abbot of Glaſtonbury, which were always repreſented with a whip or rod for diſcipline. Antiq. Glaſton. apud T. Gale, t. 1. p. 317.

§ Hiſt. Elien. apud Gale.

decorate the title pages, and initial letters, with great care. Towards the concluſion of the Heptarchy they ornamented them with gold and ſilver, beſides the variety of colours they continued to uſe, as in the foregoing period. One of the moſt ancient ſpecimens of writing among the Anglo-Saxons is a manuſcript of the four goſpels, written at the concluſion of the ſeventh century; the writing is very fair, and it is enriched with a variety of curious ornaments *. From the appearance of the inſtrument with which they wrote, it ſeems to have been made of metal, and not any ſort of quill †. Their ink appears, even at the preſent time, in manuſcripts that have been carefully preſerved, freſh and fair, ſo that it muſt have been made of a mixture of very durable materials; and it was in general laid on ina body; for, on paſſing the finger over it, it is frequently found to riſe up from the vellum. It is certain that they ſometimes wrote with a kind of ſize or glutinous ſubſtance, which they very dexterouſly gilt with thin leaves of gold or ſilver, and in this manner ſome of their books were ornamented; and indeed, one Saxon manuſcript is yet extant, which, from the beginning to the end, is written in letters of gold, or rather gilt, which, in ſome particular points of view, has a very pompous appearance ‡.

Poetry. Never was poetry more admired and honoured than in the preſent period, even kings themſelves were candidates for the laurel. Ælfred the Great was the beſt poet of his age. Poets were frequently choſen for the friends and favourites of the greateſt monarchs, obtained a place at their own tables, and were loaded with favours and rewards. Nor was it among the Anglo-Saxon kings alone that poetry was ſo much eſteemed; for, at this period, all the northern nations were equally fond of this art, and held thoſe who excelled in it in equal veneration. Cnut, the Daniſh king of England, was not only a poet himſelf §, but had conſtantly in his court ſeveral Daniſh and Norwegian bards, whoſe poems he took great delight in hearing ‖; and, indeed, poetry was in ſuch univerſal eſteem, that it formed a great part of the education of the nobility.

Surpriſing effects of poetry. In the hiſtories of the northern nations many extraordinary inſtances are to be found of the aſtoniſhing power of poetry, by which every paſſion of the human mind was to be excited or appeaſed ¶; and, indeed,

* See plate XX. vol. 1. See alſo various ſpecimens of writing, plate XVI. and the whole page plate XIV.

† See the repreſentation of the pen taken from a very ancient Saxon MS. plate XVI. fig. 3, and the penknife, fig. 2, of the ſame plate.

‡ This MS. is preſerved in the Cotton Library, and is marked Veſpaſian A. VIII.

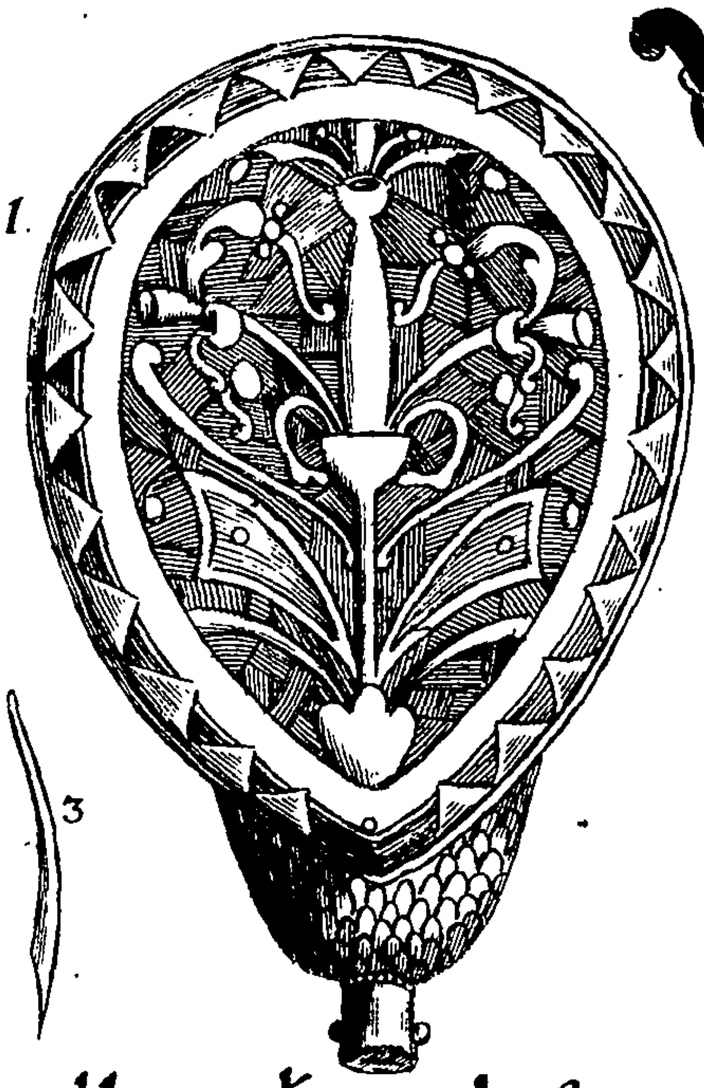
§ Hiſt. Ælienſis, l. 2. cap. 27.

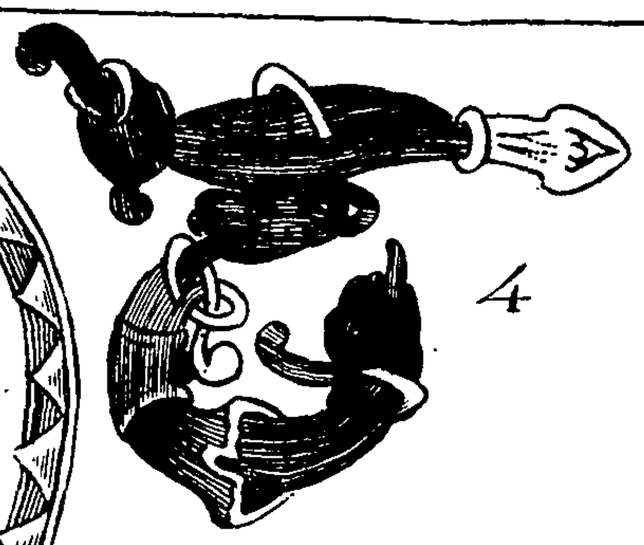
‖ Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 243.

¶ A remarkable inſtance of this is recorded in the ancient northern hiſtories. Egill Skullagrim, a famous northern poet, had in a quarrel ſlain the ſon of Eric Blodox, king of Norway; he was afterwards taken by Eric's queen, and ſent into Northumberland, where Eric then was. When the poet was brought before the enraged monarch,

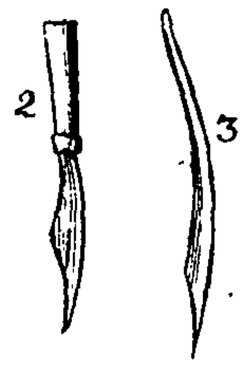


Fig. 1.





4



2 3



5

6 Uuer the thin uuilleo ðar thela
uuerold alla sosamo anerdu sothar uppe

7 ðeh del and
Respondensihs
cueð eft rona
ðurh tenuin
in birpllum
him cneð
iupporacbolus eas diceus

9 lædde iosephyr
fæder into hă
cyninge ⁊ frætte
hine beropan.

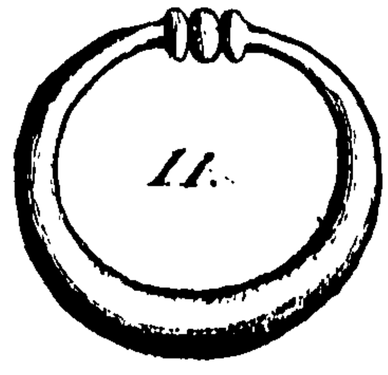
10
þelig pide ⁊ todan.



8

VESSI

autem unnodm
cudðe hrdrto hyrsn clndæ
untæ solitæruiæ quæm



11.

deed, their ancient bards would frequently boaſt of the effects of their poems *. The poetical language of the northern poets was metaphorical and figurative in the higheſt degree; yet theſe metaphors were not ſuch as depended upon the will or invention of the poet, but ſuch as had received the ſtamp of public approbation from the more remote times. Their gods had a proportionable number of epithets according to their power and rank. Odin was called the Father of the Ages, the Supercilious, the Eagle, the Father of Verſes, &c. and ſo of the other deities. Rivers were called the Sweat of the Earth, and the Blood of the Vallies; arrows were ſtiled the Daughters of Misfortune, the Hail-ſtones of Helmets: the eye was called the Torch of the Countenance, the Diamond of the Head: the graſs and herbage, the Hair and Fleece of the Earth: the hair of the head was called the Foreſt of the Head, and, when white, the Snow of the Brain: the epithets for the earth were, the Veſſel that floats on the ages, the Baſis or Foundation of the Air, the Daughter of Night: night itſelf was called the Veil of Diſcourſe and Cares: a combat, the Craſh of Arms, the Shower of Darts, the Clangor of Swords, the Bath of Blood: the ſea was ſtiled, the Field of Pirates, a ſhip, the Scate of the Pirates, the Horſe of the Waves; and rocks the Bones of the Earth, &c. but this profuſion of metaphors frequently rendered the ſenſe of the poem very obſcure, but more particularly ſo to the readers of the preſent age †.

Their rules of verſification are very difficult to define from the vaſt variety of endings and meaſures of the verſes; for they had no fewer than one hundred and thirty-ſix kinds of metre, without including rhyme; and this metre may be chiefly, if not altogether, reduced to different kinds of aliteration ‡. Rules of verſification.

The droquæt, or common ſong, was moſt generally uſed, each verſe of which conſiſted of ſix ſyllables, each diſtich of two lines, and each ſtanza of four diſtiches, or eight lines. The harmony of this verſification was partly literal, and partly ſyllabical. The literary harmony conſiſted in three words in each diſtich beginning with the ſame letter; the ſyllabical harmony conſiſted of two ſyllables of ſimilar ſounds in each line, which were called the ſonorous ſyllables. This ſyllabical harmony was perfect, when it conſiſted in the two ſimilar ſyllables beginning with the ſame vowels and conſonants; and imperfect, when they conſiſted of the ſame conſonants, but not of the ſame vowels: the ſyllabical harmony might be imperfect in the firſt line, but it was always neceſſary for it to be perfect in the ſecond §, ſo that this Droquæt, or common ſong.

monarch, he began to ſing a ſong compoſed in his praiſe, with ſo much art and ſweetneſs, that he ſoftened his rage, and procured his pardon. Olai Wormii Literat. Dani.---Five ſpecimens of Runic poetry, &c. &c.

* Northern Antiq. vol. 2.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 192, 193, &c.

‡ Ibid. vol. 1. page 401.

§ All theſe rules are illuſtrated in the following two lines, where, for diſtinction ſake,

this alterative metre was capable of almoſt endleſs variations by changing the length of the verſes, and the number or poſition of the ſonorous letters or ſyllables.

Rhyme. Rhyme was alſo very common among the Norman poets, for not a few of their poems, which are yet in being, are moſt exactly rhymed, and even ſome of them have double rhymes*.

Variety of poems. The poems of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes conſiſted of ſo many various ſpecies that it will be impoſſible to enumerate them. Many of them, whilſt they were pagans, were hymns or ſongs of praiſe, compoſed in honour of their deities, which, on their converſion to Chriſtianity, were changed in favour of the ſaints and martyrs, for whom they held the higheſt veneration; beſides theſe, they had martial ſongs for the battle; others, celebrating the acts of great heroes; love ſongs for the entertainment of the fair ſex; ſatirical compoſitions for the expoſing of vice; elegies for ſorrowful occaſions, and ſprightly airs for the promotion of mirth and jollity †.

Muſic. If poetry was univerſally admired at this period, muſic was no leſs the object of general eſteem. The poet and the muſician were conſtantly the ſame, and the one appears to have been inſeparable from the other. Ælfred the Great was very ſkillful in muſic, which was of ſuch advantage to him, that, during the time of his diſtreſs, he diſguiſed himſelf as an ancient minſtrel, and went into the Daniſh camp, where he performed his part with ſuch excellency that he charmed the commanders, and was permitted to ſtay there till he had made every neceſſary obſervation concerning their ſtrength, and diſcovered their important councils ‡. Thoſe who excelled in this art were highly eſteemed, and uſually much careſſed by the greateſt monarchs. The famous Egil Skullagrim, mentioned above, on account of his ſuperior abilities in poetry and muſic, was ſo highly eſteemed by king Æthelſtan, that he could deny him nothing that he requeſted §.

Knowledge of muſic neceſſary. Some ſkill in vocal and inſtrumental muſic was neceſſary at this period, even in private life, to make a man reſpectable in company; for it was cuſtomary, at all the convivial meetings, for every man in his turn to take a harp, and play upon it whilſt he ſung a ſong agreeable to its notes to amuſe the aſſembly ‖.

Of

ſake, the ſonorous letters and ſyllables are put in capitals,

ChrISTus Caput nOSTrum
CorONet te bONis.

The letter C in this couplet is the ſonorous letter; IST and OST the ſonorous ſyllables in the firſt line, but imperfect, not having the ſame vowel at the beginning; and ON- -ON the ſonorous ſyllables in the ſecond line perfect, becauſe they conſiſt of the ſame vowels and conſonants.

* Northern Antiq. vol. 1. p. 399, note *.

† Vide Hickeſii Theſau. vol. 1.

‡ Malmſb. lib. 2. cap 10.

§ Ang. Jonas Iceland. l. 2. p. 129.

‖ A remarkable inſtance relative to the truth of this is mentioned by Bede in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He tells us, that Cædman had never learned to play upon the harp, or to ſing; ſo that if he was in company, and they took down the harp to play and ſing each in his turn, when the

Of all other inſtruments of muſic, the harp was the moſt eſteemed, not only by our northern anceſtors, but, by almoſt every nation in Europe. Thoſe who played upon it were eſteemed gentlemen by law, and their perſons ſecured from injuries by ſevere penalties: thoſe who excelled in it were readily admitted into the moſt ſplendid aſſemblies, and diſtinguiſhed with marks of the greateſt reſpect by people of the moſt exalted rank *. The harp.

The account of the other muſical inſtruments, as enumerated by an ancient hiſtorian who lived during the Heptarchy, has already been given in the former volume †. To thoſe we may add the following, which are mentioned by the writers of the middle ages, namely, the lute, the cymbal, the citola, the lyre, the ſyſtrum, and the campanula. Other inſtruments of muſic.

The form of the greater part of the ancient inſtruments are not known in the preſent age; ſome few of them, however, are preſerved in the manuſcript delineations of the Anglo-Saxons, and theſe have been thought, in every reſpect, worthy a place in the preſent work. Form of many ancient muſical inſtruments now loſt.

In the former volume ſome notice was taken of the organ mentioned by an ancient Anglo-Saxon writer, that it was probably a very ſimple inſtrument, compoſed of a certain number of pipes of different lengths and ſizes, and was blown into by the mouth. The repreſentation of an inſtrument of this ſort accompanies this chapter ‡, taken from an ancient manuſcript written during the tenth century, where it is poſitively called an organ §. We muſt not imagine that organs blown with bellows, and played upon with keys, were unknown in England at the period that manuſcript was written; for there is the cleareſt evidence that they were not only known, but alſo erected in churches. The famous Dunſtan gave to the church of Malmſbury, an organ with braſs pipes ‖; and Alwyn, alderman of all England, who flouriſhed about the ſame time, laid out the ſum of thirty Saxon pounds in building an organ in the church at Ramſey Abbey, which had pipes of braſs or copper, and was blown into by bellows, and played upon with keys, and was alſo furniſhed with proper ſtops ¶. Organs of this kind ſeem to have been known in the eaſt as early as the fourth century, but at Of the organ,

the harp approached Cædman, he would inſtantly riſe up, and depart to his own houſe "*aſhamed*," (as Ælfred in the Saxon verſion expreſſes it) that he was deficient in ſo general an accompliſhment.

* Leges Angl. apud Lindenbrog, p. 485. See the figure of the Anglo-Saxon harp, plate XVII. fig. 5.

† Vide vol. 1. p. 352.

‡ Plate XVII. fig. 4.

§ The MS. from which this delineation is taken is a Pſalter, and the whole of the picture (which accompanies the 137th pſalm) repreſents the Hebrews in their captivity at Babylon, where they are deſcribed by the Pſalmiſt as having hung their "*harps*" (for ſo our Engliſh verſion has it) upon the trees. In this delineation ſuch inſtruments as this are ſuſpended upon the trees; and in the text they are called organs.—"In ſalicibus in medio ejus ſuſpendimus *organa* noſtra."

‖ W. Malmſb. de Pontib.

¶ Hiſt. Ramſienſ. apud Gale, c. 54.

what

what time they made their way hither, cannot be aſcertained; but very probably not long before the above-mentioned period, becauſe the ancient hiſtorians ſpeak of them with the greateſt admiration, which ſeems a good argument that they were new and uncommon.

The violin and lyre, &c.

The violin conſiſted of four ſtrings, as in the preſent age, and was played upon much in the ſame manner *: they had alſo a ſort of lyre with four ſtrings, which were not ſtruck by the fingers, but by a ſmall rod, probably of metal, having a round ball or knob at the end †; and this inſtrument ſeems to have been chiefly uſed for dancing, when it was accompanied by two flutes, both of them played upon at once by the ſame perſon ‡.

Effect of muſic.

The great and aſtoniſhing effects of the power of muſic, as related by our beſt ancient hiſtorians, make it certain that the knowledge of it was very extenſive in thoſe early ages; for they ſpeak of it as able to raiſe and inflame the paſſions of the human heart; to elevate the hero's courage; to diſpel ſorrow; revive the ſpirits of thoſe fatigued; improve their joys; cure diſeaſes, and promote not only the health of the body, but the happineſs of the mind §.

Pſalmody great part of the religious worſhip.

The Anglo-Saxons were prodigiouſly fond of pſalmody, for the greater part of the church worſhip conſiſted in ſinging; and in ſome cathedrals and larger monaſteries, the ſinging continued day and night by a conſtant ſucceſſion of prieſts, and, from time to time, they were joined by the laity as occaſion ſerved, who were equally delighted with this perpetual harmony ‖. Indeed, moſt of their private devotions conſiſted in ſinging a number of pſalms, which was looked upon as the moſt efficacious way of appeaſing the wrath of Almighty God. The introduction of organs was a great improvement to this taſte with reſpect to the public worſhip, for with the aſſiſtance of thoſe notes, a much better effect muſt have been produced than when the chorus was entirely vocal.

One of the eſtabliſhed rules among the voluntary ſocieties that were formed in imitation of the tythings, was, that every member ſhould ſing two pſalms daily, one for all the members of the fraternity living, and the other for all that had been members, but were now dead; and, at the death of a member, each of thoſe that ſurvived ſhould ſing ſix pſalms ¶ for the good of his ſoul. Almoſt all the penances impoſed by the clergy were to be redeemed by ſinging a certain number of pſalms, or repeating the Lord's Prayer ſo many times **.

* Vide plate XVII. fig. 1.

† Plate XVII. fig. 10. is the lyre here mentioned, and fig. 11, the inſtrument with which it was ſtruck.

‡ See vol. 1. of the manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh, plate XVII. fig. 4. the other inſtruments of muſic upon plate XVII. are deſcribed in the Appendix.

§ Bedæ opera, vol. 1.

‖ Muratori Diſſert. T. 4.

¶ Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 22.

** If a penitent was condemned to faſt for ſuch a number of days, the faſting might be redeemed by his ſinging the *Pater Noſter*, and the 119th pſalm ſix times over for each day's faſt. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 963.

CHAP.

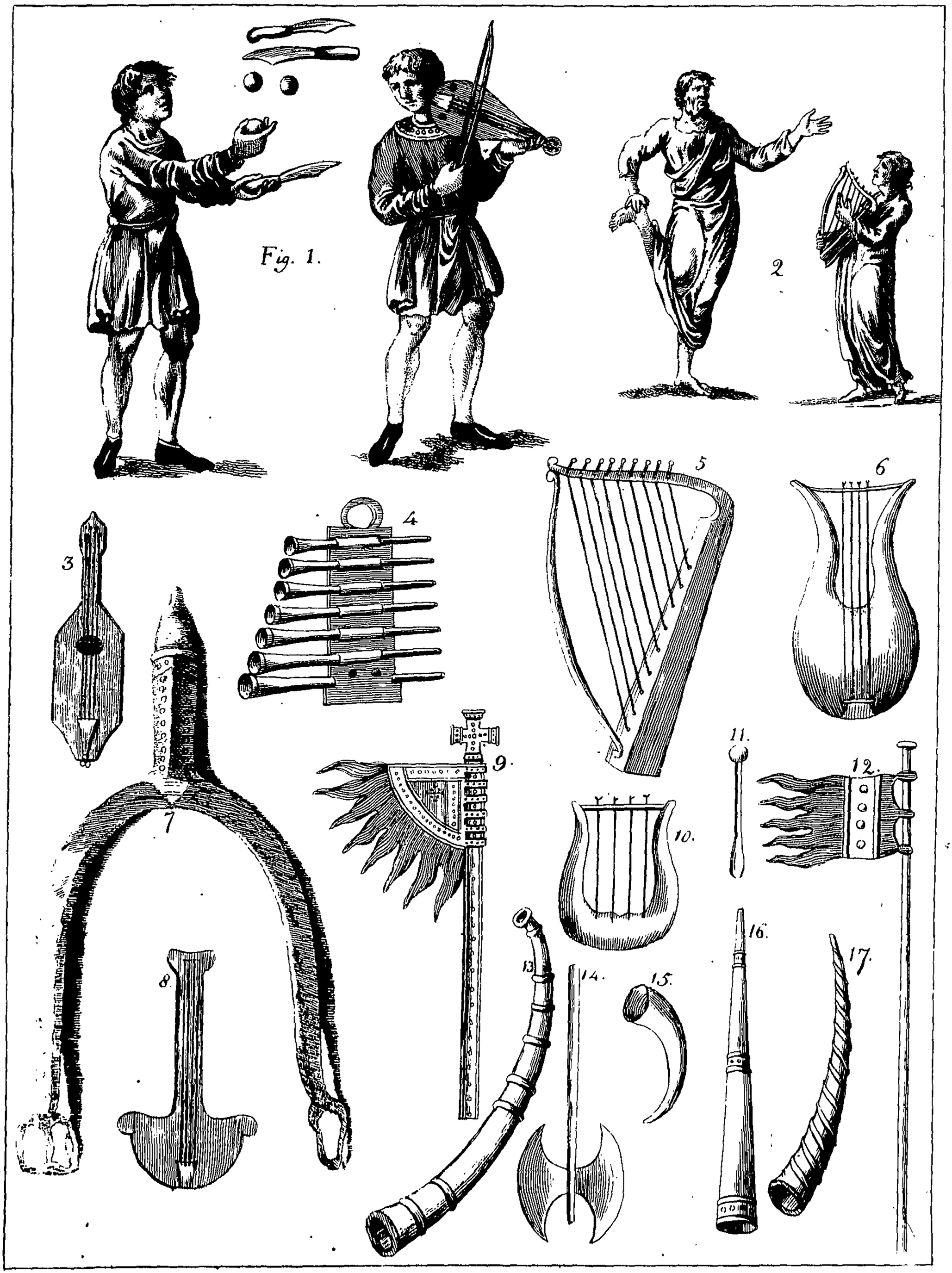


Fig. 1.

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CHAP. X.

Particular Manners and Cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Danes.

Perſons and character of the Anglo-Saxons reſumed.

THE perſons and general character of our Saxon anceſtors were ſlightly touched upon in the preceding volume *, ſo that very little is neceſſary to be added here; there is indubitable evidence that the Anglo-Saxon youth were fair and beautiful †, more particularly the females, who in general poſſeſſed a large ſhare of perſonal charms. The Danes were very fond of their hair, which was in general fair coloured, like their complexions; many of thoſe who reſided in Northumberland, are ſaid to have had red hair ‡, and their eyes were moſt commonly blue, having ſomething particularly ſtern in their countenances when they were inflamed with anger §.

Their genius.

There is not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Anglo-Saxons were by any means defective in genius, but that the univerſal cloud of ignorance and ſuperſtition which darkened thoſe ages, prevented their ſhining with more luſtre. But yet, even amidſt all theſe manifeſt diſadvantages, ſome few men aroſe who poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare of genius and mental endowments, ſuch were Aldhelm, Bede, Alcvinus, Ælfred the Great, Aſſerius, &c.

Character.

Notwithſtanding the monks, through whoſe gloomy medium the character of our Anglo-Saxons is tranſmitted, have frequently been very bitter and ſevere in their accuſations againſt their country-men, the laity eſpecially, declaring them to be miſerably corrupt in their manners, and guilty of almoſt every wickedneſs and exceſs ‖, yet ſome have been candid enough to acknowledge, that though theſe vices were too general, yet they were by no means univerſal, and that, however depraved the manners of the greater part of them were, yet good and virtuous people were very frequently to be met with ¶.

Their ſuperſtition worked upon by the clergy.

The piety of the Anglo-Saxons at this age, was clouded with ſuperſtition and error, which the clergy failed not to improve in the minds of the people to their own advantage, and ſpared no opportunities that offered to perſuade rich men to become monks themſelves, or make their children ſuch, by which means they obtained poſſeſſion of their

* Vol. I. part V. chap. X. p, 353.

† Bede Ecc. Hiſt. l. 2. cap. I. et Eddius Vita Wilfredi cap. VI.

‡ Culver Antiq. Germ. p. 96.

§ Pelloutier, t. I. p, 198.

‖ Sermo Lupi, Hickeſii Diſſertat. Epiſt. p. 104, 105.

¶ W. Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. I.

perſons and eſtates, and when they could not prevail ſo far upon them, they taught them to believe, that the being buried near the relics of ſome famous ſaint would promote the happineſs of their ſoul, and this privilege was not to be obtained without a conſiderable ſum of money, or very rich preſents. They alſo exhorted them to build monaſteries, or at their death to leave their poſſeſſions for the benefit of religious houſes, which they pretended was the ſureſt method of obtaining pardon for their ſins, and ſecuring themſelves places in heaven *. The prieſts were alſo continually talking of the end of the world and the day of judgment, which they repreſented as near at hand †, and at the ſame time they told their rich and opulent auditors, that what they gave to the monaſteries contributed greatly to their future welfare in the other world, for by that means they obtained the prayers of the prieſts; hence aroſe the cuſtom of bequeathing money to monaſteries and churches, that the monks might make prayers for the good of the donor's ſoul, which they imagined promoted its happineſs, and ſecured its repoſe ‡. It was alſo cuſtomary for the monks to grant to ſome rich man an eſtate, which he was to enjoy during his life, upon condition, that at his death that eſtate, and another of equal value belonging to the rich man, ſhould revert to the monaſtery to which the firſt eſtate belonged. By theſe and ſuch artifices, the clergy obtained ſome ſhare of the wealth or eſtates of almoſt every opulent man at his deceaſe, which continually increaſing, muſt have made them very rich. But their covetouſneſs augmented with their riches, and to ſuch lengths did they run in purſuit of wealth, that they were not aſhamed to make uſe of the moſt infamous arts and impoſitions to obtain it from the deluded laity, eſteeming even the groſſeſt frauds as highly meritorious, ſo that the church was thereby enriched; many proofs of this fact might be brought, but one may be ſufficient. Ætheric who was biſhop of Dorcheſter in the reign of king Cnut, piouſly made a Daniſh nobleman drunk, and whilſt he was in that ſtate, bought a fine eſtate of him for a mere trifle, and for this impious fraud the holy biſhop received great commendations, becauſe he gave the eſtate to the abbey of Ramſey. In ſhort, ſo much did the perſuaſions of the clergy prevail over the minds of the infatuated people, that before the end of this period they had more than one third of all the lands of England in their poſſeſſion, beſides tythes of all the reſt, and vaſt profuſions of wealth, in money, plate and jewels.

* Hiſt. Ramſien. p. 397.

† Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 77.

‡ This they called giving a part of their eſtates to their *own ſouls*. Thus ſays Aſſerius.—King Æthelwulf, like a man of wiſdom, made a teſtament in writing, wherein he divided his eſtate between his children and *his own ſoul*, what he gave to his children need not be mentioned, but what he gave to *his ſoul* was as follows, &c. Aſſer. Vit. Ælfredi.

The

The native valour of the Anglo-Saxons, as well as that enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, was greatly diminiſhed during this period; the fondneſs for a monaſtic life was one of the cauſes of this change, by which, and the doctrine of Chriſtianity, their ferocity was abated, and they became more timid and peaceable. Their beſt hiſtorians inform us, that at their firſt arrival in Briton they were fierce, warlike and impetuous, but on their converſion to Chriſtianity, their valour declined by degrees, ſo that towards the concluſion of this æra, they are ſaid to have been far more eſteemable for their devotions, than their warlike diſpoſition *. The valour of the Anglo-Saxons decreaſes.

It was this great decreaſe in valour, that facilitated the conqueſt of the Danes, who being Pagans, ſtill retained the ferocity of their natural tempers, and proved at laſt ſo greatly ſuperior to the Anglo-Saxons in bravery and conduct, that the latter could hardly ever be prevailed upon to face them in the day of battle, though they might manifeſtly have the advantage †. The Danes made every poſſible advantage of the weakneſs and timidity of the Saxons, whom they treated with ſuch brutal inhumanity as can ſcarcely be credited, whilſt on the other hand the ſhameful and abject ſubmiſſion of the Saxons was little leſs extraordinary ‡. The conqueſt of the Danes to what owing.

The Danes or inhabitants of Scandinavia (which comprehended the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway) were a people of a fierce intrepid ſpirit, and were very formidable at ſea, by the poſſeſſions of vaſt fleets, as well as upon land, by powerful armies; nor is it ſurprizing that they were ſuch excellent warriors, when we conſider the various cauſes that contributed to make them fond of a martial life. In the firſt place, their religon taught them to believe that Odin their great god delighted in war and bloodſhed, and that he beſtowed the higheſt rewards upon heroes, and ſuch as died with their ſwords in their hands, and received them after death into his palace, where they were to enjoy a continual ſucceſſion of happineſs and content: and this belief inſpired them with a contempt for life. In the ſecond place, their education was conducive to the ſame end, many of them were born in their fleets or camps, and trained up from their infancy in continual ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, and as ſoon Character of the Danes.

* W. Malmſ. lib. 3. cap. 1.

† "How long (ſays an ancient author who lived in the reign of king Æthelred the ſecond) is it ſince the Engliſh obtained a victory over the Danes, thoſe pirates are now become ſo bold, that one puts ten and ſometimes more to flight! —— How often do two or three troops of Danes drive the Engliſh army from ſea to ſea, to our eternal ſhame!—But ſo abject are we become, as to worſhip thoſe, who trample on us with indignity." Then he proceeds to mention ſome horrid ſubmiſſions of the Anglo-Saxons too ſhameful to be inſerted here. Sermo Lupi Epiſ. Hickeſii Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 103.

‡ To ſuch a length was it carried, that as ſome have declared, when an Engliſhman met a Dane upon a bridge, or in a narrow path where he could not avoid him, as ſoon as he ſaw him, he uncovered his head, and ſtood in a bowing poſture till the Dane paſſed him and was gone out of ſight. Pontopiden Geſta et Veſt Dan. 1, 2. &c.

as they could weild the ſword, they were taught the uſe of it. In the third place, the uncultivated ſtate of their country made piratical expeditions abſolutely neceſſary; hence valour and bravery were the only ſteps to riches and honour *.

Their daring behaviour in battle.

The Danes were bold and audacious in their attacks, conſidering but little the ſuperiority of the enemy in numbers; and indeed one of their martial laws impoſed, that every man who would acquire the character of a brave warrior, ſhould always attack two enemies, to ſtand firm againſt three, to retire only a pace from four, and to fly from no leſs than five †: indeed there are many inſtances of wonderful actions performed by ſome of theſe northern heroes, but perhaps none more ſtriking than that which happened at the battle which Harold the ſecond fought againſt his brother Toſti, and the king of Norway at Stamford, October 24, A. D. 1066, where, after the Norwegians were obliged to retire, the purſuit of the Engliſh army was retarded for a long time by the deſperate reſiſtance of a ſingle Norwegian, who had poſted himſelf upon the bridge, where he maintained his footing, and ſlew with his battle-ax not leſs than forty ſoldiers of Harold's army, who attempted to force their way over, and would have reſiſted ſtill longer, if he had not been ſlain at laſt by a ſtratagem ‡. As the Danes were delighted with nothing more than to have their valour and martial accompliſhments extolled, ſo the calling them "Nithing §," which was a term of contempt, was an offence ſo aggravating, that nothing could poſſibly expiate but the blood of the offender §.

Cruelty of the Danes.

The Danes, from the nature of their education, and being conſtantly inured to ſights of blood and ſlaughter, were ſtrangers to every tender and humane idea, and the moſt ſhocking cruelties were practiſed by them as ſports and paſtimes. What a lamentable picture is drawn by hiſtorians of the diſtreſs and miſeries of the Engliſh during the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Danes, like inhuman ſavages, deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword, involving whole towns and cities, with their wretched inhabitants, in the devouring flames, and thoſe who attempted to eſcape from their burning houſes, were cut to pieces with battle-axes! Nor could the cries and ſupplications of men, women and children, make the leaſt impreſſion upon the unrelenting hearts of theſe dreadful enemies: the moſt tempting bribes, and humbleſt offers of becoming ſlaves had no effect; all the places through which they paſſed exhibited ſo many horrid ſcenes of miſery and deſolation; venerable old men lay maſſacred before their own

* Northern Antiq. vol. I. Bartholin, &c.
† Bartholin de cauſa Contemp. a Dan. Mort. C. 7.
‡ W. Malmſ. lib. II. cap. 13.
§ This word ſignifies a daſtardly fellow.
¶ Northern Antiq. vol. I. p. 219.

doors;

doors; whole ſtreets were covered with mangled bodies of young men and children; matrons and virgins, being firſt publicly polluted, were alſo put to death *; nay, ſo totally were the wretched barbarians devoid of feeling, that it was a common paſtime amongſt them to tear the infants of the Engliſh from the breaſts of their mothers, and toſſing them up in the air, catch them upon their ſpears as they fell down †. In ſhort, the cruelty and inſolence of the Danes were ſo great, that their very name was odious and deteſtable to the Engliſh for many ages after they had ceaſed to oppreſs the land; inſomuch, that an imperious and haughty man, by way of contempt and deteſtation, was called a Lord Dane ‡.

Indeed, although the doctrine of Chriſtianity in ſome meaſure ſoftened the minds of theſe ferocious men, it was but by ſlow degrees; for the Danes, as well as the Anglo-Saxons, even at the end of the preſent period, may have many inſtances of cruelty and oppreſſion laid to their charge. What can be more ſhocking than the barbarity of earl Godwin, who, when he had ſeized upon prince Ælfred, the brother of Edward the Confeſſor, at Guilford, on his way to London, was not content with having the unfortunate prince in his power, but defeated and apprehended his guards, ſome of whom he impriſoned, ſome he ſold for ſlaves, others he maimed by cutting off their legs and arms, and others again he tortured by pulling the ſkins from their heads, and by various torments maſſacred ſix hundred men §. Inſtance of Godwin's cruelty.

Tyranny and oppreſſion among the rich and powerful are reckoned amongſt the vices of this period; in the reign of Æthelred the Second (at which time a kind of ariſtocracy took place) we are aſſured, that the poor and indigent were moſt cruelly treated; their perſons, and thoſe of their children, were frequently ſeized upon by force, and ſold for ſlaves; widows were unjuſtly compelled to marry, and if they refuſed they were cruelly oppreſſed, and reduced to miſery and want. In the after times, when the Godwin family had obtained ſuch influence in the kingdom, the ſons of that earl were guilty of the moſt flagrant outrages and oppreſſions, for if they ſaw any handſome eſtate, or country ſeat that pleaſed their fancy, they inſtantly gave orders to their attendants to murder the proprietor of it and his family by night, and then obtained the grant of it themſelves. Such were the men who, at that time, were judges and rulers in the land ‖. Tyranny and oppreſſion.

The Danes were fond of a violent death, and the chief cauſe of it was, their belief that the ſpirits of all who departed from this world The Danes fond of a violent death.

* J. Walingford apud Gale.

† Anglia Sacra, T. 2. p. 135. Vide plate IV. of this volume, which is the copy of an illumination in a MS. paraphraſe of the four goſpels, and ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnut. This repreſents "*The murder of the Innocents*;" but, at the ſame time, exhibits a ſcene of that ſort of cruelty deſcribed above.

‡ H. Hunt.

§ S. Dunelm.

‖ Hunt. lib. 6.

in

in a violent manner, went immediately to the hall of Odin, where they were received by that god with the higheſt marks of approbation and eſteem *. Theſe expectations, joined with their natural ferocity and love of military fame, entirely eraſed from their boſoms the idea of fear, ſo that inſtead of groaning or complaining at the wounds they received in battle, or the approach of death, they expreſſed their joy by laughter and ſongs †. Thoſe who fought bravely, and fell with honour in the battle, were not lamented by their friends, becauſe it was eſteemed the higheſt felicity a man could arrive at to looſe his life in ſome great exploit. Siward, a Daniſh chief, who was earl of Northumberland during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, being told that his ſon was ſlain in battle, made earneſt enquiries if his wounds were received in the front of his body, or in his back, and being anſwered in the front, he cried out in a tranſport of joy, that his ſon had died worthy of his birth ‡.

Old age a diſhonour.

The Danes were frightened at the approach of old age, to prevent which, they frequently prevailed upon their friends to kill them, or ſlew themſelves. Dying in a natural way, or upon a bed, was highly diſtaſteful to them; and Siward, the Daniſh earl of Northumberland, mentioned above, though a Chriſtian, retained ſo much of the ancient manners of his anceſtors, that, when he found his end approaching in a natural way, he was extremely uneaſy, and lamented that he had eſcaped death in the many battles he had fought (for he was a great warrior) to die in a diſgraceful manner like a beaſt: he, therefore, entreated his friends to dreſs him in his armour, to put his helmet on his head, his ſhield upon his left arm, his battle-ax in the right, and to gird his ſword about him, that he might die at leaſt in the habit of a warrior, though he had not been ſo happy as to fall in battle §.

Piracies of the Danes.

The fondneſs of the Danes for pyratical expeditions is ſo notorious, that we need make but few remarks upon that ſubject in this place; and not only perſons of inferior rank were engaged in theſe expeditions, but even kings and princes, ſome of whom acquired ſuch vaſt wealth and fame, and ſuch ſtrong fleets, that they were called Sea Kings ‖.

Credulity and curioſity of the Saxons & Danes.

If the Anglo-Saxons, in the former age, were famous for their credulity, they certainly cannot be eſteemed leſs ſo in the preſent. Of this fact we need not produce any other proofs than the implicit faith they placed in the pretended miracles, and other ſhameful artifices made uſe of by the prieſts, many of them ſo groſs and abſurd that it ſeems ſcarcely poſſible that ſo much knavery ſhould be on the one ſide, and credulity upon the other. As they were credulous, ſo both

* Northern Antiq. vol. 1 & 2.
† Ibid. vol. 1. p. 206, 207, &c.
‡ H. Hunt. lib. 6.
§ Ibid. Vide Bartholin, &c.
‖ Vide Dr. Henry Hiſtory of Brit. vol. 2.

they

they and the Danes were equally curious, and desirous of prying into the secrets of futurity, which rendered them frequently the dupes of pretended fortune-tellers, who were chiefly of the female sex; and some of them were in high esteem with the great, and drew so much wealth from those who came to consult them, that they lived with splendor and magnificence equal to that of the greatest nobility, having numerous retinues constantly attending upon them *. These toothless propheteſſes (for they were almost always old women) were often invited to the courts of kings and princes, where they were received with the greatest respect and most profound civility, besides being well rewarded for the answers they returned to the questions that were put to them †.

Chastity was one of the chief virtues with which the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were endowed, and which, at their establishment in England, seems also to have been one of their great characteristics after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, in attempting to extend this virtue to a greater heighth than the law of nature would admit of, almost destroyed it; and the Danish soldiers, who in the reign of Æthelstan and his successors, were quartered in England, being idle, insolent and lustful, corrupted many of the Anglo-Saxon ladies by dressing better than the Englishmen ‡, so that towards the latter end of this period, chastity declined so fast that scarce any vestiges of its original purity were left. It is to this dissolution of manners that the clergy of that time impute the various woes that fell so heavy on the English nation §. Chastity.

We have already made some remarks upon the fondness of the Anglo-Saxons for their own relations, and how strenuously a whole family would revenge all affronts done to any individual of that family; for any person who offended one was instantly accounted an enemy to the whole, and not only the offender, but his relations also, though perfectly innocent, became equally the objects of vengeance to the injured party; because, though they had no hand in the crime, they protected the culprit; and this unjust vengeance was carried to such a length, as to render it absolutely necessary in the reign of king Edmund, the successor of Æthelstan, to make a law, forbidding that for the future the relations of a murderer should be obnoxious to the resentment of the friends of the deceased, but that the murderer alone should be the Fondness for relations.

* Bartholin mentions one of these old women named Heida, who was famous for her skill in divinations and magic. She frequented public entertainments, predicting weather, and telling fortunes, having constantly a train of thirty men and fifteen maid servants attendants upon her. Bartholin, lib. 3. cap. 4.

† Erick's Rauga Saga, apud Bartholin, p. 691.

‡ J. Walingford.

§ Sermo Lupi, apud Hickesii Disert. Epist.

object of their vengeance; and alſo, if any one ſhould avenge himſelf upon any other than the murderer, he ſhould forfeit all his goods, and be proſecuted as an enemy to the king. Another law alſo required, that all differences between any two clans or families ſhould be ſettled in an amicable manner *. However, towards the latter end of this period, among other depravities that crept into the ſtate in general, that of undutifulneſs and diſregard for relations was not the leaſt; for in the reign of Æthelred the Second, the Engliſh are accuſed of having as little love for their relations as ſtrangers: and it is further added, that the natural affection from parents to their children, and from children to the parents, and brothers to each other, were greatly diminiſhed †.

Vices of the Anglo-Saxons.

Murders and thefts were very frequent among the Anglo-Saxons; and perjury may be reckoned among one of the chief national vices ‡: this latter might, in ſome meaſure, be owing to the vaſt number of oaths that were taken at this period, which greatly diminiſhed the ſolemnity of them, and the multitude of compurgators and witneſſes that were required; ſo that frequently, when a cauſe of great conſequence was brought before the magiſtrates for trial, the compurgators and witneſſes ſtood drawn up on either ſide, like two little armies, ready to ſwear whole vollies of oaths againſt each other §. Bribery was too frequently practiſed, eſpecially towards the concluſion of this period; and even Edward the Confeſſor, whoſe ſanctity is ſo much boaſted of by the monkiſh writers, is not aſhamed to own in an award, that a handſome bribe from one of the parties influenced his deciſion ‖. Intemperance in eating and drinking at this period were prevailing vices, both among the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, of which the latter in particular were the moſt notorious. The vice of intemperance was common to the people of all ranks, in which they often ſpent whole days and nights without intermiſſion; and, indeed, all meetings, public or private, uſually terminated in rioting and exceſſive drinking, not even excepting ¶ religious feſtivals, at which times it was uſual for them to drink large draughts in honour of Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, the twelve apoſtles, and other venerated ſaints **. In the reign of Eadgar the Peaceable, the vice of immoderate drinking (which our hiſtorians tell us, the Engliſh learned of the Danes) prevailed ſo greatly, that laws were found neceſſary to reform it; and that prince, to prevent quarrels that aroſe in public houſes from any one's drinking more than his ſhare, which it ſeems was very frequent, cauſed certain pegs or knobs to be put at proper diſtances into

* Leges Edmundi apud Wilkins.
† Sermo Lupi apud Hickeſ.
‡ Ibid.
§ Sometimes conſiſting of a thouſand. Hiſt. Elin. cap. 35.
‖ Hiſt. Ramſien. c. 113.
¶ W. Malmſb. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 58.
** Bartholin, lib. 2. c. 12. Northern Antiq. vol. 1. cap. 12. p. 311.

each

each drinking cup, and no man was to drink beyond thoſe knobs at one draught under a ſevere penalty, which was alſo to be inflicted upon thoſe who ſhould compel others to drink beyond them *.

Reſpect for the fair ſex.

We have already taken notice that the Anglo-Saxons were famous for their reſpectful behaviour to the fair ſex, to whom they paid the greateſt regard. They were admitted into all great aſſemblies, and their opinions claimed every degree of attention: many of them were enrolled in the catalogue of ſaints, and became the objects of veneration. Various ſevere laws were alſo made to preſerve their perſons and honour from inſult †. It is true, that the higher claſs of ladies fell into ſome diſgrace occaſioned by the abandoned wickedneſs of Eadburge, who either through miſtake or deſign poiſoned her huſband Beorhtric ‡, king of the Weſt Saxons, which ſo highly exaſperated that people that they cauſed a law to be made, by which the wife of the king was deprived of all her honours, and even the title of queen §. But this law did not continue long in force, for the clergy expreſſed their higheſt diſlike to it, calling it a perverſe and deteſtable decree, and contrary to the cuſtoms of all the nations deſcended from the Germans. It was entirely aboliſhed by Æthelwulf, the ſon of Egbert, who married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France (about fifty-two years after its eſtabliſhment) and cauſed her to be placed upon his throne with all the honours that the queens preceding Eadburge had enjoyed ‖.

Cuſtoms relative to marriage.

The laws of the Anglo-Saxons, relative to marriage, we have already ſeen ¶; but in this place it may not be amiſs to take notice of the particular forms and ceremonies obſerved, when two people were married. The wedding was always celebrated at the expence of the bridegroom, and at his own houſe, and the day before the marriage was ſpent in feaſting and jollity with the bridegroom and ſuch friends as he invited to the wedding. The next morning, all thoſe friends being armed and mounted on horſeback, proceeded in great order to the reſidence of the bride (under the conduct of one who was called the foremoſt man **) and ſhe being delivered to them was brought back to the houſe of the bridegroom; this martial array was in honour of the bride, as well as to protect her from any attempts that her former lovers might make to ſeize upon her perſon. She was led by a matron called the brides-woman, and followed by a troop of young maidens who were called the brides-maids, attended alſo by the mundbora or guardian, with the reſt of her male relations. When ſhe reached the dwelling of her intended huſband, ſhe was received by him, to whom ſhe was inſtantly ſolemnly betrothed by her guardian. This ceremony

* Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 8.
† Willins Leg. Ang. Sax.
‡ Vol. 1. p. 119.
§ Aſſer. Annal.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Muratori, vol. 2. p. 111.
** pone pirtaman.

being finiſhed, the bridegroom, bride, guardian and all their attendants, proceeded to the church attended by muſic, where the happy couple received the nuptial benediction from the prieſt. If the bride was a virgin, the benediction was performed under a veil, or ſquare piece of cloth, held before her by a tall man to conceal her bluſhes, but if the bride was a widow, the veil was thought unneceſſary *. The nuptial benediction being compleated, both bride and bridegroom were crowned with garlands of flowers, uſually kept in the church for that purpoſe †, and after all theſe ceremonies were finiſhed, the whole company returned to the bridegroom's houſe, where the nuptial feaſt was prepared, and the whole day was ſpent by the youth of either ſex, in mirth and dancing, whilſt the graver ſort, by way of amuſement, had recourſe to the liquor which was provided in great abundance. At night the women who attended upon the bride, conducted her to her chamber, where they undreſſed her and placed her in the marriage bed, which was no ſooner done, than the bridegroom was alſo brought in by the men, and when he was in bed, he, the bride, and all who were preſent, drank the marriage health, after which all the company retired ‡. The next morning the ſame parties came into the chamber of the new married couple, to hear the huſband declare what gift § he would beſtow upon his wife, when his relations became ſureties to thoſe of his wife, that he would perform what he then had promiſed. The feaſting continued for ſeveral days, till all the proviſions which had been provided were conſumed, and all the gueſts at their departure, made the bridegroom ſome preſent, in order to defray the extraordinary expences he had been at ‖.

Names and ſir-names.

Children, ſoon after their birth, were obliged by law to be baptiſed ¶, and names were conſtantly given them expreſſive of ſome virtue or good quality, which they wiſhed the child ſhould affect as he grew up, as Ælfred, which in our preſent language ſignifies all peace;—Alwyne, beloved by all;—Bede, prayer;—Æthelbald, noble and valiant;—Hewald, a ſupporter of equity, and the like. Several people of one name, living near each other, were diſtinguiſhed by a ſecond name being added, expreſſive of their perſons or manners; as, the Long, the Short, the Black, the Good, the Peaceable, the Bold, the Great, or elſe by the name of the place where the perſon lived, or even ſometimes by his

* Muratori, vol. II. p. 4.

† Olai Magni, p. 553.

‡ Here we may note that the wedding dreſſes of the bride, bridegroom, and three of each of their attendants were of a faſhion and colour peculiar to the ceremony, and might be only wore at that time; theſe dreſſes anciently belonged to the minſtrels who attended the wedding, but in later times they were given to ſome church or monaſtery. Stiernhook, lib. II. cap. I.

§ This gift was called Morgen-gife or *Morning-gift*, which became the property of the wife alone.

‖ Stiernhook ut ſup.

¶ Leges Inæ cap. II. apud Wilkins et Lambarde.

father's

father's name; but theſe ſirnames did not deſcend to the children and become family names, as was uſual after the Norman conqueſt; for that cuſtom moſt likely did not take place during this period, or if it did, it certainly was not until the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, who, it is true, introduced many Norman cuſtoms into England *.

The education of the Anglo-Saxon youth conſiſted chiefly in inſtructing them in martial exerciſes and rural ſports, as hunting, hawking, and various athletic games, which contributed to the increaſe of their bodily ſtrength, and inured them from their infancy to endure fatigue; as to reading, or the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences, thoſe formed no part of the education of ſecular youth, the acquiſition of ſuch knowledge being held only neceſſary among thoſe who were deſigned for the church (and even by them it was frequently grievouſly neglected;) nor were princes of the royal blood, or the ſons of the greateſt noblemen any happier in this particular than thoſe of the meaneſt rank, for we are well aſſured that Ælfred the Great, at twelve years of age, had not been taught to diſtinguiſh one letter from another, though the greateſt care had been taken to make him maſter of the other branches of education, conſiſting of martial exerciſes and rural ſports †. Education.

The Anglo-Saxons before their converſion to Chriſtianity, whenever they went to war, were accompanied by their prieſts, whoſe office it was to correct offenders in the army ‡, and alſo to pray for its ſucceſs; ſome veſtiges of this cuſtom ſtill remained after they had received the light of the goſpel, for though the Chriſtian prieſts appear to have been deprived of their authority in adminiſtring military correction, yet they continued to attend the armies in great numbers, to pray for its ſucceſs, and to render their prayers more efficacious, it was uſual for them to carry with them the moſt precious relics §. In like manner the Danes, who retained their idolatry much longer than the Anglo-Saxons, conſtantly ſacrificed to their gods, before they ſet out on an expedition, and after their converſion to Chriſtianity, a gang of theſe pirates being ready to ſet ſail with the deſign of robbing and murdering all they met, would firſt of all confeſs their ſins to the prieſt, perform ſuch penances as he ordered, and take the holy ſacrament at their departure, that God might favour their cruel and inhuman undertakings ‖. Cuſtoms, &c.

The office of creating knights, at this period, belonged to the prieſt as well as to the king, and the manner in which the ceremony was performed was as follows. The evening before the day of conſecration, he that was to be made a knight went to the church, where having made full confeſſion of his ſins before the biſhop, abbot or prieſt Method of creating knights.

* Verſtegan, Camden's Remains, &c.
† Aſſerius Vita Ælfredi.
‡ Tacit de morib. Germ.
§ Hiſt. Ramſien, c. 72.
‖ Sax. Grammat. l. 14.

attending, and received abſolution for the ſame, he was to abide all night in prayer and pious devotion. On the morrow after he had heard divine ſervice, he was to offer his ſword upon the altar, which, when the prieſt had bleſſed upon the four goſpels, was hung about his neck, and the ceremony was finiſhed by a benediction from the prieſt *. When the king created a knight, there does not appear to have been ſo much form, for we are aſſured that Ælfred the Great, made Æthelſtan his grandſon (then a youth) a knight, by putting on his ſhoulders a ſoldier's cloak of ſcarlet, and girding round him a girdle ornamented with precious ſtones, from which was ſuſpended a Saxon ſword in a ſheath of gold †. After the Norman conqueſt, the prieſts were deprived of the power of creating knights, which was then ſolely veſted in the king.

Great retinues.

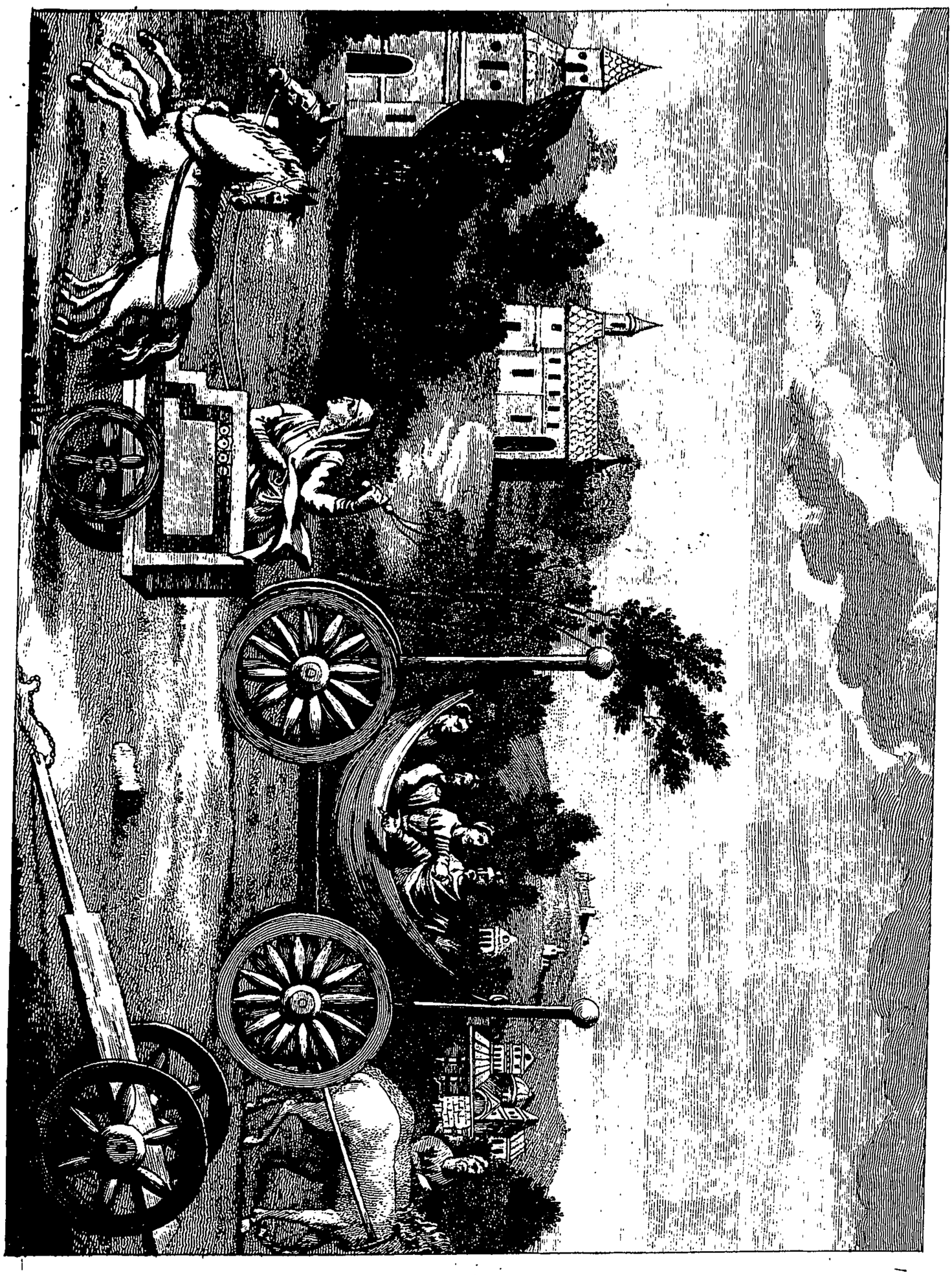
Great retinues were much affected by the Anglo-Saxon kings, who never ſtirred abroad without a conſiderable number of nobility, knights and dependants. Cnut the Great, who was the richeſt and moſt magnificent prince of his time in Europe, never appeared in public without a retinue of three thouſand men well mounted and completely armed; theſe attendants were called houſecarles, and formed a corps of body guards or houſhold troops, for the honour and ſafety of their prince ‡.

Wheel carriages.

The moſt common method of travelling amongſt the Anglo-Saxon nobility was on horſeback, though it is certain that chariots were not unknown to them even during the Heptarchy §. The form of thoſe carriages at that early period cannot ſo eaſily be known, but during the monarchy we meet with them delineated in the ancient manuſcripts, where they appear chiefly to be of two ſorts, the firſt only fit for the reception of one perſon, which in its ſhape is not at all unlike the light carts made uſe of by the farmers in the country at this preſent day; this carriage had only two wheels, and was drawn by two horſes abreaſt ‖.—The other was larger and more capacious; it was alſo drawn by two horſes abreaſt, though ſometimes they are ſeen with four horſes, which are then put two and two abreaſt. The body of the carriage conſiſts of a hammock ſuſpended by two hooks faſtened to upright poſts, one at the front, and the other at the back of the carriage; theſe ſort of carriages ſeem to have been made larger or ſmaller as occaſion required, for ſome of them contained only one perſon, and others five or ſix ¶. There is another kind of carriage much more ſimple than any of the former, which appears in the an-

* Ingulphus Hiſt. Croylandæ.
† Malmſb. lib. II. cap. VI.
‡ Sueno Agonis, p. 152.
§ Eddius in his life of Wilfrid, tells us, that the queen of Northumberland travelled "from place to place in her *chariot*." Vita Wilfridæ ap. Gale, cap. XXXIII.
‖ See plate XVIII.
¶ Ibid.

cient



cient delineations, conſiſting of a large long flat board made faſt on an axle-tree ſupported by two wheels. The driver ſtands upon this board to manage two horſes or oxen, which are put one on each ſide the pole, and faſtened with the chain that is there ſeen at the end of it *.

Domeſtic employments.

The Anglo-Saxons and the Danes appear to have had but few domeſtic employments to engage their attention, for which reaſon, when the ſtate was not at war, and the inclemency of the weather prevented their ſtirring abroad in purſuit of the rural ſports, their time was generally ſpent in idleneſs and intemperance But the ladies, much to their credit, employed the chief of their time in managing the affairs of the family, appointing taſks to the ſervants, and what leiſure they could find was ſpent in ſpinning, weaving or working embroidery †. The Anglo-Saxons, and the Danes, conſidered the warm bath as one of the greateſt luxuries of life, and to frequent the bath at leaſt once a week was a neceſſary duty for thoſe to perform who wiſhed to ſecure the reſpect of the ladies; but if bathing in warm water was agreeable, the going into cold water was diſliked by them in the higheſt degree, for which cauſe the abſtaining from the former and practiſing the latter was frequently inflicted upon them by the way of a heavy penance ‡.

Their tables how ſpread.

We have already had occaſion more than once to remark how much the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes were inclined to intemperance §. Their tables were frequently ſpread and repleniſhed no leſs than four times a day. The table where they ſat at meat always appears covered with a cloth, even in the moſt ancient delineations; ſome few large diſhes are placed upon the table, and the perſons ſitting round it have conſtantly each of them a cup or horn, and ſometimes both. If the meat was roaſted, it appears to have been done upon ſmall ſpits, and in ſmall pieces, ſufficient only for one man; and it was brought to the table upon the ſpits, and preſented by the ſervants to the gueſts; to each man his ſpit, with meat, which he uſually cut off and eat on a plate ‖. Forks were entirely unknown at this period; and, in the manuſcript delineations, where tables ſpread for feaſting are repreſented, we ſeldom ſee above one or two knives; but the reaſon, without doubt, was, that each man uſually carried his own knife about him, which was called his handſecs, and ſerved him for a weapon of defence, as well as to carve his meat. The delineations of feaſts which appear in the Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts, are, for the moſt part, ſo rudely done, that one cannot give ſo ſatisfactory an account of the diſhes as could be wiſhed. However, we frequently ſee the boar's head

* Ibid.

† See chap. VII. of this part of the Chronicle, and in this volume.

‡ Johnſon's Canons.

§ Vol. I. p. 359.

‖ See the firſt volume of the Þoþda Anzel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, plate XVI. and the tapeſtry of Bayeux, in Montfaucon's Monarchie Francois, vol. 2.

dreſſed

dreſſed whole, ſet upon the table in a large diſh, and ſometimes fiſh and fowls *.

Order of ſitting at meat.

When they ſat down to table, each man might not take his place according to his own fancy, but according to his age, rank, or conſequence. By the court laws of king Cnut, all the nobility, and officers of his houſhold, that dined at court, were commanded to take their places according to their ranks, and thoſe of the ſame rank according to their ſeniority in office; and if any one took a higher place than belonged to him, he was degraded to the loweſt, and all the company were permitted to throw bones at him, without being guilty of rudeneſs, or liable to any challenge †.

Food of the Anglo-Saxons.

It will be hard to ſay what food the Anglo-Saxons moſt affected, unleſs it were veniſon, and the fleſh of boars, the head of which animal often formed a reſpectable part of their proviſion for the table; beef, mutton, pork, fiſh, and poultry of all kinds, doubtleſs furniſhed out the reſt. But, in general, we may conclude that their entertainments were rather remarkable for their abundance, than their delicacy and elegance. Salted proviſions of all kinds were provided at the royal banquets; and, at ſome tables, horſe-fleſh was held in eſteem, eſpecially among the Danes who inhabited Northumberland ‡. As to their cookery, we are ſo totally left in the dark that it will be impoſſible to add any thing more to the obſervations thereon in the former volume.

Liquors of the Anglo-Saxons.

Beſides the liquors which we have ſeen they affected, in the more early times, namely, ale and mead, the nobility (eſpecially towards the latter end of this period) had others very coſtly and delicious. In the time of Edward the Confeſſor, wine, pigment, morat and cyder, beſides the two above-named liquors, were provided for the royal banquets §. Wine, if made at all in England, at this period, was only in ſmall quantities; even mead was reckoned among the luxuries of life, ſo that it was not procured but by perſons of opulence. The pigment and morat were ſtill ſcarcer; the former in particular was ſo rich and delicious that it was commonly called the nectar of that age ‖. Ale was the commoneſt of all liquors, and in great eſteem as well among the Anglo-Saxons as the Danes, and, perhaps, the next was cyder, which, however, is not ſo often mentioned as the former.

Amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

From hence we ſhall paſs to the amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes at this period. A people, ſuch as we have found either

* See the firſt volume of the Þoþa Angel-cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, ut ſupra.

† Leges Curial. Reg. Cnuti apud Bartholin.

‡ Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 147. 151.

§ H. Hunt. lib. 6. p. 210.

‖ Pigment in Latin *(pigmentum)* was a ſweet odoriferous liquor, made of honey, wine and ſpices of all kinds.---Morat, in Latin (*moratum*) was made of honey diluted with juice of mulberries. Du Cange Gloſſ. in voc.

of

of them to be, little inclined to the ſtudy of ſcience, or fond of domeſtic labours, muſt conſequently find a large portion of their time hang heavy upon their hands, which doubtleſs ſoon led them to contrive ſome methods of amuſing themſelves; and their amuſements were chiefly three: martial exerciſes, rural ſports, and domeſtic games.

Martial exerciſes.

War being the employment both of the Saxons and the Danes, the chief of their amuſements conſiſted in athletic exerciſes, as running, ſwimming, leaping, riding, wreſtling and fighting, all which tended to improve their bodily ſtrength, and accuſtom them betimes to warlike purſuits, and to endure the fatigues attendant upon them. Martial exerciſes, and mock fights, were ſo delightful to the Danes that they conceived them to be the chief diverſions they ſhould enjoy in a future ſtate when their ſouls were received by Odin into his ſeat of glory *; and theſe martial games were the origin of the tournaments which were ſo frequent, and ſo famous in the ſucceeding ages. Horſe-racing is ſuppoſed to have formed a part of the amuſements of the Anglo-Saxons; for ſeveral running horſes † were ſent as a preſent to king Æthelſtan by Hugh, king of France, adorned with trappings, and having bits of gold in their mouths.

Sports of the field.

The ſports of the field were chiefly hunting and hawking, which were conſidered as two of the moſt material branches in the education of the young nobility, and a thorough ſkill in them the greateſt accompliſhment kings or great men could poſſeſs. Ælfred the Great is highly extolled for his ſuperior knowledge in theſe amuſements ‡, and Edward the Confeſſor was ſo fond of them that he purſued them every day without intermiſſion §. In the ancient delineations, hawks are frequently put upon the hands of noblemen to ſhew their rank. Princes and nobles were ſo fond of theſe birds, that they carried them with them long journies, and even into battle; for indeed it was reckoned diſhonourable for a nobleman to reſign his hawk, which was a token of ſubmiſſion and homage. Hunting dogs were alſo very favourite companions of the nobility at this period ‖.

Foreſt laws.

In the reign of king Cnut ſeveral laws relative to game were enacted, appointing a certain number of magiſtrates in every county to puniſh all offences committed in the royal foreſts; under theſe were inferior officers, or game-keepers, whoſe place was to apprehend all guilty perſons. Thanes, biſhops and abbots were permitted to hunt in the royal chaſes, but the penalties were very ſevere which reſtrained unqualified perſons not only from hunting, but even diſturbing of the game. If a gentleman or inferior thane killed a ſtag in the king's foreſt, he was degraded, and deprived of his arms; if a ceorl killed one

* See page 166 of this volume.
† *Equos Curſores*, Malmſb. lib. 2. cap. 6.
‡ Aſſer. vita Ælfredi.
§ Malmſb. l. 2. c. 13.
‖ Vide tapeſtry of Bayeux, apud Monfaucon, t. 2.

he

he was reduced to ſlavery; and if a ſlave killed one, he was to ſuffer death for his crime. However, theſe laws confirmed the right of all proprietors of land to hunt in their own grounds, but they were not to purſue the game into the royal chaſes *.

Domeſticgames

When the intemperance of the ſeaſon prevented them from following the above-mentioned amuſements, the time was uſually paſſed in feaſting, drinking, or playing at ſome domeſtic game; and the chief of theſe were the games of chance. Their immoderate paſſion for dice we have already ſeen in the former volume; and to what lengths they ran, ſtaking upon a throw the hazard of their lives and liberties †; and there is good reaſon to think that in the preſent period, a paſſion for games of chance was but little abated. The clergy were forbidden playing at them by the canons of the church; the laity however, the nobility in particular, would frequently ſpend the greater part of the nights in gaming; and this cuſtom was patronized by the encouragement and example of the greateſt princes ‡. It is ſaid that among the Danes, and other northern nations, it was cuſtomary when a gallant paid his addreſſes to a young lady, for the father to engage him in a game at cheſs or dice, in order to try his temper before he gave him an anſwer §. The chief games of chance were cheſs, dice and backgammon, which is ſaid to have been invented about this period ‖. Other amuſements were ſinging and dancing, in which the youth of both ſexes would engage. Their dancing ſeems to have conſiſted in feats of activity, and exhibiting difficult poſtures ¶. Another game, the knowledge of which added to the greatneſs of a hero's character, was throwing ſharp darts or daggers up into the air, and catching them as they fell ſo dexterouſly as not to cut their fingers. At other times they would play with balls and knives which they would catch alternately to the muſic of the violin **. They were undoubtedly acquainted with many other ſports, though the knowledge of them at preſent is loſt. To be active and ready in moſt of theſe amuſements was as neceſſary to compleat the character of a great hero, as it was to be brave and intrepid in battle. A northern hero boaſts of himſelf in the following terms. "I am maſter of nine accompliſhments: I play well at cheſs; I know how to engrave Runic letters; I am apt at my book; I know how to handle the tools of the ſmith; I traverſe the ſnow on ſcates of wood; I excell in ſhooting with the bow; I am expert

* Conſtitut. Cnut Reg. de Foreſt. apud Spelman Gloſſ. & Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 146.

† Vol. 1. p. 360.

‡ When biſhop Ætheric obtained admiſſion to king Cnut about midnight, upon ſome urgent buſineſs, he found the king engaged with his courtiers, ſome playing at dice, and ſome at cheſs. Hiſt. Ram. c. 85.

§ Olai Magni, p. 572.

‖ It was invented in Wales, and derives its name from two Welſh words *back* (*little*) and *cammon* (*battle*). Dr. Hen. Brit. vol. 2.

¶ See plate XVII. fig. 2.

** Ibid. fig. 1.

expert in the management of the oar; I ſing to the harp; and I compoſe verſes *." And in the ancient chronicles of Norway, king Olaf Fryggeſon's character is drawn in the following ſtriking manner.—"He was ſtronger and more nimble than any man of his time; he would climb the rock Smalſerhorn, and fix his ſhield on the top of it; he would walk without the boat on the oars whilſt the men were rowing; he would play with three darts at once, toſſing them up in the air, and always keeping two up whilſt one was down in his hand; he could uſe his weapons with both hands, and throw two javelins at once; he excelled all men in ſhooting with the bow, and in ſwimming had no equal †."

Charters, ſeals, &c.

In the ancient times, among the Anglo-Saxons, eſtates were given away, and confirmed to the receiver without any writing; the donor giving with ſuch ſuch eſtates a ſword, a helmet, or any other trifling matter, as a drinking-horn, a bow, a ſpur, an arrow, a quill, a curry-comb; but when their charters were confirmed by writing, the donor ſigned his name with a croſs by the ſide of it, in the preſence of ſome reſpectable witneſſes, who alſo ſigned it at the ſame time ‡. Edward the Confeſſor was the firſt that introduced ſeals of wax, which were afterwards added to the charters; a cuſtom that became very common after the Norman conqueſt §.

Funeral ceremonies.

We have already ſeen that it was common with the Germans in the moſt ancient times to burn the bodies of their dead, and when this cuſtom ſubſided, the body was laid upon the ground, and a large heap or mount of earth was raiſed over it ‖; this among the Danes was called the age of burying ¶, and was adopted by them before their converſion to Chriſtianity; for we are informed that when the Daniſh army found the body of Hubba their chief (who was ſlain in Dorſetſhire, A. D. 878, in a bloody battle fought there between the Danes and the Saxons) they raiſed a large mount over it, at the ſame time making loud cries and exclamations **. This cuſtom of raiſing mounts over the bodies of the dead had been ſo prevalent among the Northern nations, that on their converſion to Chriſtianity, it was not totally aboliſhed, for they continued to lay them upon the ſurface of the ground, and covered them over with earth and ſtones, and this even when they were buried in churches, the floors of which were frequently ſo incumbered by them as to have rendered them unfit for divine ſervice, and on that account they were abandoned; but this in-

* Olai Wormii Lit. Run. p. 129. Barthol. p. 420.

† Pontoppidan's Hiſt. Norway, p. 248.

‡ Ingulphus Hiſt. Croylandæ.

§ See the great ſeal of Edward the Confeſſor, plate II. of this volume.

‖ Vol. 1. p. 358.

¶ Olai Worm. Dan. Monum. p. 40.

** John Brompton, in Vita Ælfredi.

convenience ſoon became an object of great concern; canons therefore were made, to forbid any perſon whatever being buried in the churches, except ſaints, prieſts, and ſuch noblemen as could pay largely for that privilege, and even thoſe were obliged to be laid in a grave of a proper depth below the pavement *.

Corps how prepared for burial.

The corps of a deceaſed perſon was firſt waſhed with fair water, and then clothed in a cloſe white garment, or elſe put into a bag or ſack of linen, it was afterwards wrapped round from head to foot with a wrapper of coloured cloth, but it was cuſtomary to leave the head and ſhoulders of the corps uncovered with the wrapper till the time of burial, that his friends, and particular acquaintance, might take a farewell view of him, before he was committed to the ground †. When the day appointed for the burial was come, the corps (the head being firſt entirely covered with the wrapper) was conveyed to the tomb, when two perſons took hold of it, one at the head and the other at the feet, whilſt the prieſt or his attendant cenſed it with incenſe, after which they kneeled down and depoſited it in the grave, whilſt the prieſt concluded the ceremony with prayers and benedictions ‡.

Corps of great men, how treated.

The bodies of kings, noblemen, and the ſuperior clergy, were treated according to their rank with much more ceremony; the corps of Wilfrid, archbiſhop of York, who died A. D. 708, was laid on the ground upon a ſurplice, and waſhed by the abbot of Rippon and the monks with their own hands. It was afterwards dreſſed in the pontifical robes, and was carried in a ſolemn manner towards the place appointed for his burial, with muſic and ſinging of pſalms; they had not proceeded far in this manner, before they ſtopped again, and ſet down the corps, over which they pitched a tent, and having uncloathed it, bathed it a ſecond time with pure water, and then dreſſed it in robes of fine linen, placed it upon a hearſe, and proceeded towards the monaſtery of Rippon, ſinging pſalms as before; as they approached the monaſtery, all the monks came out to meet it, bearing the holy relics, and, raiſing their voices, joined the reſt of the company in the pſalms and hymns that they were ſinging, and in this manner was the corps conducted into the body of the church, and there depoſited in a moſt ſolemn and honourable manner §.

* Wilkins Concil. tom. 1. p. 268. Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 994.

† See the figure of a corps thus wrapped up, plate XV. fig. 9. taken from an ancient drawing,

‡ See plate XIX. of this volume, which repreſents a burial, taken alſo from an Anglo-Saxon MS. delineation.

§ Eddius Vita Wilfredi, eddit. a Gale, p. 89. See a very full account of the ancient burial ceremonies and monuments of the dead in England in the Þoɒa Ænzelcynnan, or manners and cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. 1. p. 51, &c.

The



The houſe in which a dead body lay, was, till the time of its interment, in a continual uproar, with feaſting, drinking, ſinging, dancing, and various other diverſions, which were a great expence to the family of the deceaſed, and ſometimes all the wealth that a dead man left behind him was expended upon theſe indecent and extravagant entertainments. This Heatheniſh cuſtom could not be removed by the reaſonable dictates of Chriſtianity, which required ſobriety and decency, for though it was diſcouraged by the canons of the church, yet it was ſo agreeable to the ideas of the people in general, that they could rarely be prevailed upon to aboliſh it *. Feaſting at a perſon's deceaſe.

* Johnſon's Canons, A. D. 957. can. 3.

END OF THE THIRD PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

A MAP of the SAXON HEPTARCHY.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1

56 55 54 53 52 51 50

NOR THAN HUM BRA RIC MYR C WEA LAS POWIS NA DEHFUB ART H WEST SAX SUTH SAX EAST ANGLIA RIC EAST SAX ON ARIC CAN TA RIC ONA RIC FRONCLOND GWINED BRIT MON CUMBRA LAND WEST MORINGA LAND

Brunanburh
Lindisfarenea
Bebbanburg
Ealdrie
Care
Picts Weall
Tinmuth
Werranmuth
Bernuic
Dunholm
Streonsheal
Streanburg
Ilripum
Deira
Heanburg
Esforwic
Beverlac
Manigceaster
Donaceaster
Legeceaster
Deorby
Lindcolan
Snotingaham
Strætford
Wegeceaster
Licetfild
Sliowaford
Manigcaister
Wellingastræt
Legercaister
Northamptun
Wealsingham
Deorham
Elig
Theotford
Nordwic
Grantacester
S. Eadmundesbyrig
Huntadon
Bedanaford
Temsford
Suthberig
Gypswic
Herewic
Colneceaster
Meresige
Meallune
Beamfleot
Lundune
Tenet
Tondbriege
Apuldre
Dofre
Colcestun
Hastingas
Winingamire
Coventre
Cotingham
Foreceaster
Dunstaple
Buccingaham
Heortford
S. Albanes
Gleawanceaster
Cyrenceaster
Oxenford
Maurburig
Ireingafield
Brycstow
Deorhum
Cornum
Badanceaster
Wilton
Bradford
Tyningham
Lyngeshum
Silcester
Fearnham
Aclea
Winteanceaster
Hamtun
Cyssanceaster
Andredesweald
Pedridanmuth
Wetmor
Gypinghum
Bradenford
Portlocc
Beamdune
Cridiantum
Plidanford
Acamminster
Carrum
Wiltun
Ellandune
Gillingham
Baddanbyrig
Wimburnamynster
Werham
Port or Portland
Exan ceaster
Exa muth
Gafulford
Hengesdune
Cornwealas
Wigan beorh
Portes muth
Cridelmestun
Hastingas
Sandwic
Dimene muth
Ouch
Mealdtun
Aplidre
Tonbridge
Aclea
Andredesweald
Ellandune
Wiltun
Baddanbyrig
Wimburnamynster
Carrum
Acamminster
Cridiantum
Plidanford
Beamdune
Portlocc
Pedridanmuth
Wetmor
Gypinghum
Bradenford
Tiumertun
Strætford
Wegeceaster
Licetfild
Deorby
Lindcolan
Snotingaham
Sliowaford
Manigcaister
Legercaister
Northamptun
Wellingastræt
Coventre
Cotingham
Foreceaster
Dunstaple
Buccingaham
Heortford
S. Albanes
Gleawanceaster
Cyrenceaster
Oxenford
Maurburig
Ireingafield
Winingamire
Brycstow
Deorhum
Cornum
Badanceaster
Wilton
Bradford
Tyningham
Lyngeshum
Silcester
Fearnham
Aclea
Winteanceaster
Hamtun
Cyssanceaster
Andredesweald
Lundune
Beamfleot
Meallune
Colneceaster
Suthberig
Gypswic
Herewic
Meresige
Huntadon
Bedanaford
Temsford
S. Eadmundesbyrig
Grantacester
Nordwic
Theotford
Elig
Deorham
Wealsingham
Tondbriege
Apuldre
Dofre
Colcestun
Hastingas
Sandwic
Dimene muth
Ouch
Mealdtun
Tenet
Grapige
Bercuit
Cridelmestun
Portes muth
Exa muth
Exan ceaster
Wigan beorh
Hengesdune
Gafulford
Cornwealas
Wiltun
Wimburnamynster
Werham
Port or Portland
Baddanbyrig
Gillingham
Ellandune
Tiumertun
Strætford
Wegeceaster
Licetfild
Deorby
Lindcolan
Snotingaham
Sliowaford
Manigcaister
Legercaister
Northamptun
Wellingastræt
Coventre
Cotingham
Foreceaster
Dunstaple
Buccingaham
Heortford
S. Albanes
Gleawanceaster
Cyrenceaster
Oxenford
Maurburig
Ireingafield
Winingamire
Brycstow
Deorhum
Cornum
Badanceaster
Wilton
Bradford
Tyningham
Lyngeshum
Silcester
Fearnham
Aclea
Winteanceaster
Hamtun
Cyssanceaster
Andredesweald
Lundune
Beamfleot
Meallune
Colneceaster
Suthberig
Gypswic
Herewic
Meresige
Huntadon
Bedanaford
Temsford
S. Eadmundesbyrig
Grantacester
Nordwic
Theotford
Elig
Deorham
Wealsingham
Tondbriege
Apuldre
Dofre
Colcestun
Hastingas
Sandwic
Dimene muth
Ouch
Mealdtun
Tenet
Grapige
Bercuit
Cridelmestun
Portes muth
Exa muth
Exan ceaster
Wigan beorh
Hengesdune
Gafulford
Cornwealas
Wiltun
Wimburnamynster
Werham
Port or Portland
Baddanbyrig
Gillingham
Ellandune
Tiumertun
Strætford
Wegeceaster
Licetfild
Deorby
Lindcolan
Snotingaham
Sliowaford
Manigcaister
Legercaister
Northamptun
Wellingastræt
Coventre
Cotingham
Foreceaster
Dunstaple
Buccingaham
Heortford
S. Albanes
Gleawanceaster
Cyrenceaster
Oxenford
Maurburig
Ireingafield
Winingamire
Brycstow
Deorhum
Cornum
Badanceaster
Wilton
Bradford
Tyningham
Lyngeshum
Silcester
Fearnham
Aclea
Winteanceaster
Hamtun
Cyssanceaster
Andredesweald
Lundune
Beamfleot
Meallune
Colneceaster
Suthberig
Gypswic
Herewic
Meresige
Huntadon
Bedanaford
Temsford
S. Eadmundesbyrig
Grantacester
Nordwic
Theotford
Elig
Deorham
Wealsingham
Tondbriege
Apuldre
Dofre
Colcestun
Hastingas
Sandwic
Dimene muth
Ouch
Mealdtun
Tenet
Grapige
Bercuit
Cridelmestun
Portes muth
Exa muth
Exan ceaster
Wigan beorh
Hengesdune
Gafulford
Cornwealas

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A Map of England, as it was divided by the Saxons, during the Heptarchy *.

THAT the readers may the better underſtand the Hiſtorical Part of this Chronicle, relative to the ſettlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, and the events that took place from that time to the Norman conqueſt, it has been thought neceſſary to add the preſent map of the kingdom, as it was divided amongſt that people. Though the names of the places upon the map are ſpelled agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon language, yet they are written in the modern character; becauſe the Saxon letters may not be intelligible to many of our readers; and the Saxon names are explained in the following liſt, by which they may be eaſily referred to.

Anglo-Saxon.	Modern.	Anglo-Saxon.	Modern.
Aacanminſter	*Axminſter, Devonſh*	Carrum	*Charmouth, Dorſet.*
Aclea	*Okeley, Surry*	Cerdicsford	*Near Gt Yarmouth*
St. Albanes	*St. Albans, Herts.*	Ciſſanceaſter	*Chicheſter, Suſſex*
Ambreſbyrig	*Ambreſbury, Wilts*	Ceolſey	*in Suſſex*
Andredſweald	*Weald, Kent*	Colneceaſter	*Colcheſter, Eſſex*
Apuldre	*Appledore, ibid.*	Cornwealles	*Cornwall*
Badenbyrig	*Badbury, Dorſet*	Coſham	*Wilts*
Badenceaſter	*Bath, Somerſet.*	Cottingham	*in Northamptonſh.*
Beamdune	*Bampton, Devon.*	Coventre	*in Warwickſhire*
Beamfleot	*Bemflet, Eſſex*	Cridiantum	*Kirton, Devon.*
Beddanburg	*Bambury, Northum*	Cyngeſtun	*Kingſton, Surrey*
Bedanaford	*Bedford*	Cyppingham	*Chippenham, Wilts*
Bernitia	*North Weſt part of Northumberland*	Cyrenceaſter	*Cirenceſter, Gloceſt.*
		Cumbraland	*Cumberland*
Beverlac	*Beverly, Yorkſhire*	Deira	*South Eaſt part of Northumberland*
Brentford	*Middleſex*		
Brichthelmſtun	*Brighthelmſtone, Suſſex*	Deorby	*Derby, Derbyſhire*
		Deorham	*Durham, Gloceſt.*
Brigſtow	*Briſtow, Somerſet.*	———	*Dereham, Norfolk*
Brunanburh	*not certainly known*	Dofre	*Dover, Kent*
Buccingham	*Buckingham*	Doncaſter	*in Yorkſhire*
Cære	*Carehouſe, Northumberland*	Dunholm	*Durham*
		Dunſtable	*in Bedfordſhire*
Cant'esburh	*Canterbury, Kent*	Eadmundeſbyrig	*S. Edmundſbury, Suf*

* See plate XX. of this volume.

Ealmric

ANGLO-SAXON.	MODERN.
Ealnric	*Alnwic, Northumb.*
Earundel	*Arundel, Suſſex*
EaſtAngliaRic	*Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles*
EaſtSaxonaRic	*Kingdom of the E. Saxons.*
Eaſtoneſs	*in Norfolk*
Elig	*Iſle of Ely, Cambr.*
Ellandune	*Wilton, Wilts*
Eoferwic	*York*
Examuth	*Mouth of river Exe*
Exanceaſter	*Exeter, Devon.*
Fearnham	*Fearnham, Kent*
Fleamburg	*Hamborough Head, Yorkſhire*
Folceſtan	*Folkſton, Kent*
Fulingham	*Fulham, Middleſex*
Gafulford	*Camelford, Cornw.*
Gillingham	*in Dorſet*
Gleawanceaſter	*Gloceſter*
Grantceaſter	*Cambridge*
Gypſwic	*Ipſwich, Suffolk*
Hamtun	*Southampton*
Haſtingas	*Haſtings, Suſſex*
Hengeſdune	*Hergſtonhill, Cornwall*
Heortford	*Hertford*
Herewic	*Harwich, Eſſex*
Hlidaford	*Lidford, Devon.*
Hripun	*Rippon, Yorkſhire*
Hrofeceaſter	*Rocheſter, Kent*
Humbermuth	*Mouth of ye Humber*
Huntadun	*Huntington*
Ircingafield	*Archinfield, Herefordſhire.*
Lægeceaſter	*WeſtCheſter, Cheſh.*
Legercaiſter	*Leiceſter*
Licetfield	*Litchfield, Staffordſ*
Limenemuth	*Mouth of the Lime*
Lindeolan	*Lincoln*
Lindisfearna	*Holy Iſland*
Lundune	*London*
Mœrlborig	*Marlbro', Wilts*
Maidſtan	*Maidſtone, Kent*
Manigceaſter	*Mancheſter, Lanc.*
Mealdune	*Maldon, Eſſex*

ANGLO-SAXON.	MODERN.
Mereſige	*Merſey Iſland, Eſſex*
Myrcna Ric	*Kingdom of Mercia*
Northamtun	*Northampton*
Northanhumbra Ric	*Kingdom of Northumberland*
Northwic	*Norwich, Norfolk*
Oxenford	*Oxford*
Pedridamuth	*Mouth of ye Pendrid*
Porteſmuth	*Portſmouth, Hants*
Portland	*in Dorſet*
Portloca	*Portlockbay, Somerſetſhire*
Raculf	*Raculver, Kent*
Sandwic	*Sandwich, ibid.*
Sceapige	*Sheepy Iſland, ibid.*
Silceaſter	*Silcheſter, Hants*
Sliowaford	*Sleaford, Lincolnſh*
Snotingham	*Nottingham*
Strætford	*Stratford, Warwick*
Streonſheal	*Whitbay, Yorkſhire*
Sumertun	*Somerton, Somerſetſ.*
Suthberig	*Sudbury, Suffolk*
SuthSaxonaRic	*Kingdom of the South Saxons*
Temsford	*in Bedfordſhire*
Tenet	*Iſle of Thanet, Kent*
Thetford	*in Suffolk*
Tinmuth	*Mouth of the Tine*
Tonebriege	*Tunbridge, Kent*
Toreceaſter	*Toceſter, Northamp*
Wærham	*Warham, Dorſet*
Wealſingham	*Walſingham, Norf.*
Wegereceaſter	*Worceſter*
Weramuth	*Mouth of the Were*
Weſtmoringland	*Weſtmoreland*
Weſt Saxona Ric	*Kingdom of the W. Saxons*
Wetmor	*Wedmor, Somerſetſh*
Whitland	*Iſle of Wight*
Wiltun	*Wilton, Wiltſhire*
Winburnminſter	*in Dorſet*
Winganbeorch	*Careſbrook Caſtle*
Wingingamere	*not certainly known*
Wintanceaſter	*Wincheſter, Hants*
Wipedesfleot	*Wippedsfleet, Kent*
Witham	*in Eſſex*

No. 2.

Specimens of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

BECAUSE it is ſuppoſed that many of the readers of this work may be unacquainted with ſome of the Anglo-Saxon letters, which differ conſiderably from thoſe in preſent uſe, to enable them therefore to underſtand the following ſpecimens, the Saxon Alphabet is herein given.

LARGE SAXON LETTERS.

Æ B C D Ꞓ ꝼ G ꝑ I K L Ꙡ N O P Q R S T V Ꙍ X Y Z
Power A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z

SMALL SAXON LETTERS.

a b c ꝺ e ꝼ ʒ ꝑ ı k l m n o p q ꝛ ꝛ ꞇ u ꝓ x ẏ z
Power a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r ſ t u w x y z

DIPTHONGS and ABBREVIATIONS.

Aꞓ œ Ð ð ꝥ ⁊ ꝓ
Æ œ Th th th and that

Extract from an ancient MS. of the four goſpels, written by S. Ealdfrith, at the command of S. Cuthbert towards the latter end of the ſeventh century *.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

ꝼaðeꝛ uꝛen ðu aꝛð in ꝺeoꝛnum, ꝛie ʒeꝺalʒuð noma ðin to
Father our thou art in heaven, be hallowed name thine to
cyməð ꝺic ðin ꝛie pillo ðin ꝛuæ ıs ın ꝺeoꝛne ⁊ ın
come kingdom thine be will thine as is in heaven and in
eoꝛðo ꝺlaf uꝛuꝺne oꝼen ꝺıꝛtlic ꝛel uꝛ toðeʒ ⁊ ꝼoꝛʒef
earth bread our over ſubſtantial give us to day and forgive
uꝛ ꝛcyldа uꝛꝺa ꝛuæ ue ꝼoꝛʒeꝼon ꝛcyldʒum uꝛum ⁊ ne
us debts ours ſo we forgive debtors our and neither
ꝺnlæð uꝛıcꝺ ın coꝛtunʒe uꝺ ʒeꝼꝛıʒ uꝛıcꝺ ꝼꝛom yꝺle.
inlead us each into temptation but deliver us each from evil.

* This MS. is in the Cotton Lib. at the Britiſh Muſæum, and is marked Nero D. IV.

Part

Part of the Firſt Chapter of St. John.

In ꝼꝛuma væꝛ uoꝛd ⁊ uoꝛd ꝺ ıꝛ godderꝛ ꝛunu·
In the beginning was the word and the word that is God's Son
væꝛ mıꝺ god ꝼeꝺeꝛ ⁊ god uæꝛ uoꝛd ꝺıꝛ pæꝛ ın
was with God the father and God was the word this was in
ꝼꝛuma mıꝺ god alle ꝺeꝛꝺ hıne
the beginning with God all [things] through [or by] him
auoꝛꝺen ꝛınt ⁊ buta ꝺım geuoꝛꝺen ıꝛ noꝺt ꝺ avoꝛꝺen
made were, and without him made is nought that made
væꝛ ın ꝺım t ın ꝺæm lıꝼ pæꝛ ⁊ lıꝼ pæꝛ leꝺt monna
was in him, or in them, life was, and life was the light of men,
⁊ leꝺt ın ꝺıoꝛtꝛꝝm geꝛıneꝺ ⁊ ꝺıoꝛtꝛo ꝺıa neꝼꝛom-
and the light in darkneſs ſhineth and the darkneſs it not com-
nomon pæꝛ monn geꝛenda ꝼꝛom gode ꝺæm noma pæꝛ
prehendeth was a man ſent from God, whoſe name was
John ꝺeꝛ cuom in cẏdneꝛe ꝺ tæ vıttneꝛꝛe ꝺ
John, this [man] came in teſtimony, that is to witneſs that
cẏdneꝛe deꝛꝺ getꝛẏmmede oꝼ leꝺt ꝺte alle
teſtimony thereby might be made of the light that all [might]
gelefdon deꝛꝺ ꝺıne [t done ılca] ne væꝛ ꝺet ꝺe ılca
believe through him (or that ſame) nor was he that ſame
leꝺt aꝺ ꝺte cẏꝺnıꝛe getꝛẏmmede ꝼꝛom leꝺt væꝛ
light, but that teſtimony might be made from the light, was
leꝺt ꝛoꝺ ꝺıu ınlıꝺted ælc t egꝺvelc monno cẏmmende
light pure that enlighteneth all or every man coming
in mıddan.
into the world.

Extract from a MS. in the Anglo-Saxon language, containing the Books of Geneſis, Exodus, &c. ſuppoſed to have been written towards the latter end of the eighth century *.

Part of the Firſt Chapter of Geneſis.

On angẏnne gefceop god heofanam ⁊ eoꝛꝺan ꝛe eoꝛꝺe
In the beginning created God heaven and earth, the earth
ꝛoꝺlice pæꝛ ıdel ⁊ æmtı ⁊ peoꝛtꝛa pæꝛon ofeꝛ ꝺæꝛe
truely was void and empty, and darkneſs was over that

* This MS. is alſo in the Cotton Lib. marked Claudius, B. 4.

nẏꝺelnẏꝛꝛe

ꝺypelnyꝛꝛe bꝛaꝺnyꝛꝛe ⁊ ꝸoꝺeꝛ ꝸaꝛt pæꝛ ꝸeꝼeꝛnoꝺ oꝼeꝛn
deep ſurface, and God's ſpirit was moving over
ꝑæteꝛnu. Goꝺ cꝑꝺa, ꝸepuꝛꝺe leohꝑt ⁊ leohꝑt peaꝛꝺ
the waters. God ſaid, be there made light, and light was
ꝸepoꝛhꝑt. Goꝺ ꝸeꝛeaꝺ ꝺa ꝺæt hit ꝸoꝺ pæꝛ ⁊ he to ꝺælꝺe
made. God ſaw this that it good was; and he d'd divide
leohꝑt ꝛnam ꝺa ꝺyꝛtnum ⁊ het ꝺæt leohꝑt ꝺæꝸ ⁊ ꝺa
the light from that darkneſs, and named that light day, and this
ꝺyꝛtnu nihꝑt. Ða pæꝛ ꝸepoꝛꝺen æꝼen ⁊ meꝛꝸan an ꝺæꝸ.
darkneſs night. Then was made, evening and morning, one day.
Goꝺ cꝑæꝺ ꝺa eꝼteꝛ ꝸepuꝛꝺe nu ꝑæꝛtnyꝛ to miꝺꝺeꝛ
God ſaid then after, be there made now a bulwark between
ꝺam ꝑæteꝛnum ⁊ to tꝑæme ꝺa ꝑæteꝛnu ꝛꝛam ꝺam ꝑæteꝛnum
thoſe waters, and to divide theſe waters from thoſe waters;
⁊ Goꝺ ꝸepoꝛhte ꝺa ꝑaꝛtnyꝛꝛe ⁊ tꝑæmꝺe ꝺa ꝑæteꝛnu ꝺa
and God made that bulwark, and divided theſe waters that
pæꝛon unꝺeꝛ ꝺæꝺe ꝑaꝛtnyꝛꝛe ꝛꝛam ꝺam ꝺe peꝛon bu.an ꝺeꝛe
were under that bulwark from thoſe that were above that
ꝑæꝛtnyꝛꝛe. hit pæꝛ ꝺ. ꝛꝑaꝸe ꝺon ⁊ ꝸ.ꝺ het ꝺa ꝑaꝛtnyꝛꝛe
bulwark. It was then ſo done, and God named that bulwark
heoꝛonam. ⁊ pæꝛ ꝺa ꝸep:ꝺen æꝼen ⁊ meꝛꝸen oꝺeꝛ ꝺæꝸ.
Heaven. And was then made, evening and morning, another day.

Extract from a MS. written in the tenth century *.

heꝛ ıꝛ ꝛe ꝸe'eaꝼa ⁊ ꝸebeꝺ ⁊ bletꝛunꝸ læꝼeꝺun mannum
Here is the Belief and Prayer, and bleſſing, (for) lay men,
ꝺe ꝥ Leꝺen ne cunnon. Pateꝛ noꝛtꝛa on Fnꝸ'ce.
thoſe that Latin not know. Pater noſter in Engliſh.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

ꝥu unꝺe ꝑæꝺeꝛ ꝺe eaꝛt on heoꝼenum ꝺy̆ hin nama ꝸehalꝸ'ꝺ
Thou our father that art in heaven, be thy name hallowed;
ꝸecume hin ꝛice ꝺy̆ hin pilla ꝺꝑa ꝛꝑa on heoꝼenum ꝛꝑa
come thine kingdom; be thine will ſo as in heaven ſo
eac on eoꝛꝺan ꝛy̆le uꝛ to ꝺæꝸ unne ꝺæꝸhꝑamlican hlaꝼ ⁊
alſo on earth; give us to day our daily bread, and
ꝼoꝛꝸyꝼ uꝛ unꝺe ꝸyltaꝛ ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑa ꝺe ꝼoꝛꝸyꝼaꝺ ꝺam ꝺe p'ꝺ uꝛ
forgive us our guilt ſo as we forgive them that with us
aꝸyltaꝺ ⁊ ne læꝺ ꝺu na uꝛ on coꝛtnunꝸe ac
are guilty; and neither lead thou not us into temptation, but
alyꝛ uꝛ ꝛꝛam y̆ꝼele. ꝛy̆ hit ꝛꝑa.
preſerve us from evil. Be it ſo.

* In the Cotton Lib. mark'd Cleopatra B. 13.

The BELIEF.

Ic ȝelyfe on ȝod fæden ælmihtiȝne ſcyppend heofenam ⁊
I believe in God, the father almighty, maker of heaven and
eorðan. ⁊ ic ȝelyfe on hælend Criſt his ancennedan ſunnu
earth. And I believe in holy Chriſt, his only begotten ſon
uſne dryhten. Se wæs ȝe eacnod of þam halȝan ȝaſte. ⁊
our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, and
acenned of Marian þam mædene. ȝeþrowod under þam Pontiſcan
born of Mary the maiden, ſuffered under the Pontius
Pilate. on rode a hanȝen. he wæs dead. ⁊ be byrȝed. ⁊
Pilate, on the croſs was hanged; he was dead and buried, and
he nyðer astah to helle. ⁊ he aras of deaðe on þam þriddan
he deſcended to hell; and he aroſe from death on the third
dæȝe. ⁊ he astah up to heofenum. ⁊ ſitt nu æt ſriþhan
day, and he aſcended up to heaven, and ſits now at the right hand
ȝoder ælmihtiȝes fæder. þa non he wile cuman to demenne
of God, almighty father; from thence he will come to judge
æȝþen ȝe þam cucum. ȝe þam deadum. ⁊ ic ȝelyfe on hone
both the living and thoſe dead. And I believe in the
halȝan ȝaſt. ⁊ þa halȝan ȝelaþunȝe. ⁊ halȝena ȝe mœnnyſſe.
holy ghoſt, and the holy church, and the holy communion,
⁊ ſynna forȝifennyſſe. ⁊ flæſces æriſt ⁊ þ ece lif.
and ſins forgiveneſs, and the fleſh ariſing, and the eternal life.
ſi hit ſwa.
Be it ſo.

The exordium of an Anglo-Saxon poem, as recorded by Bede in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, compoſed by Cædman, an extraordinary poet. It here ſtands according to the Saxon verſion, as given by king Ælfred.

Nu we ſceolan herigean
heofon ricef weard
Metodes mihte
⁊ his mod ȝeþanc
weorc wul dom fæder
swa he wundra ȝehwæs
Ece drihten ord on ſtealde
he æreſt ſcop
eorþan bearnum
heofon to hofe
halig ſcyppend
þa middanȝ eard
Mon Cynnes weard
Ece Drihtne æfter teode
firum foldan
frea ælmihtiȝ.

An

An attempt to render the ſenſe of this beautiful poem in Engliſh:

" *Now ought we to praiſe the maker of the kingdom of heaven—the powerful creator, and his council, the glorious working father!—who firſt made the heaven:, as a roof to the ſons of men!—Holy creator! everlaſting lord, and keeper of mankind! The world was after made by thee, ſupreme almighty!* "

Extract from a Paraphraſe of the Four Goſpels, in the Anglo-Daniſh language.—This book is ſaid formetly to have belonged to king Cnut.*

The LORD'S PRAYER paraphraſed.

Patep̃ noſtep̃ ꝑaðep̃ ıſt uſa ꝑıꝑıo baꝑno. Þu bıſt an þem
Pater noſter, Father art of us men. Thou art in the
heoꝑen ꝑımılıo ꝑıkıe. quımꝑıð ꝓı þın namo uuoꝑðu gı-
high heaven ruler. Cauſe that thine name in words be
ꝑuılıcu. cume þın cꝑaꝑtıga ꝑıkı. uuepꝑe þın uuılleo oþaꝑ
hallowed. Come thy powerful kingdom. Work thine will over
þera uuepolð alle ꝓo ꝓamo on epþu ꝓo þaꝑ uppe ıſt an þam
this world, all the ſame on earth as there above it is on the
heoꝑon ꝑımılo ꝑıkıe. gıꝑ uſ ðage gıꝑuılıceſ ꝑað ðꝓoꝑtın
high heaven kingdom. Give us daily council, Lord,
þıe guoðo þına helega helpu endı alat uſ heþeneſ
thy good and thine holy help; and forgive us, O heaven's
manegaꝑo menn ſculðıſ alſo uuıoðꝑon mannon ðuan. nı
governor! all our debts alſo, as we forgive mens debts; neither
lat uſ ꝑ̃ꝑıleðean letþa uuıþꝛı ſo ꝑoꝑtþan ıꝑo uuılleon ſo uuı
let us be miſled by wicked perſons ſo forth to their will ſo we
muꝑðıg ſınd. ac ꝑılp uſ uuıþaꝑ allon ubılon ðaðeon.
ſeduced be, but help us againſt all evil deeds.

* This MS. is in the Cotton Library, mark'd Caligula, A. VII.

No. 3.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

I. KING Æadgar, from an ancient delineation in an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the Cotton Library, written at the end of the ninth century *.

II. The Great Seal of Edward the Confeſſor, taken from Speed †.

III. A portrait of the famous Saint Dunſtan, archbiſhoſhip of Canterbury, taken from a MS. in the Cotton Library ‡, which, from the appearance of the hand, muſt have been written, during his life time, or, very ſoon after his death. The two figures in white, kneeling at his feet, I take to be Ethelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, his great aſſiſtants againſt the married clergy; and the other in black, is probably the monk who was at the pains to make the drawing. In the copartments above we read Dunſt-ni, archie-piſcopi—[portrait] *of Dunſtan, archbiſhop.*

IV. Daniſh ſoldiers.—The murder of the Innocents is here repreſented; and this drawing is found in a MS. paraphraſe of the Four Goſpels, ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnut. This book is alſo in the Cotton Library §.

V. Repreſentation of a farm yard, with the implements of huſbandry. The plough, ſcythe, ſickle, and cart, on the left hand ſide, are from an old Cottonian MS ‖. The harrow is from the tapeſtry of Bayeux ¶. The cart, with the man in it, driving it, and the ſpade, are from another MS. in the Cotton Library **. The houſe, and the reſt of the back ground, are chiefly fancy.

VI. A ſhip and row-galley from a MS. in the Vatican Library, firſt copied by Bartolo ††.

VII. An ancient lantern, drawn from the original, at the Muſæum at Oxford.

VIII. Saxon pennies, No. 1. round the head we read ECGBERHT : REX. ✕. *Egberht king*; and, on the reverſe, OBA. MONETA, for *monetarius*, in Engliſh, *oba. moneyer*. This coin is of the Great Egbert who united the Heptarchy. No. 2. Round the head AEÐLVVLF. REX for *Æthelwulf king*. Here note the Ð always ſtands of *Th*, as does the letter D ſometimes without the croſs mark. On the reverſe, HVN. MONETA, *Hun. Moneyer*. No. 3. AEÐLBALD, REX *Æthelbald*,

* Marked Tiberius A. 3.
† Speed's Chronicle, p. 393.
‡ Claudius A. 3.
§ Caligula A. VII.
‖ Julius A. VI.

¶ Vide Montfaucon's Monarchie Francois, t. 1. ſub finem.
** Claudius B. IV.
†† This MS. is ſaid to be near 1000 years old.

King,

King. On the reverſe, REANMVN: MONETA, *Reanmun Moneyer*. No. 4. AEÐELBEARHT. REX; *Æthelbrygbt king*; on the reverſe, DEGBEARHT: MONETA. No. 5. AEÐELREO: REX. *Æthelred*; on the reverſe ELBERE—MONETA. No. 6. ÆLFRED: REX. on the reverſe, a monagram not well underſtood. No. 7. EADYYEARD: REX. *Eadweard*, or *Edward*, *king*. This is Edward the Elder, ſon of Ælfred; on the reverſe, HEREMOD. M. for *Monetarius*, or Moneyer. No. 8. ÆDLSTAN. REX, for *Æthelſtan*; on the reverſe ABERTEE: MO: EO: for Eoferwic, *York*. No. 9. EADMVND: REX. This is the firſt *Edmund*, brother to *Æthelſtan*; on the reverſe EREMHBART: MONETA. No. 10. EADRED. REX; on the reverſe SAYYRD MONE. No. 11. EADVIG: REX: on the reverſe HERIGER. MO. No. 12. EADGAR. REX. ANGLORVM. Eadgar, king of the Engliſh; on the reverſe LEOFSIG: MO: HAMT, Leofsig Moneyer, at South or North Hampton, which anciently were both called *Hamtun*. No. 13. EADPARD: REX. ANGLORVM. *Eadward*. Here note, the P upon Saxon coins uſually ſtands for W. on the reverſe WVLSTAN MO STANF. for *Stanford*, now *Stamford*. This coin is of Edward the Martyr. No. 14. ÆÐELRED: REX. ANGLOVM; on the reverſe, GOD PINE M⁼O. LVND: for *Lundun*, now *London*. This coin is of Æthelred the Second, commonly called the Unready.

IX. No. 1. ÆÐELRED: REX. ANG. on the reverſe ÆLWINE: MO: LVND. abbreviated for Monetarius Lunduni, *Moneyer at London*: this coin is of *Æthelred the Second*. No. 2. ÆDMVND: REX. ANGLORUM. on the reverſe TMDRED: MO. THEOT, Temdred, or Tamdred Moneyer at Thetford: this coin is of Eadmund, firnamed Ironſides. No. 3. CNVT: REX. on the reverſe SPERTINGOID: EOR, abbreviated, perhaps for *Eoferwic*, now *York*. No. 4. HAROLD: REX; on the reverſe BRVNVST: MO: DEOTF. *Moneyer at Thetford*: this is a coin of the firſt Harold, ſon of king Cnut. No. 5. HARDACNVT: on the reverſe LEOFSAN: ON: LVND. *London*. No. 6. EDPARD: REX. *Edward king*: on the reverſe, COVMVND: ON: STÆF: or Stafford. No. 7. EADPARD REX ANGLO, *Edward*, &c. on the reverſe, BRYNMIC: ON: LVN. *London*. Theſe two laſt coins are of Edward the Confeſſor. No. 8. HAROLD: REX. ANGL. on the reverſe, LEOFPINE ON. BRI for Bricgſtow, *Briſtol*. This coin is of the Second *Harold*, ſon of Godwine, earl of Kent. No. 9. ANLAF: CYNYNG, *Anlaf King*; on the reverſe ATHELFERD: MINETRIL. perhaps for monetarius *moneyer*. This is ſuppoſed to be a coin of Anlaf, ſon of Sithric, a Daniſh king of Northumberland, who occaſioned ſo much trouble to Æthelſtan. No. 10. VVLFREDI. ARCHIEPISCOP. *Vulfred Archbiſhop*; on the reverſe DOROVERNAE: CIVITATIS *of the city of Canterbury*. No. 11. CEOLNOTH: ARC: *Ceolnoth Archbiſhop*; on the reverſe HIORNMOD:

ORNMOD : MONET. or *Moneyer*. Theſe two ſpecimens of archiepiſcopal coins were thought ſufficient. No. 12. is one of the Peter Pence *; and the two following are ſticas, or braſs coins, ſtruck only in Northumberland. No. 13. EANRED : REX. on the reverſe MONNE, perhaps the Moneyer's name. No. 14. VIGMVNDI : A. *Wigimund archbiſhop* [of York]; on the reverſe HVNIA. perhaps the Moneyer's name. Note, All the coins upon theſe two plates, except the two laſt, are ſilver. To the kind aſſiſtance of Mr. Bartlet and Mr. John White of Newgate-ſtreet, the author is indebted for this compleat ſeries of the Anglo-Saxon coins of the monarchy.

X. Habits of the Anglo-Saxons. No. 1. An archbiſhop. 2. A biſhop. 3. A monk; 4, 5, 6. Perſons of diſtinction. No. 3. is from a MS. in the Archiepiſcopal Library at Lambeth. No. 1 & 2. from a MS. in the Cotton Library †. No. 4. from another MS. in the ſame library ‡; and No. 5 & 6, from the Cædman in the Bodleian Library at Oxford §.

XI. Habits of Anglo-Saxon noblemen and perſons of diſtinction. No. 1. 2. 4. 5, from a MS. in the Cotton Library ‖; 3 & 6, from another MS. in the ſame library ¶.

XII. Anglo-Saxon ladies, &c. No. 1. from an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library **. No. 3. from another MS. in the ſame library ††. No. 4. the boys; and No. 6. are from another MS. alſo in the ſame library ‡‡. No. 2. from a MS. in the Lambeth Library §§; and No. 5. from the Cædman at Oxford ‖‖.

XIII. A map of the world, copied from an ancient MS. in the Cottonian Library, written partly in Latin and partly in the Anglo-Saxon language, which by the hand appears to have been executed towards the latter end of the tenth century ¶¶. As the writing upon it will be unintelligible to the greater part of the readers, it is thought proper to explain it as well as we ſhall be able in this place; and that the part of the writing upon the map may be the more eaſily referred to, it is divided into twenty ſquares, which are deſcribed in ſucceſſive order one after the other, beginning at the left hand and paſſing to the right.

No. 1. Gentes XLIV. *forty-four nations*; flumen *a river*—*over the lion* hic abundant leones, *here are many lions*.

* The inſcription is SCI PETRI MONETA for Sancti Petri Moneta, St. Peter's money; on the reverſe, EBORA, CIV. pro Eboracenſis civitas, *the city of York*.

† Marked Vitellius, C. 3.

‡ Claudius B. IV.

§ Junius XI.

‖ Claudius, B. IV.

¶ Tiberius, B. V.

** Cleopatra, C. VIII.

†† Galba, A. XVIII.

‡‡ Claudius, B. IV.

§§ MS. of Aldhelm, de virginitate.

‖‖ Junius XI.

¶¶ Tiberius, B. V.

2. *A chain of mountains behind the lion, and over them is written* Taurini montes, *the Taurinian mountains—near the top* mons aureus, *the golden mountain*; India in qua ſunt gentes XLIV. *India, in which are* 44 *nations*; Fiſon flu. *Fiſon river*, Aracuſia.

3. *An iſland at the top whereon is written*, in Abrobanea x civtas bis in anno menſa fuges, *in Abrobanea x cities, twice in a year they gather fruit.* Media, *Mede*; Nikvie (*perhaps for* Ninive) *Nineveh*; Perſidia, *Perſia*; Arabia, Syria; Eadmou, *perhaps for* Cadueni, *a people in the country of Coria in Leſſer Aſia*; Chaldea, Arabia Deſerto, *the Deſerts of Arabia*; Mons Sina, *Mount Sina.*

4. Hic dicitur eſſe mons ſuper ardens, *here is ſaid to be a mountain burning at the top*; flumen Nila, *river Nile* *.

5. Mare Caſpiam, *the Caſpian ſea*; montes Armeniæ, *the Armenian mountains*; arca Noe, *Noah's ark*; Gog & Magog; *people of Scythia*, &c. Turcie, *perhaps Turchy*; Albanorum regio, *the kingdom of Albani in Scythia*; Armenia—Gryphorum gens, *people of Gryphon*; Colchorum provincia, *the province of Colchis.*

6. Meſopotamia—Hiberia—Babylonia, *Babylon*; Commigena, *part of Syria*; Ceſarea Philippi—Antiocha, *Antioch*; Vocuſa civitas, *the city of Vocuſa*; Bithinia.

7. Moabite, *the country of the Moabites*; mons Faſga, *mount Faſga*; mons Gulago, *mount Gulago*; dimidia trib. Manaſo, *the half tribe of Manaſſah*; Ruben *(the tribe of) Ruben*; Gad *(the tribe of) Gad*; trib. Dan *(the tribe of) Dan*; Effraim *(the tribe of) Ephraim.*

8. Egyptus Superior, *Upper Egypt*; Ethiopica Deſerta, *the Deſert of Ethiopia*; Philiſtea, *the land of the Philiſtines.*

9. Meotides paludes, *the marſhes of the Meotides*; Tanac fluvium, *the river Tanac*; montes Ripori, *the Riporian mountains*; fluvium Ypatus, *the river Ypatus.* Naperfida—Meſina.

10. Mons Taurus, *mount Taurus*, Cappidocia; Iſacircia, *perhaps for* Ituceo, *or elſe the tribe of Iſacher*; tribus Zabulon, *the tribe of Zabulon*; Manaſa, *Manaſſah*; Tharſo, *Tarſus*, Cilicia; mons Olympus, *mount Olympus*; Aſia Minor, *Leſſer Aſia*, Epheſus; Troia, *Troy*; Conſtantinopulum, *Conſtantinople*; Attica, *part of Greece.*

11. Tribus Zabulon, *the tribe of Zebulon*; Galilea, *Galilee*; Juericho, *Jericho*; Aſſer *(the tribe of) Aſher*; Aniclea, *perhaps Aſkelon*; Hieruſalem, *Jeruſalem.*

12. Ebron, *Hebron*; Pentapolis, *perhaps for Tripolis*; Bethlaem, *Bethleham*; Neptalin, *the tribe of Napthalum*; Alexandria, *a city in Egypt*; mons, *a mountain*, Anticlea—Libia Cirinania.—Lac. Calear-

* Note, That all the rivers or lakes, expreſſed by dots upon the plate, are red in the original delineation; and that part that comes upon the diviſion of the third and fourth ſquares, is intended for the Red Sea; and where it is divided at the bottom of the ſquare, is intended to ſhew the part the children of Iſrael paſſed over when they fled from Egypt.

ſum,

ſum, *the lake of Calearſum*; hic barbari gentes, *here is a barbarous people*; hic Ethiopos, *here the Ethiopians*; hic oberant gingitis & Ethiopos, *here wander about the Gengites and Ethiopians*.

13. Iſland *Iceland*; Scroduſinuas—Balgari—Dacia ubi & Gothia, *Dacia and Gothland*; Salacu—Sleſne—Thracia.

14. Hunorum gens, *the Huns*; Danubius fluvius, *the river Danube*; Dalmatia—Pannonia—Hiſtria, *vel Iſtria*; Athenas, *Athens*; Verona, Paccia, *perhaps for Padua*; Roma, *Rome*.

15. Macedonia; Salernaria, *Salernam, a city belonging to Naples*; Venacia, *Venice*; Cartago Magni, *the Greater Carthage*.

16. Pentapolis, *perhaps for* Penopolis, *a town in Egypt*; Sutes—Lacus Saliciarnus, *the lake of Saliciarnus*; Libia Ethiopium—Bizacena. Gentes Aucolum pertingente uſque ad oceanum, *the people of Aucolum, inhabiting even to the ſea*. Cinocephales. Cartago Magni, *the Greater Carthage*. Zugis regio, ipſa ē ec Africa a enim fortis, ſed anterior beſtiis, ec ſerpentibus plena amnis miſca (ſome part of this writing, perhaps, is worn away; for, as it ſtands at preſent, it is very difficult to be underſtood: however, the meaning of it may be as follows.) *This kingdom of Zugis, which is the ſtrongeſt in Africa; but the anterior part of it is full of beaſts, ſerpents and rivers*.

17. Britania, *Britain*; Hibernia, *Ireland*; Tyleri. The other writing is ſo much obliterated as not to be eaſily made out.

18. Lundonia, *London*; Wintona, *Wincheſter*; Cantia, *Kent*—Suthbryttas: Bartiminacus. Iſpania Anterior, *Spain Anterior*; Brigantia, *Portugal*.

19. VII. Montes, *ſeven mountains*; Heſperidum civit. *the city of Heſperides*; promontory, *a promontory*.

20. Mauritiania—fluvius Malva, *river Malva*; Dora—Mons Iſperac, *mount Iſperac*.

XIV. A curious ornamented page in an Anglo-Saxon Pſalter, preſerved in the Cotton Library *, written about the tenth century. The writing, which is part of the fifty-ſecond pſalm, is as follows, the top line only omitted, which ſeems to be imperfect. Cum venit Doech Judeus, & adnuntiavit Saul & dixit quia venit David de domo Abimalech.—Quid gloriaris in militia qui potens es in iniquitate? Tota die injuſtitiam cogitavit; lingua tua, ſicut novacula acuta, feciſti dolum.—The Saxon is: Hwæt wuldraſt thu on yfelneſſe hue ricf is unrichtwiſneſſe thote tuonge thin ſwa ſwa ſcyrfeax ſcearp thu dyde ſe facen. In Engliſh: *When Doceg came to Judea, and told to Saul that David had left the houſe of Abimelech.—Why doſt thou glory in miſchief who art mighty in inquity? All the day thou imagineſt unrighteouſneſs; with thy tongue, like a ſharp razor, didſt thou work deceit*.

* Marked Tiberius, C. VI.

XV. Spe-

XV. Specimens of the art of deſign: No. 1. and No. 7. are two figures intended to repreſent our Bleſſed Saviour in his exalted ſtate; 2 and 3, figures whoſe habits are rather peculiar; 4. a woman; 5. an archer; 6. a ſoldier; 8. a woman armed, having a helmet on her head; 9. a dead corps in the uſual wrappings; 10 and 11. repreſent Abraham weighing out the money he paid to the ſons of Heth for the purchaſe of the field of Macpelah.—No. 1. is from the ancient Cædman at Oxford *; 6 and 8 from a MS. of Aurelius Prudæntius in the Cotton Library †; and all the reſt from another MS. alſo in the Cotton Library ‡.

XVI. No. 1. A jewel formerly belonging to king Ælfred; the writing round it is AELFRED MEC. HEIHT GEVVYRCAN. *Ælfred ordered me to be made.* 2. a penknife; 3. a pen §; 4. the letter T; 5. the letter H, as ſpecimens of ornaments from a book ſaid formerly to have belonged to king Cnut ‖; 6. a ſpecimen of writing from the ſame book. The writing is, Uuerthe then uuilleo othar thiſa uuerold alla ſo ſamo an erthu ſo thar uppe, &c. *Work thine will over this world the ſame on earth ſo as there up*, &c. No. 7. A ſpecimen of the writing in the St. Cuthbert's Goſpels, written at the latter end of the eighth century ¶. Et reſpondens Chriſtus dixit iterum in parabolis eis dicens. The Saxon is, and ge thonwonde the hælend cueth eftſonu in biſpellum him cueth. *And Jeſus anſwered, and ſaid to them in parables*, &c. 8. a ſpecimen of an ancient MS. of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory **, the beginning of the fifth book. Succeſſit autem viro Domini Cuthberchto in exercenda vita ſolitaria, quam, &c. *And after ſucceeded Cuthbert, a man of the Lord, who had led a ſolitary life, when*, &c. 9. A ſpecimen from another Anglo-Saxon MS. of part of the Bible ††. Lædde Joſep hys fœder into tha cynninge and ſette hine beforan. *Joſeph led his father to the king, and ſet him before him.* 10. A ſpecimen from the Cædman at Oxford. Welig. wide ſtodan. No. 11. Is a bracelet for the arm.

XVII. No. 1. Two figures, one playing on the violin; the other throwing up knives and balls into the air, and catching them dexterouſly as they fall; 2. a man dancing to the muſic of the harp; 3. another kind of violin; 4. an organ; 5. a harp; 6. a lyre; 7. an ancient ſpur, found in a water meadow belonging to Sir William Jones at Ramſbury, who was ſo kind as to permit me to engrave it from the original, which is of iron, and has been plated over with ſilver; 8. a

* Junius xi. in Bib. Bodleni.
† Cleopatra, C. vi.
‡ Claudius, B. iv.
§ From the laſt quoted MS.
‖ Caligula, A. viii.
¶ In the Cotton Library often mentioned before, marked Nero D. iv. Vide plate XX. vol. I.
** This MS. is alſo in the Cotton Library, marked Tiberius C. ii.
†† This book is often quoted before Claudius, B. iv. in the Cotton Library.

vial; 9 and 12. two ſtandards; 10. is a lyre that is played upon by the handle; 11—13. is a war trumpet; 14. a battle-ax; 15. a hunting horn; 16 and 17. two trumpets. No. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. and 14. are from a MS. in the Harleian Library *; all the reſt, except No. 7. from MSS. in the Cotton Library quoted before.

XVIII. Carriages for travelling to and from the buildings, in the back ground, are taken from ancient MSS. though diſpoſed according to the fancy of the deſigner. The carriage, with the woman in it, is from a MS. in the Cotton Library †. From the ſame book is taken the two buildings directly over it. The four-wheeled carriage, and the appearance of a diſtant town, is from another MS. in the ſame library ‡; and from another, is that with two wheels that ſtands in the front §.

XIX. A burial, the figures taken from a Cottonian MS ‖. The back ground is partly fancy, except the temple ſeen behind. The trees are taken from another Cottonian MS ¶.

XX. A map of the Saxon Heptarchy.

Some of the author's friends having ſignified to him, that it would be better if the *Legends* upon the coins on plate XVII. Vol. I. were to be explained, he has thought it his duty to comply with their requeſt.

No. I. On the reverſe ETHILBERHT : RE : for REX. *Ethilberht, king.* 2. On the reverſe, EADBALD . R . CA. for Rex Cantiæ, *Eadbald, king of Kent.* 3. ECGBERHT. on the reverſe, EOTBBREHT. the name perhaps of the Moneyer. 4. ETHILBERHT ÷ CANT. on the reverſe REX. 5. CVTHRED REX CANT : on the reverſe SIGERERHT : MONETA, or Monetarius, *Moneyer.* 6. BELDRED : REX. C. on the reverſe DIORMOD : MONE. 7. ETHELVIERED. on the reverſe MANNA. MONETA. 8. CVTHRED. REX. on the reverſe EABA. 9. SYGFRONI. 11. on the reverſe EVVRAM. MO. 10. OFFA : REX. on the reverſe LULLA, the name of the Moneyer. 11. AVDVLFIUS. PRISIN. on the reverſe VICTVRIA. ADVLFO. 12. OFFA : REX. on the reverſe OCHMVND. 13. E : ORA. on the reverſe CYNETHRITH : REGINA, *Cynethrith queen.* 14. COELVVF REX. M. *for* Coelwulf Rex Merciæ. *Coelwulf, King of Mercia.* 15. BEORNVLF. RE. on the reverſe EYCSA : MONETA. 16.

* No. 603.
† Cleopatra, C. VI.
‡ Claudius, B. IV.
§ Tiberius, B. V.
‖ Claudius, B. IV.
¶ Cleopatra, C. VI.

LUDICA. REX. ME for Merciæ, on the reverſe VERGALD: MONE.——A gentleman, thoroughly converſant with the Saxon coins, has informed me that No. 9. of this plate is not a coin of of Sighere as Speed conceived; nor is it at all certain by whom it was coined. No. 10. is a coin of Offa the great, king of Mercia, and not of Offa, king of the Eaſt Angles, as Speed declares; and No. 11. though it has been univerſally received as a coin of Adulf, king of the Eaſt Angles, is nevertheleſs not a coin ſtruck by that prince, but a foreign coin, and unknown.

FINIS.